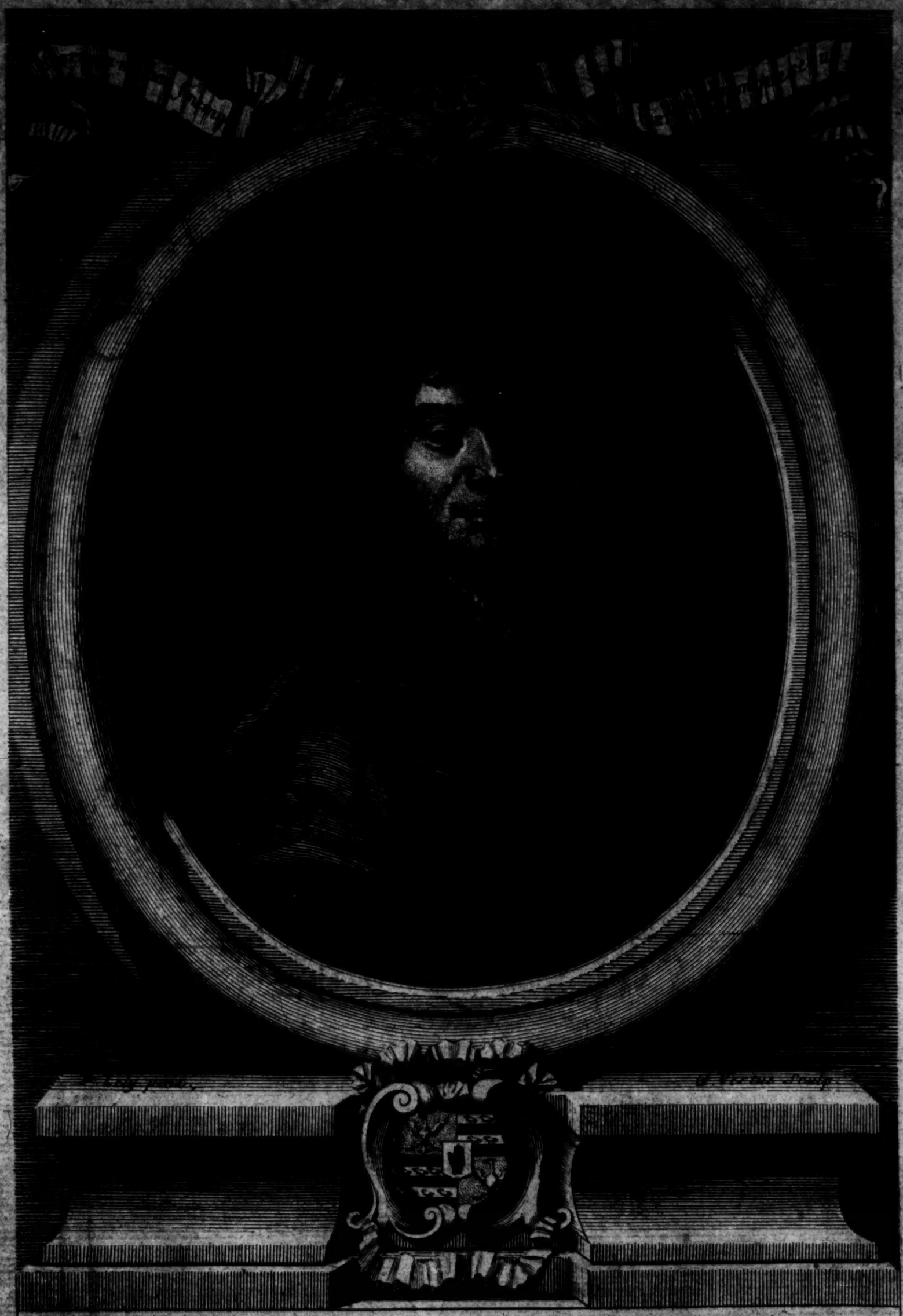


Dominus Gulielmus Temple Eques Baronettus
Ser.mi et Pot.mi Mag. Brittanniæ Regis ad Ord.s Fœd.ti Belgij Legatus
Extr.i et apud Tractatus pacis tam Aquis grani quam Neomagi Legat.s
Medull.i Ejusdem Ser.mi Regis a Secretioribus Consilijs. 1679.

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THE WORKS OF

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bar^t.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

To which is Prefix'd

Some Account of the LIFE and WRITINGS of the AUTHOR.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROUND, J. TONSON, J. CLARKE, B. MOTTE, T. WOTTON, S. BIRT, and T. OSBORNE.

MDCCXXXI.

THE

WORKS

OF

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM



ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE *and* WRITINGS

OF

SIR *William Temple*, BART.

WHEN the Works of a deceaſed Author, eſpecially one of Eminency, are publiſh'd together, it is very reaſonable that ſomething ſhou'd be prefix'd concerning his Life and Actions, as well as ſome Character of his Perſon and Performances; all which will render the whole more uſeful and entertaining. As to the particular Life of this great Man, we are in hopes of ſeeing it from thoſe that are fully qualified for ſuch an Undertaking; but till ſuch appears, we muſt be contented with ſmaller Sketches,

and

and with such Particulars as are to be learnt from several Parts of his Writings.



But not to be wholly silent in the Case of a Person of such Variety of Talents, we are to remember that Sir *William Temple*, Baronet, was the Son of Sir *John Temple* of *Shene*, in the County of *Surry*, Master of the Rolls, and Privy Counsellor in *Ireland*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second. His Mother was *Mary* Daughter to Mr. *Hammond*, and Sister to the celebrated Dr. *Hammond* one of the great Ornaments of the Church of *England*. His Grand-Father, the first Sir *William Temple*, and Secretary to the unfortunate Earl of *Essex* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, was a younger Son of the ancient Family of the *Temples*, of *Temple-Hall* in *Leicestershire*. Our present Author Sir *William*, marry'd *Dorothy* the Daughter of Sir *Peter Osborne*, Governor of *Jersey* for King *Charles* the First, by whom he had a numerous Issue; and yet but one Daughter who surviv'd him.

From his Youth he discovered a curious and penetrating Genius and a remarkable Thirst after Knowledge, which his Father happily took care to cultivate by a genteel and liberal Education. After he pass'd the *Latin* School, he was sent to *Cambridge*, in which University he distinguish'd himself by the Improvements he made in all the Parts of human Learning; and, besides the Academick Tongues, he made himself perfect Master of the two most useful modern Languages, the *French* and the *Spanish*. So that when he remov'd from thence, he had by his Parts and his Industry made himself capable of any publick Employment.

In which manner he pass'd twenty Years with particular Honour and Success, namely, from the thirty second to the fifty second Year of his Age; which he took to be the Part of a Man's Life, most fit to be dedicated to the Service of his Prince and Country; *the rest being*, as he observ'd, *too much taken up with his Pleasures, or his Ease*. His political Principles would not suffer him to enter upon any publick Affairs, till the Way was made open for the King's Restoration in the Year 1660; nor wou'd they allow him to continue in Business any longer than the Year 1680; when the *French* Party having gain'd so much Ground, he sent his Son to acquaint the King with his Resolutions, *to pass the remainder of his Life, like as good a private Subject as any he had, but never to meddle with any publick Employment.*

To give a particular Account of his Negotiations at Home and Abroad, wou'd be to lay open a great Part of the History of that Reign;

Reign: yet some Account ought to be given of his Management in two great Treaties, which have helped to immortalize his Name; the One a temporary Advantage, the Other a lasting Blessing to these Kingdoms.

The First was his skilful and dexterous bringing about the *Triple League* between *England*, *Holland* and *Sweden*, in the latter End of the Year 1665; so much to the Peace of *Europe*, and to the Diminution of the threatening Power of *France*. This was manag'd with so much Secrecy and uncommon Industry, together with so much unexpected Success, that the great Statesman *De Wit*, too much leaning to the *French* Party, could not help complimenting him, 'with having the Honour, which never any other 'Minister had before him, of drawing the *States* to a Resolution 'and Conclusion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greatest Importance, and an Assistance of the greatest Expence they had 'ever been engag'd in; and all directly against the *Nature of their* '*Constitution*, which enjoin'd them to have Recourse to their Provinces. Adding, That now it was done, it look'd like a *Miracle*.' Upon the Conclusion, two Letters were writ, one from *De Wit* to the Earl of *Arlington*, and the second from the *States-General* to the King of *Great Britain*, of which some Notice ought to be taken. The former says, 'As it was impossible to 'send a Minister of greater Capacity, or more proper for the Temper 'of Genius of this Nation than Sir *William Temple*; so, I believe, 'no other Person, either will or can more equitably judge of the 'Disposition wherein he has found the *States*, to answer the good 'Intentions of the King of *Great Britain*.' In the *States* Letter, they tell the King, 'As it is a Thing without Example, that in so 'few Days, three such Important Treaties have been concluded; 'so we can say, That the Address, the Vigilance, and the Sincerity of Sir *William Temple*, are also without Example. If your 'Majesty continues to make use of such Ministers, the Knot will 'grow too fast ever to be unty'd. And yet Sir *William*, with no less Wit than Modesty, gave another Turn to it in a Letter to Monsieur *Gourville*, saying, 'They will needs have me pass here 'for one of great Abilities, for having finish'd and sign'd in five 'Days a Treaty of such Importance to *Christendom*: But I will tell 'you the *Secret* of it: To draw Things out of their Center, requires Labour and Address to put them into Motions; but to 'make them return thither, Nature helps so far, that there needs 'no more than just to set them a going.'

The

The other Treaty prov'd of a more durable Nature and Conſequence, both to the Security of the *Proteſtant* Religion, and the Happineſs of the *Britiſh* Kingdoms, which was the Marriage between the then Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary*, Daughter to the Duke of *York*, and Niece to his Majeſty. All this was manag'd and effected by the ſeveral Steps and Gradations, principally by Sir *William Temple*, who by his Taciturnity as well as Dexterity brought it to Maturity, and to be completed in the Year 1667, even contrary to the Will of the Lady's Father, and not very much with the Inclination of her Royal Uncle. Any other Seaſon, or a very ſmall Variation of Circumſtances, muſt have diſappointed or overturn'd that Great Work. In the latter Part he indeed made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of the Lord-Treaſurer *Danby*, ſince Duke of *Leeds*, who thought the Affair of that Happineſs and Importance to the Publick, that afterwards in Print he declar'd, *That he wou'd not ſuffer that Part of his Service to be buried in Oblivion.*

Having gone through theſe, and other difficult Employments, in a Court that did not always reward Merit, but uſually exercis'd the Strength of its Miniſters; in the Year 1680, Sir *William* choſe to leave the Court and Publick Affairs, in order to enjoy Retirement, and a more Philoſophical Life; as alſo to enjoy his Pen, which really had been far from being idle in the midſt of all his Buſineſs. Indeed it is a common Thing for Men, who live in the Splendor and Hurry of Courts, ſometimes to wiſh for a Retreat, where they may relieve themſelves after the Fatigue of State and Buſineſs; yet they ſeldom do retire, but when they know not how to ſtay any longer: So that the Contempt of a Court is in many Men a Contrivance in Self-love, to alleviate the Mortifications of being excluded, by undervaluing Greatneſs, and thoſe that are in Power. On the other hand, nothing is more difficult to the generality of Men, who have enjoy'd the Pomp and Pleaſures of a Court, than to finiſh the Remainder of their Lives in Privacy and Retirement. For few Perſons have ſo rich a Fund in themſelves, as to ſupply and fill up the great Chaſm, which the Want of publick Buſineſs and Diverſion leaves on their Minds. But Sir *William Temple* had the Happineſs to eſcape both theſe Inconveniencies; and as his retiring from Buſineſs was in all appearance voluntary, ſo his Contempt of Greatneſs and Splendor was the Reſult of a thorough Knowledge of the Emptineſs and Vanity of thoſe glaring Objects. He was ſenſible that there was little in a Court but a perpetual Exchange of falſe Friendſhip, pretended Honeſty, ſeeming Confidence, and deſigning Gratitude:

titude: So that thoſe, who, as Sir *William* did, acted upon a ſincere Bottom, and gave Realities inſtead of Shews; 'profeſs'd 'themſelves as great Bubbles, as ſuch as gave good Money, 'where Counterfeit Coin paſs'd for Current Payment.' He had by long Experience made the Eſtimate of the Advantages of a private Life, above thoſe of a Publick; and was thoroughly convinc'd, That the Bleſſings of Innocence, Security, Meditation, good Air, Health, and ſound Sleep, were clearly preferable to the Splendor of Courts; conſidering the ſlaviſh Attendance, the invidious Competitions, ſervile Flattery, and the mortal Diſappointments that uſually attend them. He ſet the Frowns of Princes, the Envy of thoſe that judge by Hear-ſay, and the innumerable Temptations, Vices, and Exceſſes of a Life of Pomp and Pleaſure, in Ballance againſt the Smiles of bounteous Nature, the Diverſion of healthful Exerciſes for the Body, and the ſolid and laſting Entertainments of the Mind; and concluded, 'That he that is a Slave 'in the Town, is a kind of a petty Prince in the Country.'

Such were the Sentiments and Opinions of this great Man, and a Strain of theſe appears through all his Works and Writings; of which it will now be proper to give ſome little Account. His Works ſhew him to be both a penetrating Stateſman, and a curious and refin'd Thinker; and they were writ as well in the Hurry of Buſineſs, as in the Freedom of Retirement; conſiſting of Matters Hiſtorical and Political, as alſo Moral and Philoſophical; in all which he ſhews a delicate and exquiſite Taſte, both as to Men and Things. And let this Subject be what it will, it receives a new Turn by his dexterous Management, and there all along appears the fine Gentleman, in Oppoſition to the ſtiff Pedant; ſo that his Writings are all free and eaſy, and not bound up by the ſtrict Rules of Criticks and Pedagogues. His Stile is of the ſame Nature, fine and polite, but ſtill more Beautiful than Correct, and more perhaps for Delight, than for Imitation.

To be particular as to his Works, wou'd be too great an Anticipation to the Reader; yet among all, we are not to forget his *Memoirs*, which have not been equall'd by any that have writ ſince him. They are the more uſeful, becauſe they take in the principal Parts of the Reign of King *Charles* the Second; and without them we ſhou'd have but an imperfect Account of many Particulars in that unequal Adminiſtration. The Second Part ſlipt firſt into the World, without the Knowledge, as it was ſaid, tho' moſt believe, with the Connivance of the Author. They conſiſt not only of many Domeſtick Affairs relating to the Court of *England*,

but of the principal Foreign Negotiations begun in 1673, and ended in 1678, in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and with the general Peace of *Europe*; all laid open with Fairneſs and Impartiality, as well as Clearneſs and Simplicity. The firſt Part was never publiſh'd at all, but is very well ſupply'd by a great Number of Letters and Publick Papers; which ſufficiently ſhew what a vigorous Actor Sir *William Temple* was, and how great a Stateſman he prov'd, and how much a Maſter of Buſineſs and Politicks.

The Third Part appear'd ſome Years after his Death, which, tho' complain'd of as being publiſh'd without Conſent of Relations, was never charg'd with being the leaſt ſpurious. This, tho' ſhorteſt in Compaſs, both as to Time and Matter, yet keeping cloſe to the *Engliſh* Adminiſtration at home, and diſcovering greater Depths of thoſe Affairs, we take to be the moſt uſeful and enlightning of the Three. Here are laid open, not only the ſecret Springs of many Actions which were generally unknown before, but all the ſubtle Arts and Projections of Miniſters of State, which thoſe various Windings and Turnings with which Strangers are ſo often perplex'd and confounded in a Court. Here the Diſpoſitions and Aims of ſome great Men, as the Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Eſſex*, &c. are ſo effectually as well as handſomly expos'd, that many of one Party are willing to have the Credit of it call'd in Queſtion, But as it has long ſtood, ſo no doubt but it will continue to ſtand the Teſt againſt all Opponents.

We ſhall ſay nothing further of his Writings, but only obſerve that when the Reader comes to peruſe the whole, he will readily form to himſelf the general Character of an accompliſh'd Gentleman, a penetrating Politician, a wiſe Patriot, and a Learned Man: and if this great Idea ſhou'd really be ſhaded by ſome Touches of *Vanity* and the *Spleen*, he may eaſily conſider that the greateſt and wiſeſt Men have not always been exempt from thoſe very Failings and Imperfections; and that the former might ariſe from ſome peculiar Excellencies in his Character, and the latter from ſome uncommon Provocations of thoſe who differ'd from him either in Politicks or in Learning; and in both perhaps without his being the Aggreſſor.

In the latter Caſe, we think he was too hardly, if not too deſignedly, attack'd firſt by Mr. *Wotton*, and then by Dr. *Bentley*; and that he was treated after too rigid a Manner, and too Scholaſtical and Critical a Way, for a Gentleman of his refin'd Genius and ſuperior Education, and one who was ſo ready to oblige the Publick

in an eaſy, free and beautiful Way of delivering his Thoughts and Sentiments. This a little rais'd his Indignation, and forc'd him to ſay in his Anſwer, 'That the *Criticks* are a Race of Scholars I am 'very little acquainted with; having always eſteem'd them but 'like *Brokers*, who having no Stock of their own, ſet up and 'trade with that of other Men; buying here and ſelling there, 'and commonly abuſing both Sides, to make out a little paltry 'Gain, either of Money or Credit, for themſelves, and care not 'at whoſe Coſt.' Then, after acknowledging the Uſefulneſs of ſuch Perſons at the firſt Reſtoration of Learning, and the Copies of the Ancients, he cou'd but look upon the latter ſort as a degenerate Race, and was provok'd to declare, 'There is, I think, no ſort of 'Talent ſo deſpicable, as that of ſuch common *Criticks*, who can at 'beſt pretend to value themſelves, by diſcovering the *Defaults* of 'other Men, rather than any Worth or Merit of their own: 'A ſort of *Levellers*, that will needs equal the beſt and richeſt 'of the Country, not by improving their own Eſtates, but redu-'cing thoſe of their Neighbours, and making them appear as mean 'and wretched as themſelves.

To ſuch Perſons as theſe, whoſe Genius's are ſufficient to find out Blemiſhes but not to diſcover Beauties, we owe ſeveral notable Reflections and Cenſures upon the moſt ſublime and polite Writers. We are told from ſome of them, that Sir *William Temple* was more a ſuperficial than a ſolid Writer, and that he had more Shew than Learning. If there be any thing of Truth in this, he had certainly the fineſt Way of ſkimming a Subject that we can find in any other Author; and if he had not much Learning, he had the greateſt Appearance of it of any Man; and if he had no Knowledge in Reality, he had ſuch an admirable Knack in counterfeiting of it, as made it as uſeful to the World as true Sterling. The ſhorteſt Way of anſwering ſuch Cenſures, is to challenge them to write better, and more agreeable upon the ſame Subject.

But we will not enter into a Controverſy with thoſe Men, whoſe Heads are ſufficiently fertile in the Diſcovery of Slips and Errors, but not enlarg'd enough to come up to the Beauties and Excellencies of Sir *William Temple*. All that we ſhall add is, that if any Reader, unacquainted with his Works, will be pleas'd to read over any one of his Pieces, we do not doubt but he will meet with ſo much Entertainment and Encouragement, as to cauſe him to read over all the reſt.

After

After a Life of great Variety on one Part, and no leſs Tranquillity on the other, towards the End of the Year 1700, and in the 72d Year of his Age, this eminent Man dy'd at *Moor Park*, near *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where, according to the plain Directions in his Will, his Heart was depoſited in a Silver Box, and bury'd under the Sun-Dial in the Garden, oppoſite to the Window, from whence he us'd to contemplate and admire the glorious Works of Nature, with his beloved Siſter, the ingenious Lady *Giffard*: A Lady, who as ſhe had ſhar'd and reliev'd the Fatigues of his Voyages and Travels during his Publick Negotiations, ſo ſhe was the principal Delight and Comfort of his laſt Retirement and old Age.

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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

United Provinces

OF THE

NETHERLANDS.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, *of* Shene *in the County of* Surry, *Baronet, Ambaſſador at the* Hague, *and at* Aix-la Chapelle, *in the Year* 1668.

LONDON:

Printed for J. TONSON, S. BIRT, and T. OSBORNE.
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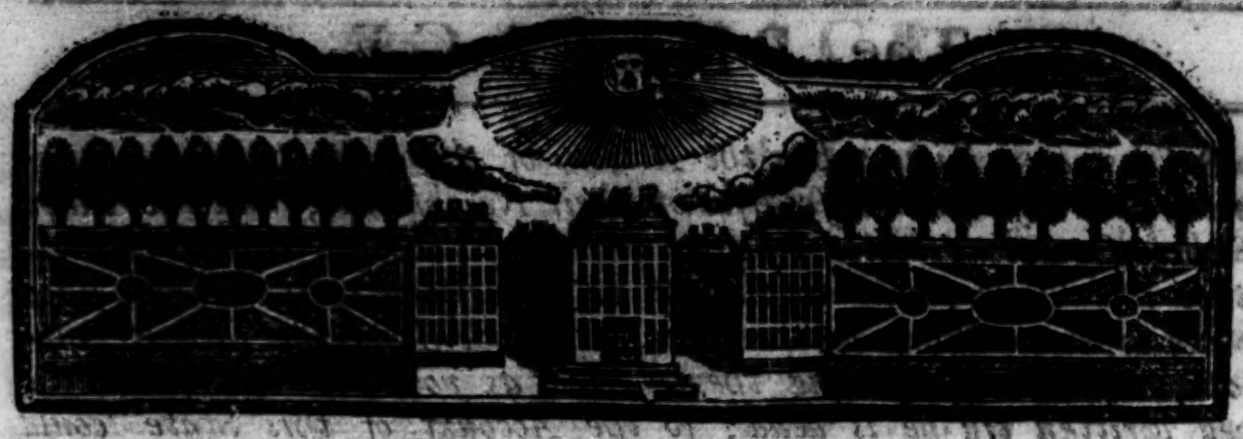
NETHERLANDS:

OR THE

United Provinces

UPON THE

OBSERVATIONS



THE

PREFACE.

HAVING *lately ſeen the State of the* United Provinces, *after a prodigious Growth in Riches, Beauty, Extent of Commerce, and Number of Inhabitants, arriv'd at length to ſuch a Height by the Strength of their Natives, their fortify'd Towns, and ſtanding Forces, with a conſtant Revenue, proportioned to the Support of all this Greatneſs) as made them the Envy of ſome, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours.*

We have, this Summer paſt, beheld the ſame State, in the midſt of great appearing Safety, Order, Strength and Vigour, almoſt ruin'd and broken to pieces, in ſome few Days, and by very few Blows; and reduc'd in a manner to its firſt Principles of Weakneſs, and Diſtreſs; expos'd, oppreſs'd, and very near at Mercy. Their Inland Provinces ſwallowed up by an Invaſion, almoſt as ſudden, and unreſiſted, as the Inundations to which the others are ſubject. And the Remainders of their State rather kept alive by Neglect, or Diſconcert of its Enemies, than by any Strength of Nature, or Endeavours at its own Recovery.

Now, becauſe ſuch a Greatneſs and ſuch a Fall of this State ſeem Revolutions unparallel'd in any Story, and hardly conceiv'd, even by thoſe who have lately ſeen them; I thought it might be worth an idle Man's Time, to give ſome Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of this Common-wealth, The Cauſes of their Greatneſs, And the Steps towards their Fall: Which were all made by Motions, perhaps, little taken Notice of by common Eyes, and almoſt undiſcernible to any Man, that was not placed to the beſt Advantage, and ſomething concern'd, as well as much inclin'd, to obſerve them.

The uſual Duty of Employments abroad, impoſed not only by Cuſtom, but by Orders of State, made it fit for me to prepare ſome formal Account of this Country and Government, after two Years Embaſſy, in the midſt of great Conjunctures and Negotiations among them. And ſuch a Revolution as has ſince happen'd there, though it may have made theſe Diſcourſes little important to his Majeſty, or his Council; yet it will not have render'd them leſs agreeable to common Eyes, who, like Men that live near the Sea, will run out upon the Cliffs to gaze at it in a Storm, though they would not look out of their Windows to ſee it in a Calm.

Beſides, at a Time when the Actions of this Scene take up, ſo generally, the Eyes and Diſcourſes of their Neighbours; and the Maps of their Country grow ſo much in requeſt: I thought a Map of their State and Government would not be unwelcome to the World, ſince it is full as neceſſary as the others, to underſtand the late Revolutions, and Changes among them. And as no Man's Story can be well written till he is dead; ſo the Account of this State could not be well given till its Fall, which may juſtly be Dated from the Events of laſt Summer (whatever Fortunes may further attend them) ſince therein we have ſeen the ſudden and violent Diſſolution of that more popular Government, which had continu'd, and made ſo much Noiſe for above Twenty Years in the World, without the Exercise, or Influence, of the Authority of the Princes of Orange, *a Part ſo Eſſential in the firſt Conſtitutions of their State. Nor can I wholly loſe my Pains in this Adventure, when I ſhall gain the Eaſe of Anſwering this way, at once, thoſe many Queſtions I have lately been uſed to, upon this Occaſion: Which made me firſt obſerve, and wonder, how ignorant we were, generally, in the Affairs and Conſtitutions of a Country, ſo much in our Eye, the common Road of our Travels, as well as Subject of our Talk, and which we have been of late, not only curious but concern'd to know.*

I am very ſenſible, how ill a Trade it is to write, where much is ventur'd, and little can be gain'd; ſince whoever does it ill is ſure of Contempt; and the juſtlieſt that can be, when no Man provokes him to diſcover his own Follies, or to trouble the World: If he writes well, he raiſes the Envy of thoſe Wits that are poſſeſs'd of the Vogue, and are jealous of their Preferment there, as if it were in Love, or in State; and have found, that the neareſt Way to their own Reputation lies, right or wrong, by the Deriſion of other Men. But, however, I am not in Pain, for 'tis the Affectation of Praiſe, that makes the Fear of Reproach, and I write without other Deſign than of entertaining very idle Men, and, among them, my ſelf. For I muſt confeſs, that being wholly uſeleſs to the Publick; and unacquainted with the Cares of encreaſing Riches (which buſie the World) being grown cold to the Pleaſures of younger or livelier Men; and having ended the Entertainments of Building and Planting (which uſe to ſucceed them) finding little Taſte in common Converſation, and Trouble in much Reading, from the Care of my Eyes, (ſince an Illneſs contracted by many unneceſſary Diligences in my Employments abroad) there can hardly be found an idler Man than I; nor conſequently, one more excuſable for giving way to ſuch Amuſements as this: Having nothing to do, but to enjoy the Eaſe of a private Life and Fortune; which, as I know no Man envies, ſo (I thank God) no Man can reproach.

I am not ignorant, that the Vein of Reading never ran lower than in this Age; and ſeldom goes farther than the Deſign of raiſing a Stock to furniſh ſome Calling, or Converſation. The Deſire of Knowledge being either laugh'd out of Doors, by the Wit that pleaſes the Age, or beaten out by Intereſt that ſo much poſſeſſes it: And the Amuſement of Books, giving way to the Liberties or Refinements of Pleaſure, that were formerly leſs known, or leſs avowed, than now.

Yet

Yet ſome there will always be found in the World, who ask no more at their idle Hours, than to forget themſelves. And, whether that be brought about by Drink or Play, by Love or Buſineſs, or by ſome Diverſions, as idle as this, 'tis all a Caſe.

Beſides, it may poſſibly fall out, at one time or other, that ſome Prince, or great Miniſter, may not be ill pleas'd in theſe kind of Memorials (upon ſuch a Subject) to trace the Steps of Trade and Riches, of Order and Power in a State, and thoſe likewiſe of weak, or violent Counſels; of corrupt or ill Conduct; of Faction or Obſtinacy, which decay and diſſolve the firmeſt Governments: That ſo by Reflections upon Foreign Events, they may provide the better and the earlier againſt thoſe at home, and raiſe their own Honour and Happineſs, by equal degrees with the Proſperity and Safety of the Nations they govern.

For, under favour of thoſe who would paſs for Wits in our Age; by ſaying Things, which David *tells us, the Fool ſaid in His: And ſet up with bringing thoſe Wares to Market, which (GOD knows) have been always in the World, though kept up in Corners, becauſe they us'd to mark their Owners, in former Ages, with the Names of* Buffoons, Prophane, *or* Impudent Men; *who deride all Form and Order, as well as Piety and Truth; and, under the Notion of Fopperies, endeavour to diſſolve the very Bonds of all Civil Society; though by the Favour and Protection thereof, they themſelves enjoy ſo much greater Proportions of Wealth, and of Pleaſures, than would fall to their ſhare, if all lay in common, as they ſeem to deſign (for then ſuch Poſſeſſions would belong of right to the ſtrongeſt and braveſt amongſt us.)*

Under favour of ſuch Men, I believe it will be found, at one Time or other, by all who ſhall try, That whilſt human Nature continues what it is, The ſame Orders in State, The ſame Diſcipline in Armies, The ſame Virtues and Diſpoſitions of Princes and Magiſtrates, deriv'd by Intereſt, or Imitation, into the Cuſtoms and Humours of the People, will ever have the ſame Effects upon the Strength and Greatneſs of all Governments, and upon the Honour and Authority of thoſe that Rule, as well as the Happineſs and Safety of thoſe that Obey.

Nor are we to think Princes themſelves Loſers, or leſs entertain'd, when we ſee them employ their Time, and their Thoughts in ſo uſeful Speculations, and to ſo glorious Ends: But that rather thereby they attain their true Prerogative of being Happier, as well as Greater, than Subjects can be. For all the Pleaſures of Senſe, that any Man can enjoy, are within the reach of a private Fortune, and ordinary Contrivance; grow fainter with Age, and duller with Uſe; muſt be revived with Intermiſſions, and wait upon the Returns of Appetite, which are no more at Call of the Rich, than the Poor. The Flaſhes of Wit and good Humour, that riſe from the Vapours of Wine, are little different from thoſe that proceed from the Heats of Blood, in the firſt Approaches of Fevers, or Frenzies; and are to be valued, but as (indeed) they are, the Effects of Diſtemper. But the Pleaſures of Imagination, as they heighten and refine the very Pleaſures of Senſe, ſo they are of larger Extent,

and

and longer Duration. And if the moſt ſenſual Man will confeſs there is a Pleaſure in Pleaſing, he muſt likewiſe allow, there is Good to a Man's ſelf, in doing Good to others: And the further this extends, the higher it riſes, and the longer it laſts. Beſides, there is Beauty in Order; and there are Charms in well deſerved Praiſe: And both are the greater, by how much greater the Subject; As the firſt Appearing in a well framed and well governed State; and the other ariſing from noble and generous Actions. Nor can any Veins of good Humour be greater than thoſe, that ſwell by the Succeſs of wiſe Counſels, and by the fortunate Events of publick Affairs; ſince a Man that takes Pleaſure in doing Good to Ten Thouſand, muſt needs have more, than he that takes none, but in doing Good to himſelf.

But theſe Thoughts lead me too far, and to little purpoſe: Therefore I ſhall leave them for thoſe I had firſt in my Head, concerning the State of the United Provinces.

And whereas the Greatneſs of their Strength and Revenues, grew out of the Vaſtneſs of their Trade, into which their Religion, their Manners and Diſpoſitions, their Situation and the Form of their Government, were the chief Ingredients; and this laſt had been raiſed, partly upon an old Foundation, and partly with Materials brought together by many and various Accidents; it will be neceſſary for the Survey of this great Frame, to give ſome Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of their State by pointing out the moſt remarkable Occaſions of the firſt, and Periods of the other. To diſcover the Nature and Conſtitutions of their Government in its ſeveral Parts, and the Motions of it, from the firſt and ſmalleſt Wheels. To obſerve, what is peculiar to them in their Situation, or Diſpoſitions: And what in their Religion. To take a Survey of their Trade, and the Cauſes of it: Of the Forces and Revenues, which compoſed their Greatneſs: And the Circumſtances, and Conjunctures, which conſpired to their Fall. And theſe are the Heads, that ſhall make the Order and Arguments in the ſeveral Parts of theſe Obſervations.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Riſe and Progreſs of the United Provinces.

WHOEVER will take a View of the Riſe of this Commonwealth, muſt trace it up as high as the firſt Commotions in the *Seven Provinces*, under the Dutcheſs of *Parma*'s Government; and the true Cauſes of that more avowed and general Revolt in the Duke of *Alva*'s Time: And, to find out the Natural Springs of thoſe Revolutions, muſt reflect upon that ſort of Government under which the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces lived for ſo many Ages paſt, in the Subjection of their ſeveral Dukes or Counts, till by Marriages, Succeſſions or Conqueſt, they came to be united in the Houſe of *Burgundy*, under *Philip* Surnamed *The Good*: And afterwards in that of *Auſtria*, under *Philip* Father of *Charles*, in the Perſon of that great Emperor incorporated with thoſe vaſt Dominions of *Germany* and *Spain*, *Italy* and the *Indies*.

Nor will it be from the Purpoſe upon this Search, to run a little higher into the Antiquities of theſe Countries: For though moſt Men are contented only to ſee a River as it runs by them, and talk of the Changes in it, as they happen; when 'tis troubled, or when clear; when it drowns the Country in a Flood, or forſakes it in a Drought: Yet he that would know the Nature of the Water, and the Cauſes of thoſe Accidents (ſo as to gueſs at their Continuance or Return) muſt find out its Source, and obſerve with what Strength it riſes, what Length it runs, and how many ſmall Streams fall in, and feed it to ſuch a Height, as make it either delightful or terrible to the Eye, and uſeful or dangerous to the Country about it.

The Numbers and Fury of the Northern Nations, under many different Names, having by ſeveral Inundations broken down the whole Frame of the *Roman* Empire (extended in their Provinces as far as the *Rhine*) either gave a Birth, or made way for the ſeveral Kingdoms and Principalites, that have ſince continu'd in the Parts of *Europe* on this ſide that River, which made the ancient Limits of the *Gallick* and *German* Nations. The Tract of Land, which we

we uſually call the *Low Countries*, was ſo waſted by the Invaſions or Marches of this raging People (who paſs'd by them to greater Conqueſts) that the Inhabitants grew thin; and being ſecure of nothing they poſſeſs'd, fell to ſeek the Support of their Lives, rather by Hunting, or by Violence, than by Labour and Induſtry; and thereby the Grounds came to be uncultivated, and in the Courſe of Years turned either to Foreſt, or Marſhes; which are the two natural Soils of all deſolated Lands in the more temperate Regions. For by ſoaking of frequent Showers, and the Courſe of Waters from the higher into lower Grounds, when there is no Iſſue that helps them to break out into a Channel, the flat Land grows to be a Mixture of Earth and Water, and neither of common Uſe nor Paſſage to Men or Beaſts, which is call'd a Marſh. The higher, and ſo the drier Parts, moiſten'd by the Rain, and warm'd by the Sun, ſhoot forth ſome ſorts of Plants, as naturally as Bodies do ſome ſort of Hair, which, being preſerv'd by the Deſolateneſs of a Place untrodden, as well as untill'd, grow to ſuch Trees or Shrubs as are natural to the Soil, and thoſe in time producing both Food and Shelter for ſeveral kind of Beaſts, make the ſort of Country we call a *Foreſt*.

And ſuch was *Flanders* for many Years before *Charlemaign*'s Time, when the Power of the *Francs*, having rais'd and eſtabliſh'd a great Kingdom of their own, upon the entire Conqueſt of *Gaul*, began to reduce the Diſorders of that Country to the Form of a Civil, or (at leaſt) Military Government; to make Diviſions and Diſtributions of Lands and Juriſdictions, by the Bounty of the Prince, or the Services of his chief Followers and Commanders: To one of whom a great Extent of this Land was given, with the Title of *Foreſter of Flanders*. This Office continu'd for ſeveral Deſcents, and began to civilize the Country, by repreſſing the Violence of Robbers and Spoilers, who infeſted the Woody and Faſt Places, and by encouraging the milder People to fall into Civil Societies, to truſt to their Induſtry for Subſiſtence, to Laws for Protection, and to their Arms united under the Care and Conduct of their Governors, for Safety and Defence.

In the Time of *Charlemaign*, as ſome write; or, as others, in that of *Charles the Bald*, *Flanders* was erected into a County, which chang'd the Title of *Foreſter* for that of *Count*, without interrupting the Succeſſion.

What the Extent of this County was at firſt, or how far the Juriſdiction of *Foreſters* reach'd, I cannot affirm; nor whether it only border'd upon, or included, the lower Parts of the vaſt Woods of *Ardenne*, which, in *Charlemaign*'s Time, was all Foreſt as high as *Aix*, and the rough Country for ſome Leagues beyond it, and was us'd commonly by that Emperor for his Hunting: This appears by the ancient Records of that City, which attribute the Diſcovery, or, at leaſt, retrieving the Knowledge of thoſe hot Baths, to the Fortune of that Prince, while he was Hunting: For his Horſe poching one of his Legs into ſome hollow Ground, made way for the ſmoaking Water to break out, and gave Occaſion for the Emperor's building that City, and making it his uſual Seat, and the Place of Coronation for the following Emperors.

Holland, being an Iſland made by the dividing Branches of the ancient *Rhine*, and call'd formerly *Batavia*, was eſteem'd rather a Part of *Germany* than *Gaul*, (between which it was ſeated) in regard of its being planted by the *Catti*, a Great and Ancient People of *Germany*, and was treated by the *Romans* rather as an Allied than a ſubjected Province; who drew from thence no other Tribute beſides Bands of Soldiers, much eſteemed for their Valour, and join'd as Auxiliaries to their Legions in their *Gallick*, *German*, and *Britiſh* Wars.

'Tis probable, this Iſland chang'd, in a great meaſure, Inhabitants and Cuſtoms, as well as Names, upon the Inroads of the barbarous Nations, but chiefly of the *Normans* and *Danes*, from whoſe Countries and Language the Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* ſeem to be deriv'd. But about the Year 860, a Son of the Count of *Frize*, by a Daughter of the Emperor *Lewis* the Second, was by him inſtituted Count of *Holland*, and gave Beginning to that Title; which, running ſince that Time through ſo many direct or collateral Succeſſions and ſome Uſurpations, came to an end at laſt in *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, by the Defection of the *United Provinces*.

Under

Under these first *Foresters* and *Counts* (who began to take those wasted Countries and mixed People into their Care, and to intend the Growth, Strength, and Riches of their Subjects, which they esteemed to be their own;) many old and demolish'd Castles were rebuilt, many new ones erected, and given by the Princes to those of their Subjects or Friends, whom they most lov'd or esteem'd, with large Circuits of Lands for their Support, and Seigneurial Jurisdiction over the Inhabitants: And this upon several easie Conditions, but chiefly of Attendance on their Prince at the necessary Times of either honouring him in Peace, or serving him in War. Nay possibly, some of these Seigneuries and their Jurisdictions may, as they pretend, have been the Remains of some old Principalities in those Countries among the *Gallick* and *German* Nations, the first Institutions whereof were lost in the Immensity of Time that preceded the *Roman* Discoveries or Conquest, and might be deriv'd perhaps from the first Paternal Dominion, or Concurrence of loose People into orderly Neighbourhoods, with a Deference, if not Subjection, to the wisest or bravest among them.

Under the same Counts were either founded or restored many Cities and Towns; of which the Old had their ancient Freedoms and Jurisdictions confirmed, or others annexed; and the New had either the same granted to them by example of the others, or great Immunities and Privileges for the Encouragement of Inhabitants to come and people in them: All these Constitutions agreeing much in Substance, perhaps by Imitation, or else by the agreeing Nature of the People, for whom, or by whom, they were framed, but differing in Form according to the Difference of their Original, or the several Natures, Customs and Interests of the Princes, whose Concessions many of them were, and all their Permissions.

Another Constitution, which enter'd deep into their Government, may be deriv'd from another Source. For these *Northern* Nations, whose unknown Language and Countries perhaps made them be call'd *Barbarous* (though indeed almost all Nations out of *Italy* and *Greece* were stil'd so by the *Romans*) but whose Victories in obtaining new Seats, and Orders in possessing them, might make us allow them for a better policy'd People, than they appear'd by the Vastness of their Multitude, or the Rage of their Battels.

Where-ever they pass'd, and seated their Colonies and Dominions, they left a Constitution which has since been called, in most *European* Languages, *The States*; consisting of three Orders, *Noble*, *Ecclesiastical*, and *Popular*, under the limited Principality of one Person, with the Stile of *King*, *Prince*, *Duke*, or *Count*. The Remainders, at least, or Traces hereof, appear still in all the Principalities founded by those People in *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*; and were of a piece with the present Constitutions in most of the great Dominions on t'other side of the *Rhine*: And it seems to have been a Temper first introduc'd by them between the Tyranny of the Eastern Kingdoms, and the Liberty of the *Grecian* or *Roman* Commonwealths.

'Tis true, the *Goths* were *Gentiles* when they first broke into the *Roman* Empire, till one great Swarm of this People, upon Treaty with one of the *Roman* Emperors, and upon Concessions of a great Tract of Land to be a Seat for their Nation, embraced at once the Christian Faith. After which, the same People breaking out of the Limits that had been allow'd them, and by fresh Numbers bearing all down where they bent their March; as they were a great means for propagating Religion in many Parts of *Europe* where they extended their Conquests: so the Zeal of these new Proselytes, warmed by the Veneration they had for their Bishops and Pastors, and enrich'd by the Spoils and Possessions of so vast Countries, seem to have been the First that introduced the Maintenance of the Churches and Clergy, by Endowments of Lands, Lordships, and Vassals, appropriated to them: For before this Time the Authority of the Priesthood in all Religions seem'd wholly to consist in the People's Opinion of their Piety, Learning, or Virtues, or a Reverence for their Character and Mystical Ceremonies and Institutions; their Support, or their Revenues, in the voluntary Oblations of pious Men, the Bounty of Princes, or in a certain Share out of the Labours and Gains of those who liv'd

under their Cure, and not in any Subjection of Mens Lives or Fortunes, which belong'd wholly to the Civil Power: And *Ammianus*, though he taxes the Luxury of the Biſhops in *Valentinian*'s Time, yet he ſpeaks of their Riches, which occaſioned or fomented it, as ariſing wholly from the Oblations of the People. But the Devotion of theſe new Chriſtians introducing this new Form of endowing their Churches; and afterwards *Pepin* and *Charlemaign*, Kings of the *Franci*, upon their Victories in *Italy*, and the Favour of the *Roman* Biſhop to their Title and Arms, having annexed great Territories and Juriſdictions to that See: This Example, or Cuſtom, was followed by moſt Princes of the Northern Races through the reſt of *Europe*, and brought into the Clergy great Poſſeſſions of Lands, and by a neceſſary Conſequence a great Share of temporal Power, from the Dependences of their Subjects or Tenants; by which Means they came to be generally one of the Three Orders that compos'd the Aſſembly of the States in every Country.

This Conſtitution of the States had been eſtabliſh'd from Time immemorial in the ſeveral Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, and was often aſſembled for determining Diſputes about Succeſſion of their Princes, where doubtful or conteſted; for deciding thoſe between the great Towns; for raiſing a Milice for the Defence of their Countries in the Wars of their Neighbours; for Advice in Time of Dangers abroad, or Diſcontents at home; but always upon the new Succeſſion of a Prince, and upon any new Impoſitions that were neceſſary on the People. The Uſe of this Aſſembly was another of thoſe Liberties, whereof the Inhabitants of theſe Provinces were ſo fond and ſo tenacious. The reſt, beſides thoſe ancient Privileges already mentioned of their Towns, were Conceſſions and Graces of ſeveral Princes; in particular, Exemptions or Immunities, Juriſdiction both in Choice and Exerciſe of Magiſtracy and Civil Judicature within themſelves; or elſe in the Cuſtoms of uſing none but Natives in Charges and Offices, and paſſing all weighty Affairs by the great Council compoſed of the great Lords of the Country, who were in a manner all Temporal, there being but three Biſhops in all the Seventeen Provinces, till the Time of *Philip* the Second of *Spain*.

The Revenues of theſe Princes conſiſted in their ancient Demeſnes, in ſmall Cuſtoms (which yet grew conſiderable by the Greatneſs of Trade in the Maritime Towns) and in the voluntary Contributions of their Subjects, either in the States or in particular Cities, according to the Neceſſities of their Prince, or the Affections of the People. Nor were theſe frequent, for the Forces of theſe Counts were compos'd of ſuch Lords, who either by their Governments, or other Offices, or by the Tenure of their Lands, were oblig'd to attend their Prince on Horſe-back, with certain Numbers of Men, upon all his Wars: Or elſe of a Milice, which was call'd *Les gens d'Ordonnance*, who ſerved on foot, and were not unlike our Train-bands; the Uſe, or at leaſt Stile whereof, was renew'd in *Flanders* upon the laſt War with *France* in 1667, when the Count *Egmont* was made by the Governor, General *de gens d'Ordonnance*.

Theſe Forces were defray'd by the Cities or Countries, as the others were raiſed by the Lords when Occaſion required; and all were licenſed immediately when it was paſt, ſo that they were of little Charge to the Prince. His Wars were but with other Princes of his own Size, or Competitors to his Principality; or ſometimes with the Mutinies of his great Towns; ſhort, though violent; and decided by one Battle or Siege; unleſs they fell into the Quarrels between *England* and *France*, and then they were engaged but in the Skirts of the War, the Groſs of it being waged between the two Kings, and theſe ſmaller Princes made uſe of for the Credit of Alliance, or ſometimes the Commodiouſneſs of a Diverſion, rather than for any great Weight they made in the Main of the Affair.

The moſt frequent Wars of the Counts of *Holland* were with the *Frizons*, a Part of the old *Saxons*; and the fierceſt Battles of ſome of the Counts of *Flanders* were with the *Normans*, who paſs'd that Way into *France*, and were the laſt of thoſe Nations that have infeſted the more Southern Parts of *Europe*. I have ſometimes thought, how it ſhould have come to paſs, that the infinite

Swarm

Swarm of that vaſt Northern-Hive, which ſo often ſhook the World like a great Tempeſt, and overflow'd it like a Torrent; changing Names, and Cuſtoms, and Government, and Language, and the very Face of Nature, wherever they ſeated themſelves; which upon Record of Story, under the Name of *Gauls*, pierced into *Greece* and *Italy*, ſacking *Rome*, and beſieging the Capitol in *Camillus* his Time; under that of the *Cimbers*, march'd through *France*, to the very Confines of *Italy*, defended by *Marius*; under that of *Hunns* or *Lombards*, *Viſigoths*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, conquered the whole Forces of the *Roman* Empire, ſackt *Rome* thrice in a ſmall Compaſs of Years, ſeated three Kingdoms in *Spain* and *Africk*, as well as *Lombardy*; and under that of *Danes* or *Normans*, poſſeſs'd themſelves of *England*, a great part of *France*, and even of *Naples* and *Sicily*: How (I ſay) theſe Nations, which ſeem'd to ſpawn in every Age, and at ſome Intervals of Time diſcharged their own native Countries of ſo vaſt Numbers, and with ſuch Terror to the World, ſhould, about ſeven or eight hundred Years ago, leave off the Uſe of theſe furious Expeditions, as if on a ſudden they ſhould have grown barren, or tame, or better contented with their own ill Climates. But I ſuppoſe, we owe this Benefit wholly to the Growth and Progreſs of Chriſtianity in the North, by which early and undiſtinguiſh'd Copulation, or multitude of Wives, were either reſtrain'd or abrogated: By the ſame means Learning and Civility got footing among them in ſome degree, and encloſed certain Circuits of thoſe vaſt Regions, by the Diſtinctions and Bounds of Kingdoms, Principalities, or Commonalties. Men began to leave their wilder Lives, ſpent without other Cares or Pleaſures, than of Food, or of Luſt; and betook themſelves to the Eaſe and Entertainment of Societies: With Order and Labour, Riches began, and Trade follow'd; and theſe made way for Luxury, and that for many Diſeaſes or ill Habits of Body, which, unknown to the former and ſimpler Ages, began to ſhorten and weaken both Life and Procreation. Beſides, the Diviſions and Circles of Dominion occaſion'd Wars between the ſeveral Nations, though of one Faith: and thoſe of the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and *Muſcovites*, with the *Turks* or *Tartars*, made greater Slaughters; and by theſe Accidents I ſuppoſe the Numbers of thoſe fertile Broods have been leſſen'd, and their Limits in a meaſure confin'd; and we have had thereby, for ſo long together in theſe Parts of the World, the Honour and Liberty of drawing our own Blood, upon the Quarrels of Humour or Avarice, Ambition or Pride, without the Aſſiſtance, or Need, or any barbarous Nations to deſtroy us.

But to end this Digreſſion, and return to the *Low-Countries*, where the Government laſted, in the form and manner deſcribed (though in ſeveral Principalities) till *Philip* of *Burgundy*, in whom all the Seventeen Provinces came to be united.

By this great Extent of a populous Country, and the mighty Growth of Trade in *Bruges*, *Gant*, and *Antwerp* (attributed by *Comines* to the Goodneſs of the Princes, and Eaſe and Safety of the People) both *Philip*, and his Son *Charles the Hardy*, found themſelves a Match for *France*, then much weaken'd, as well by the late Wars with *England*, as the Factions with the Princes. And in the Wars of *France*, was the Houſe of *Burgundy*, under *Charles* and *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* (who married his Daughter and Heir) and afterwards under *Charles* the Fifth, their Grand-child, almoſt conſtantly engag'd; the Courſe, Succeſſes, and Revolutions whereof are commonly known.

Philip of *Burgundy*, who began them, was a good and wiſe Prince, lov'd by his Subjects, and eſteem'd by his Enemies; and took his Meaſures ſo well, that upon the Declining of the *Engliſh* Greatneſs abroad, by their Diſſenſions at home, he ended his Quarrels in *France*, by a Peace, with Safety and Honour; ſo that he took no Pretence from his Greatneſs, or his Wars, or change any thing in the Forms of his Government: But *Charles the Hardy*, engaged more raſhly againſt *France* and the *Switzers*, began to aſk greater and frequent Contributions of his Subjects; which, gain'd at firſt by the Credit of his Father's Government and his own great Deſigns, but ſpent in an unfor-

tunate War, made his People diſcontented, and him diſeſteemed, till he ended an unhappy Life, by an untimely Death, in the Battle of *Nancy*.

In the Time of *Maximilian*, ſeveral *German* Troops were brought down into *Flanders*, for their Defence againſt *France*; and in that of *Charles* the Fifth, much greater Forces of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, upon the ſame occaſion; a Thing unknown to the *Low-country-men* in the Time of their former Princes. But through the whole Courſe of this Emperor's Reign, who was commonly on the fortunate hand, his Greatneſs and Fame encreaſing together, either diverted or ſuppreſſed any Diſcontents of his Subjects upon the Increaſe of their Payments, or the Grievance of ſo many Foreign Troops among them. Beſides, *Charles* was of a gentle and a generous Nature; and, being born in the *Low-Countries*, was naturally kind and eaſie to that People, whoſe Cuſtoms and Language he always uſed when he was among them, and employed all their great Men in the Charges of his Court, his Government, or his Armies, through the ſeveral Parts of his vaſt Dominions; ſo that upon the laſt great Action of his Life, which was the Reſignation of his Crowns to his Son and Brother, he left to *Philip* the Second the Seventeen Provinces, in a Condition as peaceable, and as loyal, as either Prince or Subjects could deſire.

Philip the Second, coming to the Poſſeſſion of ſo many and great Dominions, about the Year 1556, after ſome Tryal of good and ill Fortune in the War with *France* (which was left him by his Father, like an Encumbrance upon a great Eſtate) reſtor'd, by the Peace of *Cambray*, not only the Quiet of his own Countries, but in a manner of all Chriſtendom, which was in ſome degree or other engag'd in the Quarrel of theſe Princes. After this, he reſolv'd to return into *Spain*, and leave the *Low-Countries* under a ſubordinate Government, which had been till *Charles* the Fifth's Time the conſtant Seat of their Princes, and ſhar'd the Preſence of that great Emperor with the reſt of his Dominions. But *Philip*, a *Spaniard* born, retaining, from the Climate or Education of that Country, the Severeneſs and Gravity of the Nation, which the *Flemings* call'd Reſervedneſs and Pride; conferring the Offices of his Houſe, and the Honour of his Council and Confidence, upon *Spaniards*, and thereby introducing their Cuſtoms, Habits, and Language into the Court of *Flanders*; continuing, after the Peace, thoſe *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Forces, and the Demand of Supplies from the States which the War had made neceſſary, and the eaſier ſupported; He ſoon left off being lov'd, and began to be fear'd by the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces.

But *Philip* the Second thought it not agreeing with the Pomp and Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, already at the Head of ſo mighty Dominions; nor with his Deſigns of a yet greater Empire, to conſider the Diſcontents or Grievances of ſo ſmall a Country; nor to be limited by their ancient Forms of Government: And therefore, at his Departure from *Spain*, and Subſtitution of his Natural Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Parma* for Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, aſſiſted by the Miniſtry of *Granvell*, he left her inſtructed to continue the Foreign Troops, and the Demand of Money from the States for their Support, which was now by a long Courſe of War grown cuſtomary among them, and the Sums only diſputed between the Prince and the States: To eſtabliſh the fourteen Biſhops, he had agreed with the Pope, ſhould be added to the three, that were anciently in the *Low-Countries*: To revive the Edicts of *Charles* the Fifth againſt *Luther*, publiſh'd in a Diet of the Empire about the Year 1550, but eluded in the *Low-Countries*, even in that Empire's Time; and thereby to make way with the Inquiſition with the ſame Courſe it had received in *Spain*; of which the *Lutherans* here, and the *Moors* there, were made an equal Pretence. And theſe Points, as they came to be owned and executed, made the firſt Commotions of Mens Minds in the Provinces.

The Hatred of the People againſt the *Spaniards*, and the Inſolencies of thoſe Troops, with the Charge of their Support, made them look'd upon by the Inhabitants in general, as the Inſtruments of their Oppreſſion and Slavery, and not of their Defence, when a general Peace had left them no Enemies: And therefore the States began here their Complaints, with a general Conſent and Paſſion of all the Nobles, as well as Towns and Country. And upon the

the Delays that were contriv'd, or fell in, the States first refused to raise any more Monies, either for the *Spaniſh* Pay, or their own ſtanding Troops; and the People fell into ſo great Deſpair, that in *Zealand* they abſolutely gave over the working at their Digues, ſuffering the Sea to gain every Tide upon the Country; and reſolving (as they ſaid) rather to be devoured by that Element, than by the *Spaniſh* Soldiers: So that after many Diſputes and Intrigues, between the Governeſs and the Provinces, the King, upon her Remonſtrances, was induced to their Removal; which was accordingly performed with great Joy and Applauſe of the People.

The erecting of Fourteen new Biſhops Sees raiſed the next Conteſt. The great Lords look'd upon this Innovation as a leſſening of their Power, by introducing ſo many new Men into the Great Council. The Abbots (out of whoſe Lands they were to be endow'd) pleaded againſt it, as a violent Uſurpation upon the Rites of the Church, and the Will of the Dead, who had given thoſe Lands to a particular Uſe. The Commons murmured at it, as a new degree of Oppreſſion upon their Conſcience or Liberty, by the erecting ſo many new Spiritual Courts of Judicature, and ſo great a Number of Judges, being Seventeen for Three, that were before in the Country; and thoſe depending abſolutely upon the Pope, or the King. And all Men declaimed againſt it, as a Breach of the King's Oath at his Acceſſion to the Government, for the preſerving the Church and the Laws in the ſame State he found them. However this Point was gain'd entirely by the Governeſs, and carry'd over the head of all Oppoſition, tho' not without leaving a general Diſcontent.

In the midſt of theſe ill Humours ſtirring in *Flanders*, the Wars of Religion breaking out in *France*, drove great Numbers of *Calviniſts* into all thoſe Parts of the *Low-Countries* that confine upon *France*, as the Troubles of *Germany* had before of *Lutherans* into the *Provinces* about the *Rhine*; and the Proſecutions under Queen *Mary*, thoſe of the Church of *England* into *Flanders* and *Brabant*, by the great Commerce of this Kingdom with *Bruges* and *Antwerp*.

Theſe Accidents and Neighbourhoods fill'd theſe Countries, in a ſmall Tract of Time, with Swarms of the reformed Profeſſors: And the Admiration of their Zeal, the Opinion of their Doctrine and Piety, the Compaſſion of their Sufferings, the Infuſion of their Diſcontents, or the Humour of the Age, gain'd them every Day many Proſelytes in the *Low-Countries*, ſome among the Nobles, many among the Villages, but moſt among the Cities, whoſe Trade and Riches were much encreaſed by theſe new Inhabitants; and whoſe Intereſt thereby, as well as Converſation, drew them on to their Favour.

This made Work for the *Inquiſition*, though moderately exerciſed by the Prudence and Temper of the Governeſs, mediating between the Rigor of *Granvell*, who ſtrain'd up to the higheſt his Maſter's Authority, and the Execution of his Commands upon all Occaſions; and Reſolutenes of the Lords of the Provinces, to temper the Edicts, and protect the Liberties of their Country againſt the Admiſſion of this New and Arbitrary Judicature, unknown to all ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of the Country; and for that, not leſs odious to the People, than for the Cruelty of their Executions. For before the *Inquiſition*, the Care of Religion was in the Biſhops; and before that, in the Civil Magiſtrates throughout the Provinces.

Upon angry Debates in Council, but chiefly upon the univerſal Miniſtry of *Granvell*, a *Burgundian* of mean Birth, grown at laſt to a Cardinal, and more famous for the Greatneſs of his Parts, than the Goodneſs of his Life; the chief Lords of the Country (among whom the Prince of *Orange*, Counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Marquels of *Bergben* and *Montigny*, were moſt conſiderable) grew to ſo violent and implacable an Hatred of the Cardinal (whether from Paſſion or Intereſt) which was ſo univerſally ſpread through the whole Body of the People, either by the Cauſes of it, or the Example, that the Lords firſt refuſed their Attendance in Council, proteſting, *Not to endure the Sight of a Man ſo abſolute there, and to the Ruin of their Country*: And afterwards Petitioned the King, in the Name of the whole Country, for his

Removal: Upon the Delay whereof, and the Continuance of the Inquisition, the People appeared, upon daily Occasions and Accidents, heated to that degree, as threaten'd a general Combustion in the whole Body, whenever the least Flame should break out in any Part.

But the King at length consented to *Granvell*'s Recess, by the Opinion of the Dutchess of *Parma*, as well as the Pursuit of the Provinces: Whereupon the Lords reassum'd their Places in Council; Count *Egmont* was sent into *Spain* to represent the Grievances of the Princes; and being favourably dispatched by the King, especially by remitting the Rigour of the Edicts about Religion, and the Inquisition, all Noise of Discontent and Tumult was appeased, the Lords were made use of by the Governess in the Council, and Conduct of Affairs; and the Governess was by the Lords both obeyed and honoured.

In the beginning of the Year 1565, there was a Conference at *Bayonne* between *Katharine* Queen-Mother of *France* and her Son *Charles* the Ninth (though very young) with his Sister *Isabella* Queen of *Spain*: In which no other Person but the Duke of *Alva* interven'd, being deputed thither by *Philip*, who excus'd his own Presence, and thereby made this Interview pass for an Effect or Expression of Kindness between the Mother and her Children. Whether great Resolutions are the more suspected, where great Secresie is observed; or if it be true, what the Prince of *Orange* affirm'd to have by accident discover'd, That the Extirpation of all Families which should profess the New Religion in the *French* or *Spanish* Dominions, was here agreed on, with mutual Assistance of the Two Crowns: 'Tis certain, and was owned, that Matters of Religion were the Subject of that Conference; and that soon after, in the same Year, came Letters from King *Philip* to the Dutchess of *Parma*, disclaiming the Interpretation which had been given to his Letters by Count *Egmont*, declaring, His Pleasure was, That all Hereticks should be put to Death without Remission; That the Emperor's Edicts, and the Council of *Trent*, should be published and observed; and commanding, That the utmost Assistance of the Civil Power should be given to the *Inquisition*.

When this was divulg'd, at first the Astonishment was great throughout their Provinces; but that soon gave way to their Rage, which began to appear in their Looks, in their Speeches, their bold Meetings and Libels; and was encreased by the miserable Spectacles of so many Executions upon account of Religion. The Constancy of the Sufferers, and Compassion of the Beholders, conspiring generally to lessen the Opinion of Guilt or Crime, and heighten a Detestation of the Punishment and Desire of Revenge, against the Authors of that Counsel, of whom the Duke of *Alva* was esteemed the Chief.

In the beginning of the Year 1566 began an open Mutiny of the Citizens in many Towns, hindering Executions, and forcing Prisons and Officers; and this was followed by a Confederacy of the Lords, Never to suffer the *Inquisition* in the *Low-Countries*, as contrary to all Laws, both sacred and prophane, and exceeding the Cruelty of all former Tyrannies; upon which, all Resolutions of Force or Rigor grew unsafe for the Government, now too weak for such a Revolution of the People; and on the other side, *Brederode*, in confidence of the general Favour, came at the Head of two hundred Gentlemen, thorough the Provinces, to *Brussels*, and in bold Terms petition'd the Governess for abolishing the *Inquisition*, and Edicts about Religion; and that new ones should be fram'd by a Convention of the States.

The Governess was forc'd to use the gentle Remedies to so violent a Disease; to receive the Petition without shew of the Resentment she had at Heart, and to promise a Representation of their Desires to the King; which was accordingly done: But though the King was startled with such Consequences of his last Commands, and at length induced to recall them; yet, whether by the Slowness of his Nature, or the Forms of the *Spanish* Court, the Answer came too late: And as all his former Concessions, either by Delay, or Testimonies of Ill-will or Meaning in them, had lost the good Grace; so this lost absolutely the Effect, and came into the *Low-Countries* when all was

in flame, by an Insurrection of the meaner People through many great Towns of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Utrecht*; who fell violently upon the Spoil of Churches, and Destruction of Images, with a thousand Circumstances of barbarous and brutish Fury; Which, with the Institution of Consistories and Magistrates in each Town among those of the reformed Profession, with publick Confederacies and Distinctions, and private Contributions agreed upon for the Support of their common Cause, gave the first Date in this Year of 1566 to the Revolt of the *Low-Countries*.

But the Nobility of the Country, and the richest of the People in the Cities, though unsatisfy'd with the Government, yet feeling the Effects, and abhorring the Rage, of popular Tumults, as the worst Mischief that can befall any State; and encourag'd by the Arrival of the King's Concessions, began to unite their Councils and Forces with those of the Governess, and to employ themselves both with great Vigor and Loyalty, for suppressing the late Insurrections, that had seiz'd upon many, and shak'd most of the Cities of the Provinces; in which the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* were great Instruments, by the Authority of their great Charges (one being Governor of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and the other of *Flanders*;) but more by the general Love and Confidence of the People; till by the reducing *Valenciens*, *Maestricht*, and the *Burse*, by Arms; the Submission of *Antwerp* and other Towns; the Defection of Count *Egmont* from the Councils of the Confederate Lords (as they were call'd;) the Retreat of the Prince of *Orange* into *Germany*; and the Death of *Brederode*; with the News and Preparations of King *Philip*'s sudden Journey into the *Low-Countries*, as well as the Prudence and Moderation of the Dutchess, in governing all these Circumstances; the whole Estate of the Provinces was perfectly restor'd to its former Peace, Obedience, and, at least, Appearance of Loyalty.

King *Philip*, whether having never really decreed his Journey into *Flanders*, or diverted by the Pacification of the Provinces, and Apprehension of the *Moors* rebelling in *Spain*, or a Distrust of his Son Prince *Charles* his violent Passions and Dispositions, or the Expectation of what had been resolved at *Bayonne* growing ripe for Execution in *France*, gave over the Discourse of seeing the *Low-Countries*; but at the same time took up the Resolution for dispatching the Duke of *Alva* thither at the Head of an Army of ten thousand Veteran *Spanish* and *Italian* Troops, for the Assistance of the Governess, the Execution of the Laws, the Suppressing and Punishment of all who had been Authors or Fomenters of the late Seditions.

This Result was put suddenly in Execution, though wholly against the Advice of the Duchess of *Parma* in *Flanders*, and the Duke of *Feria* (one of the chief Ministers) in *Spain*: Who thought, the present Peace of the Provinces ought not to be invaded by new Occasions; nor the Royal Authority lessened, by being made a Party in a War upon his Subjects; nor a Minister employed, where he was so professedly both hating, and hated, as the Duke of *Alva* in the *Low-Countries*.

But the King was unmoveable; so that in the end of the Year 1567, the Duke of *Alva* arriv'd there with an Army of ten thousand, the best *Spanish* and *Italian* Soldiers, under the Command of the choicest Officers, which the Wars of *Charles* the Fifth, or *Philip* the Second, had bred up in *Europe*; which, with two thousand *Germans* the Dutchess of *Parma* had rais'd in the last Tumults, and under the Command of so Old and Renowned a General as the Duke of *Alva*, made up a Force, which nothing in the *Low-Countries* could look in the face with other Eyes, than of Astonishment, Submission, or Despair.

Upon the first Report of this Expedition, the Trading People of the Towns and Country began in vast Numbers to retire out of the Provinces; so as the Dutchess wrote to the King, That, in few days, above a hundred thousand Men had left the Country, and withdrawn both their Money and Goods, and more were following every Day: So great Antipathy there ever appears between Merchants and Soldiers; whilst one pretends to be safe under

Laws,

Laws, which the other pretends ſhall be ſubject to his Sword, and his Will. And upon the firſt Action of the Duke of *Alva* after his Arrival, which was the ſeizing Count *Egmont* and *Horn*, as well as the ſuſpected Death of the Marqueſs of *Berghen*, and Impriſonment of *Montigny* in *Spain* (whither, ſome Months before, they had been ſent with Commiſſion and Inſtructions from the Dutcheſs) ſhe immediately deſired leave of the King to retire out of the *Low-Countries*.

This was eaſily obtained, and the Duke of *Alva* inveſted in the Government, with Powers never given before to any Governor: A Council of Twelve was erected for Tryal of all Crimes committed againſt the King's Authority, which was called by the People, *The Council of Blood*. Great Numbers were condemned and executed by Sentence of this Council, upon account of the late Inſurrections. More by that of the *Inquiſition*, againſt the Parting-advice of the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, and the Exclamation of the People at thoſe illegal Courts. The Towns ſtomached the Breach of their Charters, the People of their Liberties, the Knights of the Golden-Fleece the Charters of their Order, by theſe new and odious Courts of Judicature: All complain of the Diſuſe of the States, of the Introduction of Armies, but all in vain: The King was conſtant to what he had determined; *Alva* was in his Nature cruel and inexorable; the new Army was fierce and brave, and deſirous of nothing ſo much as a Rebellion in the Country: The People were enraged, but awed and unheaded: All was Seizure and Proceſs, Confiſcation and Impriſonment, Blood and Horror, Inſolence and Dejection, Puniſhments executed, and meditated Revenge: The ſmaller Branches were lopt off apace; the great ones were longer a hewing down. Count *Egmont* and *Horn* laſted ſeveral Months; but, at length, in ſpight of all their Services to *Charles* the Fifth, and to *Philip*, as well as of their new Merits in quieting of the Provinces, and of ſo great Supplications and Interceſſions as were made in their Favour, both in *Spain* and in *Flanders*, they were publickly beheaded at *Bruſſels*, which ſeemed to break all Patience in the People; and, by their End, to give thoſe Commotions a Beginning, which coſt *Europe* ſo much Blood, and *Spain* a great part of the *Low-Country* Provinces.

After the Proceſs of *Egmont* and *Horn*, the Prince of *Orange*, who was retir'd into *Germany*, was ſummoned to his Tryal for the ſame Crimes, of which the others had been accuſed; and, upon his not appearing, was condemned, proclaimed Traitor, and his whole Eſtate (which was very great in the Provinces, and in *Burgundy*) ſeized upon, as forfeited to the King. The Prince, treated in this manner, while he was quiet and unarmed in *Germany*, employs all his Credit with thoſe Provinces engaged to him by Alliance, or by common Fears of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, throws off all Obedience to the Duke of *Alva*, raiſes Forces, joins with great numbers flocking to him out of the Provinces; all enrag'd at the Duke of *Alva*'s cruel and arbitrary Government, and reſolv'd to revenge the Count *Egmone*'s Death (who had ever been the Darling of the People.) With theſe Troops he enters *Friezland*, and invades the outward Parts of *Brabant*, receives Succours from the Proteſtants of *France*, then in Arms under the Prince of *Conde*: And after many various Encounters and Succeſſes, by the great Conduct of *Alva*, and Valour of his Veteran Army, being hinder'd from ſeizing upon any Town in *Brabant* (which both of them knew would ſhake the Fidelity of the Provinces) he is at length forc'd to break up his Army, and to retire into *Germany*. Hereupon, *Alva* returns in Triumph to *Bruſſels*; and as if he had made a Conqueſt, inſtead of a Defence, cauſes, out of the Cannon taken from *Lewis* of *Naſſau*, his Statue to be caſt in Braſs, treading and inſulting upon two ſmaller Statues, that repreſented the two Eſtates of the *Low Countries*: And this to be erected in the Cittadel he had built at *Antwerp*, for the abſolute ſubjecting of that rich, populous, and mutinous Town.

Nothing had raiſed greater Indignation among the *Flemings*, than the publick Sight and Oſtentation of this Statue; and the more, becauſe they knew the Boaſt to be true, finding their ancient Liberties and Privileges (the Inheritance of ſo many Ages, or Bounty of ſo many Princes) all now proſtrate before

fore this one Man's Sword and Will, who from the Time of *Charles* the Fifth had ever been eſteemed an Enemy of their Nation, and Author of all the Counſels for the abſolute ſubduing their Country.

But *Alva*, mov'd with no Rumors, terrified with no Threats from a broken and unarmed People, and thinking no Meaſures nor Forms were any more neceſſary to be obſerved in the *Low-Countries*, pretends greater Sums are neceſſary for the Pay and Reward of his Victorious Troops, than were annually granted upon the King's Requeſt, by the States of the Provinces: And therefore demands a general Tax of the Hundredth part of every Man's Eſtate in the *Low-Countries*, to be raiſed at once: And for the future, the Twentieth of all Immoveables, and the Tenth of all that was Sold.

The States, with much Reluctancy, conſent to the firſt, as a Thing that ended at once; but refuſed the other two, alledging the Poverty of the Provinces, and the Ruin of Trade. Upon the Duke's perſiſting, they petition the King by Meſſengers into *Spain*, but without Redreſs; draw out the Year in Conteſts, ſometimes ſtomachful, ſometimes humble, with the Governor; till the Duke, impatient of further Delay, cauſes the Edict, without Conſent of the States, to be publiſhed at *Bruſſels*. The People refuſe to pay, the Soldiers begin to levy by Force; the Townſmen all ſhut up their Shops; the People in the Country forbear the Market, ſo as not ſo much as Bread or Meat is to be bought in the Town. The Duke is enraged, and calls the Soldiers to Arms, and commands ſeveral of the Inhabitants, who refuſed the Payments, to be hanged that very Night upon their Sign-poſts; which nothing moves the Obſtinacy of the People: And now the Officers of the Guards are ready to begin the Executions, when News comes to Town of the taking of the *Briel* by the *Gueſes*, and of the Expectation that had been given of ſudden Revolt in the Province of *Holland*.

This unexpected Blow ſtruck the Duke of *Alva*; and foreſeeing the Conſequences of it, becauſe he knew the Stubble was dry, and now he found the Fire was fallen in, he thought it an ill Time to make an end of the Tragedy in *Brabant*, whilſt a new Scene was opened in *Holland*; and ſo, giving over for the preſent his Taxes and Executions, applies his Thoughts to the Suppreſſion of this new Enemy, that broke in upon him from the Sea; and for that reaſon, the Bottom and Reach of the Deſign, as well as the Nature and Strength of their Forces, were to the Duke the leſs known, and the more ſuſpected. Now becauſe this Seiſure of the *Briel* began the ſecond great Commotion of the *Low-Countries*, in 1570, and that which indeed never ended, but in the Loſs of thoſe Provinces, where the Death of the *Spaniſh* and Royal Government gave Life to a new Commonwealth; it will be neceſſary to know what ſort of Men, and by what Accidents united, and by what Fears or Hopes emboldened, were the firſt Authors of this Adventure.

Upon *Brederode*'s delivering a Petition to the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, againſt the *Inquiſition*, and for ſome Liberty in Point of Religion; thoſe Perſons, which attended him, looking mean in their Cloaths and their Garb, were called by one of their Courtiers, at the Entrance into their Palace, *Gueſes*, which ſignifies *Beggars*; a Name, though rais'd by Chance, or by Scorn, yet affected by the Party, as an Expreſſion of Humility and Diſtreſs, and us'd ever after by both Sides, as a Name of Diſtinction, comprehending all, who diſſented from the *Roman* Church, how different ſoever in Opinion among themſelves.

Theſe Men, ſpread in great Numbers through the whole Extent of the Provinces, by the Accidents and Diſpoſitions already mention'd, after the appeaſing of their firſt Sedition, were broken in their common Counſels; and by the Cruelty of the Inquiſition, and Rigour of *Alva*, were in great multitudes forced to retire out of the Provinces, at leaſt ſuch as had means or hopes of ſubſiſting abroad: Many of the poorer and more deſperate fled into the Woods of the upper Countries (where they are thick and wild) and liv'd upon Spoil; and, in the firſt Deſcent of the Prince of *Orange* his Forces, did great Miſchiefs to all ſcatter'd Parties of the Duke of *Alva*'s Troops in their March through thoſe Parts. But after that Attempt of the Prince

ended without Succeſs, and he was forced back into *Germany*; the Count of *Marcke*, a violent and implacable Enemy to the Duke of *Alva* and his Government, with many others of the broken Troops (whom the ſame Fortune and Diſpoſition had left together in *Friezland*) man'd out ſome Ships of ſmall Force, and betook themſelves to Sea; and, with Commiſſions from the Prince of *Orange*, began to prey upon all they could maſter that belonged to the *Spaniards*. They ſometimes ſheltered and watered, and ſold their Prizes in ſome Creeks or ſmall Harbours of *England*, though forbidden by Queen *Elizabeth* (then in Peace with *Spain*) ſometimes in the River *Ems*, or ſome ſmall Ports of *Friezland*; till at length having gain'd conſiderable Riches by theſe Adventures, whether to ſell, or to refreſh, whether driven by Storm, or led by Deſign (upon knowledge of the ill Blood which the new Taxes had bred in all the Provinces) they landed in the Iſland of the *Briel*, aſſaulted and carried the Town, pull'd down the Images in the Churches, profeſſed openly their Religion, declared againſt the Taxes and Tyranny of the *Spaniſh* Government, and were immediately followed by the Revolt of moſt of the Towns of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Weſt-Friezland*, who threw out the *Spaniſh* Garriſons, renounced their Obedience to King *Philip*, and ſwore Fidelity to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Prince returned out of *Germany* with new Forces, and, making uſe of this Fury of the People, contented not himſelf with *Holland* and *Zealand*, but march'd up into the very Heart of the Provinces, within five Leagues of *Bruſſels*, ſeizing upon *Mechlin*, and many other Towns, with ſo great Conſent, Applauſe, and Concourſe of People, that the whole *Spaniſh* Dominion now ſeem'd ready to expire in the *Low-Countries*, if it had not been reviv'd by the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants at *Paris*; which, contriv'd by joint Counſels with King *Philip*, and acted by a *Spaniſh* Party in the Court of *France*, and with ſo fatal a Blow to the contrary Faction, encourag'd the Duke of *Alva*, and dampt the Prince of *Orange* in the ſame Degree; ſo that one gathers Strength enough to defend the Heart of the Provinces, and the other retires into *Holland*, and makes that the Seat of the War.

This Country was ſtrong by its Nature, and Seat among the Waters that encompaſs and divide it; but more by a rougher ſort of People at that Time, leſs ſoftened by Trade, or by Riches; leſs us'd to Grants of Money and Taxes; and proud of their ancient Fame, recorded in the *Roman* Stories, of being obſtinate Defenders of their Liberties, and now moſt implacable Haters of the *Spaniſh* Name.

All theſe Diſpoſitions were encreas'd and harden'd, in the War that enſu'd under the Duke of *Alva*'s Conduct, or his Sons; by the Slaughter of all innocent Perſons and Sexes, upon the taking of *Naerden*, where the Houſes were burnt, and the Walls levelled to the Ground; by the deſperate Defence of *Haerlem* for ten Months, with all the Practices and Returns of Ignominy, Cruelty, and Scorn on both Sides; while the very Women liſted themſelves in Companies, repair'd Breaches, gave Alarms, and beat up Quarters, till, all being famiſh'd, four hundred Burgers (after the Surrender) were kill'd in cold Blood, among many other Examples of an incens'd Conqueror; which made the Humour of the Parties grow more deſperate, and their Hatred to *Spain* and *Alva* incurable.

The ſame Army broken and forc'd to riſe from before *Alcmaer*, after a long and fierce Siege in *Alva*'s Time; and from before *Leyden* in the Time of *Requiſenes* (where the Boors themſelves open'd the Sluices, and drown'd the Country, reſolving to miſchief the *Spaniards*, at the Charge of their own Ruin) gave the great Turn to Affairs in *Holland*.

The King grows ſenſible of Danger, and apprehenſive of the total Defection of the Provinces; *Alva*, weary of his Government, finding his violent Counſels and Proceedings had raiſed a Spirit, which was quiet before he came, and was never to be laid any more. The Duke is recalled, and the War goes on under *Requiſenes*; who dying ſuddenly, and without Proviſions made by the King for a Succeſſor, the Government, by Cuſtoms of the Country, devolved by way of Interim upon the Great Council, which laſted ſome Time, by

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the Delay of *Don John* of *Auſtria*'s Coming, who was declared the new Governor.

But in this Interim, the Strength of the Diſeaſe appears; for, upon the Mutiny of ſome *Spaniſh* Troops, for want of their Pay, and their ſeizing *Aloſt*, a Town near *Bruſſels*, the People grow into a Rage, and Tradeſmen give over their Shops, and the Country-men their Labour, and all run to Arms: In *Bruſſels* they force the Senate, pull out thoſe Men they knew to be moſt addicted to the *Spaniards*, kill ſuch of that Nation as they meet in the Streets, and all in general cry out for the Expulſion of Foreigners out of the *Low-Countries*, and the Aſſembling of the States; to which the Council is forced to conſent. In the mean time, the chief Perſons of the Provinces enter into an Agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, to carry on the common Affairs of the Provinces by the ſame Counſels; ſo as when the Eſtates aſſembled at *Ghent* without any Conteſt, they agreed upon that Act, which was called *The Pacification of* Ghent, in the Year 1576, whereof the chief Articles were, *The Expulſion of all Foreign Soldiers out of the Provinces; Reſtoring all the ancient Forms of Government; And referring Matters of Religion in each Province to the Provincial Eſtates; And that, for performance hereof, the reſt of the Provinces ſhould for ever be confederate with* Holland *and* Zealand. And this made the firſt Period of the *Low-Country* Troubles, proving to King *Philip* a dear Experience, how little the beſt Conduct, and boldeſt Armies, are able to withſtand the Torrent of a ſtubborn and enraged People, which ever bears all down before it, till it comes to be divided into different Channels by Arts, or by Chance; or, till the Springs, which are the the Humors that fed it, come to be ſpent, or dry up of themſelves.

The Foreign Forces, refuſing to depart, are declar'd Rebels; whereupon the *Spaniſh* Troops force and plunder ſeveral Towns, and *Antwerp* among the reſt (by Advantage of the Cittadel) with equal Advantage and Avarice; and defend themſelves in ſeveral Holds from the Forces of the States, till *Don John*'s Arrival at *Luxemburg*, the only Town of the Provinces, where he thought himſelf ſafe, as not involv'd in the Defection of the reſt.

The Eſtates refuſe to admit him, without his accepting and confirming the Pacification of *Ghent*; which at length he does, by leave from the King, and enters upon the Government with the Diſmiſſion of all Foreign Troops, which return into *Italy*. But ſoon after, *Don John*, whether out of Indignation to ſee himſelf but a precarious Governor, without Force or Dependence; or, deſiring new Occaſions of Fame by a War; or, inſtructed from *Spain* upon new Counſels, takes the occaſion of complimenting Queen *Margaret* of *Navarre* upon her Journey out of *France* to the *Spaw*, and on a ſudden ſeizes upon the Caſtle of *Namur*. Whereupon the Provinces for the third time throw off their Obedience, call the Prince of *Orange* to *Bruſſels*, where he is made Protector of *Brabant*, by the States of that Province, and Preparations are made on both ſides for the War: While *Spain* is buſie to form new Armies, and draw them together in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*, the only Provinces obedient to that Crown: And all the reſt agree to elect a Governor of their own, and ſend to *Matthias* the Emperor's Brother, to offer him the Charge.

At this time began to be form'd the Male-content Party in the *Low-Countries*; which, though agreeing with the reſt in their Hatred to the *Spaniards*, and Defence of their Liberties and Laws, yet were not inclin'd to ſhake off their Allegiance to their Prince, nor change their old and eſtabliſh'd Religion: And theſe were headed by the Duke of *Areſchot*, and ſeveral Great Men, the more averſe from a general Defection, by Emulation or Envy of the Prince of *Orange*'s Greatneſs, who was now grown to have all the Influence and Credit in the Councils of the League.

By the Aſſiſtance of this Party, after *Don John*'s ſudden Death, the Duke of *Parma*, ſucceeding him, gain'd Strength and Reputation upon his coming to the Government, and an Entrance upon that great Scene of Glory and Victory, which made both his Perſon ſo renowned, and the Time of his Government ſignaliz'd by ſo many Sieges and Battles, and the Reduction of ſo great a part of the Body of the Provinces to the Subjection of *Spain*.

Upon the Growth of this Party, and for Diſtinction from them, who, purſuing a middle and dangerous Counſel, were at length to become an Acceſſion to one of the Extreams; the more Northern Provinces, meeting by their Deputies at *Utrecht*, in the Year 1579, fram'd an Act or Alliance, which was ever after call'd *The Union of Utrecht*; and was the Original Conſtitution and Frame of that Commonwealth, which has ſince been ſo well known in the World, by the Name of *The United Provinces*.

This Union was grounded upon the *Spaniards* Breach of the *Pacification* of *Ghent*, and new Invaſion of ſome Towns in *Guelderland*; and was not pretended to divide theſe Provinces from the Generality, nor from the ſaid *Pacification*; but to ſtrengthen and purſue the Ends of it, by more vigorous and united Counſels and Arms.

The chief Force of this Union conſiſts in theſe Points, drawn out of the Inſtrument it ſelf.

The Seven Provinces unite themſelves ſo, as if they were but one Province, and ſo, as never to be divided by Teſtament, Donation, Exchange, Sale, or Agreement: Reſerving to each particular Province and City, all Privileges, Rights, Cuſtoms and Statutes: In adjudging whereof, or Differences that ſhall ariſe between any of the Provinces, the reſt ſhall not intermeddle further, than to intercede towards an Agreement.

They bind themſelves to aſſiſt one another with Life and Fortunes againſt all Force and Aſſault made upon any of them, whether upon Pretence of Royal Majeſty, of reſtoring Catholick Religion, or any other whatſoever.

All Frontier-Towns belonging to the Union, if Old, to be fortified at the Charge of the Province where they lie; if New, to be erected at the Charge of the Generality.

All Impoſts and Cuſtoms, from three Months to three Months, to be offered to them that bid moſt; and, with the Incomes of the Royal Majeſty, to be employed for the common Defence.

All Inhabitants to be liſted and trained within a Month, from 18 to 60 Years old. Peace and War not to be made without Conſent of all the Provinces; other Caſes, that concern the Management of both, by moſt Voices. Differences that ſhall ariſe upon the firſt, between the Provinces, to be ſubmitted to the Stadtholders.

Neighbouring Princes, Lords, Lands, and Cities, to be admitted into the Union, by Conſent of the Provinces.

For Religion, thoſe of *Holland* and *Zealand* to act in it as ſeems good unto themſelves. The other Provinces may regulate themſelves according to the Tenor eſtabliſh'd by *Matthias*, or elſe as they ſhall judge to be moſt for the Peace and Welfare of their particular Provinces; provided, every one remain free in his Religion, and no Man be examined or entrapped for that Cauſe, according to the Pacification of *Ghent*.

In caſe of any Diſſenſion or Differences between Provinces, if it concern one in particular, it ſhall be accommodated by the others; if it concern all in general, by the Stadtholders: In both which Caſes, Sentence to be pronounced within a Month, and without Appeal or Reviſion.

The States to be held, as has been formerly uſed; and the Mint in ſuch manner, as ſhall hereafter be agreed by all the Provinces.

Interpretation of theſe Articles to remain in the States; but in caſe of their differing, in the Stadtholders.

They bind themſelves to fall upon, and impriſon any, that ſhall act contrary to theſe Articles; in which caſe no Privilege nor Exemption to be valid.

This Act was Signed by the Deputies of *Guelderland*, *Zutphen*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, and the Omlands of *Frieze*, *Jan.* 23. 1579, but was not Signed by the Prince of *Orange* till *May* following, and with this Signification, judging, that by the ſame the Superiority and Authority of Arch-Duke *Matthias* is not leſſened.

In the ſame Year, this Union was enter'd and ſign'd by the Cities of *Ghent*, *Nimmeguen*, *Arnhem*, *Leewarden*, with ſome particular Nobles of *Frizeland*, *Venlo*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, and *Bruges*. And thus theſe Provinces became a Common-

a Commonwealth, but in ſo low and uncertain a State of Affairs, by reaſon of the various Motions and Affections of Men's Minds, the different Ends and Intereſts of the ſeveral Parties, eſpecially in the other Provinces; and the mighty Power and Preparations of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to oppreſs them; that in their firſt Coin they cauſed a Ship to be ſtamped, labouring among the Waves without Sails or Oars; and theſe Words, *Incertum qua fata ferant.*

I thought ſo particular a Deduction neceſſary to diſcover the natural Cauſes of this Revolution in the *Low-Countries*, which has ſince had ſo great a part for near a hundred Years, in all the Actions and Negotiations of Chriſtendom; and to find out the true Incentives of that obſtinate Love for their Liberties, and invincible Hatred for the *Spaniſh* Nation and Government, which laid the Foundation of this Commonwealth: And this laſt I take to have been the ſtronger Paſſion, and of the greater Effect, both in the bold Counſels of contracting their Union, and the deſperate Reſolutions of defending it. For not long after, the whole Council of this new State, being preſs'd by the Extremities of their Affairs, paſſing by the Form of Government in the way of a Commonwealth, made an earneſt and ſolemn Offer of the Dominion of theſe Provinces both to *England* and *France*; but were refuſed by both Crowns: And though they retain'd the Name of a free People, yet they ſoon loſt the Eaſe of the Liberties they contended for, by the Abſoluteneſs of their Magiſtrates in the ſeveral Cities and Provinces, and by the extream Preſſure of their Taxes, which ſo long a War, with ſo mighty an Enemy, made neceſſary for the Support of their State.

But the Hatred of the *Spaniſh* Government, under *Alva*, was ſo univerſal, that it made the Revolt general through the Provinces, running through all Religions, and all Orders of Men, as appeared by the Pacification of *Ghent*; Till by the Diviſion of the Parties, by the Powers of ſo vaſt a Monarchy as *Spain* at that Time, and by the matchleſs Conduct and Valour of the Duke of *Parma*, this Humour, like Poiſon in a ſtrong Conſtitution, and with the Help of violent Phyſick, was expell'd from the Heart, which was *Flanders* and *Brabant* (with the reſt of the Ten Provinces) into the outward Members; and by their being cut off, the Body was ſaved. After which, the moſt enflamed Spirits being driven by the Arms of *Spain*, or drawn by the Hopes of Liberty and Safety, into the *United Provinces* out of the reſt, the Hatred of *Spain* grew to that height, that they were not willing to ſubmit to any new Dominion, rather than return to the old; but when they could find no Maſter to protect them, and their Affairs grew deſperate, they were once certainly upon the Counſel of burning their great Towns, waſting and drowning what they could of their own Country, and going to ſeek ſome new Seats in the *Indies*. Which they might have executed, if they had found Shipping enough to carry off their Numbers, and had not been detained by the Compaſſion of thoſe which muſt have been left behind, at the Mercy of an incenſed and conquering Maſter.

The *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Writers content themſelves to attribute the Cauſes of their Revolutions to the Change of Religion, to the native Stubbornneſs of the People, and to the Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*: But Religion, without Mixtures of Ambition and Intereſt, works no ſuch violent Effects; and produces rather the Examples of conſtant Sufferings, than of deſperate Actions: The Nature of the People cannot change of a ſudden, no more than the Climate which infuſes it; and no Country hath brought forth better Subjects, than many of theſe Provinces, both before and ſince theſe Commotions among them; and the Ambition of one Man could neither have deſigned or atchieved ſo great an Adventure, had it not been ſeconded with univerſal Diſcontent; nor could that have been raiſed to ſo great an Height and Heat, without ſo many Circumſtances as fell in from an unhappy Courſe of the *Spaniſh* Counſels, to kindle and foment it. For though it had been hard to head ſuch a Body, and give it ſo ſtrong a Principle of Life, and ſo regular Motions, without the accident of ſo great a Governor in the Provinces, as Prince *William* of *Orange*; A Man of equal Abilities in Council and in Arms; Cautious and Reſolute, Affable and Severe; ſupple to Occaſions, and

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yet conſtant to his Ends; of mighty Revenues and Dependence in the Provinces, of great Credit and Alliance in *Germany*; eſteemed and honoured abroad, but at home infinitely lov'd and truſted by the People, who thought him affectionate to their Country, ſincere in his Profeſſions and Deſigns, able and willing to defend their Liberties, and unlikely to invade them by any Ambition of his own. Yet all theſe Qualities might very well have been confined to the Duty and Services of a Subject, as they were in *Charles* the Fifth's time; without the Abſence of the King, and the People's Opinion of his Ill-will to their Nation and their Laws; without the Continuance of Foreign Troops after the Wars were ended; the erecting the new Biſhops Sees, and introducing the *Inquiſition*; the ſole Miniſtry of *Granvell*, and Excluſion of the Lords from their uſual part in Councils and Affairs; the Government of a Man ſo hated, as the Duke of *Alva*; the Rigour of his Proſecutions, and the Inſolence of his Statue: And laſtly, without the Death of *Egmont*, and the Impoſition of the Tenth and Twentieth Part, againſt the legal Forms of Government in a County, where a long derived Succeſſion had made the People fond and tenacious of their ancient Cuſtoms and Laws.

Theſe were the Seeds of their Hatred to *Spain*; which, increaſing by the Courſe of about threeſcore Years War, was not allay'd by a long ſucceeding Peace; but will appear to have been an Ingredient into the Fall, as it was into the Riſe of this State; which, having been thus planted, came to be conſerved and cultivated by many Accidents and Influences from abroad: But thoſe having had no Part in the Conſtitution of their State, nor the Frame of their Government; I will content my ſelf to mention only the chief of them, which moſt contributed to preſerve the Infancy of their Commonwealth, and make way for its Growth. The Cauſes of its ſucceeding Greatneſs and Riches being not to be ſought for in the Events of their Wars, but in the Inſtitutions and Orders of their Government, their Cuſtoms and Trade, which will make the Arguments of the enſuing Chapters.

When *Don John* threw off the Conditions he had at firſt accepted of the Pacification of *Ghent*, and by the Surpriſe of *Namur* broke into Arms; the Eſtates of the Provinces offer'd the Government of their Country to *Matthias*, Brother to the Emperor, as a Temper between their Return to the Obedience of *Spain*, and the popular Government which was moulding in the Northern Provinces. But *Matthias* arriving without the Advice or Support of the Emperor, or Credit in the Provinces; and having the Prince of *Orange* given him for his Lieutenant-General, was only a Cypher, and his Government a Piece of Pageantry, which paſs'd without effect, and was ſoon ended: So that, upon the Duke of *Parma*'s taking on him the Government, ſome new Protection was neceſſary to this Infant-State, that had not Legs to ſupport it againſt ſuch a Storm, as was threaten'd upon the Return of the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Forces, to make the Body of a formidable Army, which the Duke of *Parma* was forming in *Namur* and *Luxemburg*.

Since the Conference of *Bayonne* between the Queen-Mother of *France*, and her Daughter Queen of *Spain*, thoſe two Crowns had continued, in the Reign of *Francis* and *Charles*, to aſſiſt one another in the common Deſign there agreed on, of proſecuting with Violence thoſe they call'd the Hereticks, in both their Dominions. The Peace held conſtant, if not kind, between *England* and *Spain*; ſo as King *Philip* had no Wars upon his Hands in Chriſtendom, during theſe Commotions in the *Low-Countries*: And the Boldneſs of the Confederates, in their firſt Revolt and Union, ſeemed greater at ſuch a Time, than the Succeſs of their Reſiſtances afterwards, when ſo many Occaſions fell in to weaken and divert the Forces of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy.

For *Henry* the Third coming to the Crown of *France*, and at firſt only fetter'd and control'd by the Faction of the *Guiſes*, but afterwards engaged in an open War (which they had raiſed againſt him, upon pretext of preſerving the Catholick Religion, and in a Conjunction of Counſels with *Spain*) was forced into better Meaſures with the *Hugonots* of his Kingdom, and fell into ill Intelligence with *Philip* the Second, ſo as Queen *Elizabeth* having declin'd to undertake openly the Protection of the *Low-Country* Provinces, it was, by

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the conquering Reſolution of the States, and the Conſent of the *French* Court, devolved upon the Duke of *Alencon*, Brother to *Henry* the Third.

But this Prince enter'd *Antwerp* with an ill Preſage to the *Flemings*, by an Attempt which a *Biſcainer* made the ſame Day upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Life, ſhooting him, though not mortally, in the Head: And he continued his ſhort Government with ſuch mutual Diſtaſtes between the *French* and the *Flemings* (the Heat and Violence of one Nation agreeing ill with the Cuſtoms and Liberties of the other) that the Duke, attempting to make himſelf abſolute Maſter of the City of *Antwerp* by Force, was driven out of the Town; and thereupon retired out of the Country, with extreme Reſentment of the *Flemings*, and Indignation of the *French*; ſo as the Prince of *Orange* being not long after aſſaſſin'd at *Delph*, and the Duke of *Parma* encreaſing daily in Reputation and in Force, and the Male-content Party falling back apace to his Obedience, an End was preſag'd by moſt Men to the Affairs of the Confederates.

But the Root was deeper, and not ſo eaſily ſhaken: For the *United Provinces*, after the unhappy Tranſactions with the *French*, under the Duke of *Alencon*, re-aſſum'd their Union in 1583, binding themſelves, in caſe by Fury of the War any Point of it had not been obſerved, to endeavour from that Time to ſee it effected: In caſe any Doubt had happened, to ſee it clear'd: And any Difficulties, compoſed: And in regard the Article concerning Religion had been ſo framed in the Union, becauſe in all the other Provinces, beſides *Holland* and *Zealand*, the *Romiſh* Religion was then uſed, but now the *Evangelical*; it was agreed by all the Provinces of the Union, that, from this Time in them all, the Evangelical reformed Religion ſhould alone be openly preached and exerciſed.

They were ſo far from being broken in their Deſigns by the Prince of *Orange*'s Death, that they did all the Honour that could be to his Memory, ſubſtituted Prince *Maurice* his Son, though but ſixteen Years old, in all his Honours and Commands, and obſtinately refuſed all Overtures that were made them of Peace; reſolving upon all the moſt deſperate Actions and Sufferings, rather than return under the *Spaniſh* Obedience.

But theſe Spirits were fed and heighten'd, in a great degree, by the Hopes and Countenance given them about this Time from *England*: For Queen *Elizabeth*, and *Philip* the Second, though they ſtill preſerved the Name of Peace, yet had worn out, in a manner, the Effects as well as the Diſpoſitions of it, whilſt the *Spaniard* fomented and aſſiſted the Inſurrections of the *Iriſh*, and Queen *Elizabeth* the new Commonwealth in the *Low-Countries*; though neither directly, yet by Countenance, Money, voluntary Troops, and Ways that were equally felt on both Sides, and equally underſtood.

King *Philip* had lately increaſed the Greatneſs of his Empire, by the Inheritance or Invaſion of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, upon King *Sebaſtian*'s Loſs in *Africa*: But I know not whether he had encreas'd his Power, by the Acceſſion of a Kingdom, with diſputed Title, and a diſcontented People, who could neither be uſed like good Subjects, and govern'd without Armies; nor like a conquer'd Nation, and ſo made to bear the Charge of their forc'd Obedience. But this Addition of Empire, with the vaſt Treaſure flowing every Year out of the *Indies*, had without queſtion raiſed King *Philip*'s Ambition to vaſter Deſigns; which made him embrace at once, the Protection of the League in *France* againſt *Henry* the Third and Fourth, and the Donation made him of *Ireland* by the Pope, and ſo embark himſelf in a War with both thoſe Crowns, while he was bearded with the open Arms and Defiance of his own Subjects in the *Low-Countries*.

But 'tis hard to be imagin'd, how far the Spirit of one great Man goes in the Fortunes of any Army or State. The Duke of *Parma*, coming to the Government without any footing in more than Two of the ſmalleſt Provinces, collecting an Army from *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the broken Troops of the Country left him by *Don John*, having all the other Provinces confederated againſt him, and both *England* and *France* beginning to take open part in their Defence; yet, by force of his own Valour, Conduct, and the Diſci-

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pline of his Army, with the diſintereſted and generous Qualities of his Mind, winning equally upon the Hearts and Arms of the revolted Countries, and pierced through the Provinces with an uninterrupted Courſe of Succeſſes, and the Recovery of the moſt important Towns in *Flanders*; at laſt, by the taking of *Antwerp* and *Groningue*, reduc'd the Affairs of the Union to ſo extream Diſtreſs, that, being grown deſtitute of all Hopes and Succours from *France* (then deep engaged in their own Civil Wars) they threw themſelves wholly at the Feet of Queen *Elizabeth*, imploring her Protection, and offering her the Sovereignity of their Country. The Queen refuſed the Dominion, but enter'd into Articles with their Deputies in 1585, obliging herſelf to very great Supplies of Men and of Monies, lent them upon the Security of the *Briel*, *Fluſhing*, and *Ramekins*; which were performed, and Sir *John Norrice* ſent over to command her Forces; and afterwards in 87, upon the War broken out with *Spain*, and the mighty Threats of the *Spaniſh* Armada, ſhe ſent over yet greater Forces under the Earl of *Leiceſter*, whom the States admitted, and ſwore Obedience to him, as Governor of their *United Provinces*.

But this Government laſted not long, Diſtaſtes and Suſpicions ſoon breaking out between *Leiceſter* and the States; partly from the Jealouſy of his affecting an abſolute Dominion, and arbitrary Diſpoſal of all Offices; but chiefly, from the Queen's Intentions to make a Peace with *Spain*; and the eaſy Loſs of ſome of their Towns, by Governors placed in them by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, encreaſed their Diſcontents. Notwithſtanding this ill Intercourſe, the Queen re-aſſures them in both thoſe Points, diſapproves ſome of *Leiceſter*'s Proceedings, receives frank and hearty Aſſiſtances from them in her Naval Preparations againſt the *Spaniards*; and at length, upon the Diſorders encreaſing between the Earl of *Leiceſter* and the States, commands him to reſign his Government, and releaſe the States of the Oath they had taken to obey him. And after all this had paſt, the Queen eaſily ſacrificing all particular Reſentments to the Intereſt of her Crown, continued her Favour, Protection and Aſſiſtances to the States, during the whole Courſe of her Reign, which were return'd with the greateſt Deference and Veneration to her Perſon, that was ever paid by them to any Foreign Prince, and continues ſtill to her Name in the Remembrance, and frequently in the Mouths, of all ſorts of People among them.

After *Leiceſter*'s Departure, Prince *Maurice* was, by the Conſent of the Union, choſen their Governor, but with a Reſervation to Queen *Elizabeth*; and enter'd that Command with the Hopes, which he made good in the Execution of it for many Years; proving the greateſt Captain of his Age, famous, particularly, in the Diſcipline and Ordonance of his Armies, and the Ways of Fortification by him firſt invented or perfected, and ſince his Time imitated by all.

But the great Breath that was given the States in the Heat of their Affairs, was by the ſharp Wars made by Queen *Elizabeth* upon the *Spaniards* at Sea in the *Indies*, and the Expedition of *Liſbon* and *Cadiz*, and by the declining Affairs of the League in *France*, for whoſe Support *Philip* the Second was ſo paſſionately engag'd, that twice he commanded the Duke of *Parma* to interrupt the Courſe of his Victories in the *Low-Countries*, and march into *France* for the Relief of *Roan* and *Paris*; which much augmented the Renown of this great Captain, but as much impair'd the State of the *Spaniſh* Affairs in *Flanders*. For in the Duke of *Parma*'s Abſence, Prince *Maurice* took in all the Places held by the *Spaniard* on t'other Side the *Rhine*, which gave them Entrance into the *United Provinces*.

The Succeſſion of *Henry* the Fourth to the Crown of *France*, gave a mighty Blow to the Deſigns of King *Philip*; and a much greater, the general Obedience and Acknowledgment of him upon his Change of Religion. With this King the States began to enter a Confidence and Kindneſs, and the more by that which interceded between him and the Queen of *England*, who had all their Dependence during her Life.

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But, after her Death, King *Henry* grew to have greater Credit than ever in the *United Provinces*; tho', upon the Decay of the *Spaniſh* Power under the Aſcendant of this King, the States fell into very early Jealouſies of his growing too great, and too near them in *Flanders*.

With the Duke of *Parma* dy'd all the Diſcipline, and, with that, all the Fortunes, of the *Spaniſh* Arms in *Flanders*: The frequent Mutinies of their Soldiers, dangerous in Effect and in Example, were more talked of, than any other of their Actions, in the ſhort Government of *Mansfield*, *Erneſt*, and *Fuentes*. Till the old Diſcipline of their Armies began to revive, and their Fortune a little to reſpire under the new Government of Cardinal *Albert*, who came into *Flanders* both Governor and Prince of the *Low-Countries*, in the Head of a mighty Army drawn out of *Germany* and *Italy*, to try the laſt Effort of the *Spaniſh* Power, either in a proſperous War, or, at leaſt, in making way for a neceſſary Peace.

But the Choice of the Arch-Duke, and this new Authority, had a deeper Root and Deſign, than at firſt appear'd: For that mighty King *Philip* the Second, born to ſo vaſt Poſſeſſions, and to ſo much vaſter Deſires, after a long Dream of raiſing his Head into the Clouds, found it now ready to lye down in the Duſt: His Body broken with Age and Infirmities, his Mind with Cares and diſtemper'd Thoughts and the Royal Servitude of a ſollicitous Life: He began to ſee, in the Glaſs of Time and Experience, the true Shapes of all human Greatneſs and Deſigns; and, finding to what airy Figures he had hitherto ſacrificed his Health, and Eaſe, and the Good of his Life; he now turned his Thoughts wholly to Reſt and Quiet, which he had never yet allow'd either the World, or himſelf: His Deſigns upon *England*, and his invincible Armada, had ended in Smoak: Thoſe upon *France*, in Events the moſt contrary to what he had propos'd; and inſtead of maſtering the Liberties, and breaking the Stomach of his *Low-Country* Subjects, he had loſt Seven of his Provinces, and held the reſt by the Tenure of a War, that coſt him more than they were worth. He had made lately a Peace with *England*, and deſir'd it with *France*; and tho' he ſcorn'd it with his revolted Subjects in his own Name, yet he wiſh'd it in another's; and was unwilling to entail a Quarrel upon his Son, which had croſs'd his Fortunes, and buſied his Thoughts all the Courſe of his Reign. He therefore reſolv'd to commit theſe two Deſigns to the Management of Arch-Duke *Albert*, with the Stile of Governor and Prince of the *Low-Countries*; to the end that, if he could reduce the Provinces to their old Subjection, he ſhould govern them as *Spaniſh* Dominions; if that was once more in vain attempted, he ſhould by a Marriage with *Clara Iſabella Eugenia* (King *Philip*'s beloved Daughter) receive theſe Provinces as a Dowry, and become the Prince of them, with a Condition only of their returning to *Spain*, in caſe of *Iſabella*'s dying without Iſſue. King *Philip* believ'd, that the Preſence of a natural Prince among his Subjects; that the Birth and Cuſtoms of Arch-Duke *Albert*, being a *German*; the generous and obliging Diſpoſitions of *Iſabella*, might gain further upon this ſtubborn People, than all the Force and Rigor of his former Counſels; and at the worſt, that they might make a Peace, if they could not a War, and without intereſſing the Honour and Greatneſs of the *Spaniſh* Crown.

In purſuit of this Determination, like a wiſe King, while he intended nothing but Peace, he made Preparations, as if he deſign'd nothing but War; knowing that his own Deſires of Peace would ſignify nothing, unleſs he could force his Enemies to deſire it too. He therefore ſent the Arch-Duke into *Flanders*, at the Head of ſuch an Army, that, believing the Peace with *France* muſt be the firſt in order, and make way for either the War or Peace afterward in the *Low-Countries*, he march'd into *France*, and took *Amiens* the chief City of *Picardy*; and thereby gave ſuch an Alarm to the *French* Court, as they little expected, and had never received in the former Wars. But while *Albert* bent the whole Force of the War upon *France*, till he determined it in a Peace with that Crown, Prince *Maurice*, who had taken *Groningue* in the Time of *Erneſt*, now maſter'd *Linghen*, *Groll*, and other Places of *Overyſſel*, thereby adding thoſe Provinces intire, to the Body of the Union; and at *Albert*'s

Return into *Flanders*, entertained him with the Battle of *Newport*, won by the deſperate Courage of the *Engliſh*, under Sir *Francis Vere*, where *Albert* was wounded, and very near being taken.

After this Loſs, the Arch-Duke was yet comforted and reliev'd by the obſequious Affections and Obedience of his new Subjects, ſo far as to reſolve upon the Siege of *Oſtend*; which having ſome time continued, and being almoſt diſheartened by the Strength of the Place, and invincible Courage of the Defendants, he was recruited by a Body of eight thouſand *Italians*, under the Marqueſs *Spinola*, to whom the Proſecution of this Siege was committed: He took the Place, after three Years Siege, not by any Want of Men or Proviſions within (the Haven, and Relief by Sea, being open all the Time;) but perfectly for want of Ground, which was gain'd Foot by Foot, till not ſo much was left, as would hold Men to defend it; a great Example, how impoſſible it is to defend any Town, that cannot be reliev'd by an Army ſtrong enough to raiſe the Siege.

Prince *Maurice*, though he could not ſave *Oſtend*, made yet amends for its Loſs, by the taking of *Grave* and *Skuyt*; ſo as the *Spaniards* gain'd little but the Honour of the Enterpriſe: And *Philip* the Second being dead, about the Time of the Arch-Duke's and Dutcheſs's Arrival in *Flanders*, and, with him, the Perſonal Reſentment of that War, the Arch-Duke, by conſent of the *Spaniſh* Court, began to apply his Thoughts wholly to a Peace; which another Circumſtance had made more neceſſary, than any of thoſe already mention'd.

As the *Dutch* Commonwealth was born out of the Sea, ſo out of the ſame Element it drew its firſt Strength and Conſideration, as well as afterwards its Riches and Greatneſs: For before the Revolts, the Subjects of the *Low-Countries*, though never allow'd the Trade of the *Indies*, but in the *Spaniſh* Fleets, and under *Spaniſh* Covert, yet many of them had in that manner made the Voyages, and became skilful Pilots, as well as vers'd in the Ways, and ſenſible of the infinite Gains of that Trade. And after the Union, a greater Confluence of People falling down into the *United Provinces*, than could manage their Stock, or find Employment at Land; great Multitudes turn'd their Endeavours to Sea; and having loſt the Trade of *Spain* and the *Streights*, fell not only into that of *England*, *France*, and the Northern Seas, but ventur'd upon that of the *Eaſt-Indies*, at firſt with ſmall Forces and Succeſs; but in courſe of time, and by the Inſtitution of an *Eaſt-India* Company, this came to be purſu'd with ſo general Application of the Provinces, and ſo great Advantage, that they made themſelves Maſters of moſt of the Colonies and Forts planted there by the *Portugueſe* (now Subjects of *Spain*.) The *Dutch* Seamen grew as well acquainted with thoſe vaſt Seas and Coaſts, as with their own; and *Holland* became the great Magazine of all the Commodities of thoſe Eaſtern Regions.

In the *Weſt-Indies* their Attempts were neither ſo frequent nor proſperous, the *Spaniſh* Plantations there being too numerous and ſtrong; but by the Multitudes of their Shipping, ſet out with publick or private Commiſſions, they infeſted the Seas, and began to wait for, and threaten the *Spaniſh Indian* Fleets, and ſometimes to attempt their Coaſt in that new World (which was to touch *Spain* in the moſt ſenſible Part) and gave their Court the ſtrongeſt Motives to endeavour a Peace, that might ſecure thoſe Treaſures in their Way, and preſerve them in *Spain*, by ſtopping the Iſſue of thoſe vaſt Sums, which were continually tranſmitted to maintain the *Low-Country* Wars.

Theſe Reſpects gave the firſt Riſe to a Treaty of Peace, the Propoſal whereof came wholly from the *Spaniards*; and the very Mention of it could hardly at firſt be faſten'd upon the States; nor could they ever be prevail'd with to make way for any Negotiation by a Suſpenſion of Arms, till the Arch-Duke had declared, He would treat with them as with Free Provinces, upon whom, neither he, nor *Spain*, had any Pretence. However, the Affair was purſu'd with ſo much Art and Induſtry on the Arch-Duke's part, and with ſo paſſionate Deſires of the *Spaniſh* Court to end this War, that they were content to treat it at the *Hague*, the Seat of the States-General; and, for the greater Honour, and better Conduct of the whole Buſineſs, appointed the

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Four chief Miniſters of the Arch-Duke's, their Commiſſioners to attend and purſue it there; who were, their Camp-Maſter-General *Spinola*, the Preſident of the Council, and the two Secretaries of State and of War in *Flanders*.

On the other Side, in *Holland* all the Paces towards this Treaty were made with great Coldneſs and Arrogance, raiſing punctilious Difficulties upon every Word of the Arch-Duke's Declaration of Treating them as free Provinces, and upon *Spain*'s Ratification of that Form; and forcing them to ſend Expreſſes into *Spain*, upon every Occaſion, and to attend the length of thoſe Returns. For the proſperous Succeſs of their Arms at Land, in the courſe of above thirty Years War, and the mighty Growth of their Naval Power, and (under that Protection) of their Trade, had made the whole Body of their Militia, both at Land and Sea, averſe from this Treaty, as well as the greateſt part of the People; whoſe inveterate Hatred againſt *Spain* was ſtill as fierce as ever; and who had the Hopes or Diſpoſitions of raiſing their Fortunes by the War, whereof they had ſo many and great Examples among them.

But there was, at the Bottom, one Foreign, and another Domeſtic, Conſideration, which made way for this Treaty, more than all thoſe Arguments that were the common Themes, or than all the Offices of the Neighbouring Princes, who concern'd themſelves in this Affair, either from Intereſt of their own, or the Deſires of ending a War, which had ſo long exercis'd, in a manner, the Arms of all Chriſtendom upon the Stage of the *Low-Countries*. The Greatneſs of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, ſo formidable under *Charles* the Fifth, and *Philip* the Second, began now to decline by the vaſt Deſigns, and unfortunate Events, of ſo many ambitious Counſels: And, on the other ſide, the Affairs of *Henry* the Fourth of *France* were now at the greateſt Height and Felicity, after having atchieved ſo many Adventures, with incredible Conſtancy and Valour, and ended all his Wars in a Peace with *Spain*. The *Dutch* imagin'd, that the hot Spirit of the *French* could not continue long without ſome Exerciſe; and that to prevent it at home, it might be neceſſary for that King to give it them abroad: That no Enterpriſe lay ſo convenient for him, as that upon *Flanders*, which had anciently been part of the *Gallick* Nation, and whoſe firſt Princes derived and held of the Kings of *France*. Beſides, they had Intimations, that *Henry* the Fourth was taken up in great Preparations for War, which they doubted would at one time or other fall on that Side, at leaſt if they were invited by any greater Decays of the *Spaniſh* Power in *Flanders*: And they knew very well, they ſhould lie as much at the Mercy of ſuch a Neighbour as *France*, as they had formerly done of ſuch a Maſter as *Spain*. For the *Spaniſh* Power in *Flanders* was fed by Treaſures that came by long and perilous Voyages out of *Spain*; by Troops drawn either from thence, or from *Italy* or *Germany*, with much Caſualty, and more Expence: Their Territory of the ten Provinces was ſmall, and awed by the Neighbourhood and Jealouſies both of *England* and *France*. But if *France* was once Maſter of *Flanders*, the Body of that Empire would be ſo great, and ſo entire; ſo abounding in People, and in Riches, that whenever they found, or made, an Occaſion of invading the *United Provinces*, they had no hopes of preſerving themſelves by any Oppoſition or Diverſion: And the end of their mighty Reſiſtances againſt *Spain* was, to have no Maſter; and not to change one for another, as they ſhould do in this Caſe: Therefore the moſt Intelligent among their Civil Miniſters thought it ſafeſt, by a Peace, to give Breath to the Arch-Duke's and *Spaniſh* Power, and by that means, to leſſen the Invitation of the Arms of *France* into *Flanders*, under ſo great a King.

For what was Domeſtic, the Credit and Power of Prince *Maurice*, built at firſt upon that of his Father, but much rais'd by his own perſonal Virtue and Qualities, and the Succeſs of his Arms, was now grown ſo high (the Prince being Governor or Stadtholder of four of the Provinces; and two of his Couſins of the other three) that ſeveral of the States, headed by *Bernevelt*, Penſioner of *Holland*, and a Man of great Abilities and Authority among them, became jealous of the Prince's Power, and pretended to fear the Growth of it to an abſolute Dominion: They knew, it would increaſe

by the Continuance of a War, which was wholly managed by the Prince; and thought, that in a Peace it would diminish, and give way to the Authority of Civil Power: Which disposed this whole Party to desire the Treaty, and to advance the Progress and Issue of it by all their Assistances. And these different Humours stirring in the Heart of the States, with almost equal Strength and Vigor; the Negotiation of a Peace came to be eluded, after long Debates and infinite Endeavours; breaking, in appearance, upon the Points of Religion, and the *Indian* Trade: But yet came to knit again, and conclude in a Truce of twelve Years, dated in the Year 1609, whereof the most essential Points were, the Declaration of Treating with them as Free Provinces; the Cessation of all Acts of Hostility on both Sides, during the Truce; the Enjoyment, for that Space, of all that each Party possess'd at the Time of the Treaty; that no new Fortification should be rais'd on either Side; and that free Commerce should be restor'd on all Parts in the same manner as it was before the Wars.

And thus the State of the *United Provinces* came to be acknowledg'd as a Free Commonwealth by their ancient Master, having before been treated so by most of the Kings and Princes of *Europe*, in frequent Embassies and Negotiations. Among which, a particular Preference was given to the *English* Crown, whose Ambassador had Session and Vote in their Council of State, by Agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, and in Acknowledgment of those great Assistances, which gave Life to their State, when it was upon the point of expiring: Though the *Dutch* pretend, that Privilege was given to the Ambassador, by Virtue of the Possession this Crown had of the *Briel*, *Flushing* and *Ramekins*; and that it was to cease upon the Restitution of those Towns, and Repayment of those Sums lent by the Queen.

In the very Time of treating this Truce, a League was concluded between *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, and the States, for preserving the Peace, if it came to be concluded; or, in case of its failing, for Assistance of one another, with ten thousand Men on the King's Part, and five thousand on the States. Nor did that King make any Difficulty of continuing the two Regiments of Foot, and two hundred Horse in the States Service, at his own Charge, after the Truce, which he had maintain'd for several Years before it: Omitting no Provisions that might tie that State to his Interests, and make him at present Arbiter of the Peace, and for the future of the War, if the Truce should come to be broken, or to expire of it self.

By what has been related, it will easily appear, That no State was ever born with stronger Throws, or nurs'd up with harder Fare, or inur'd to greater Labours or Dangers in the whole course of its Youth; which are Circumstances that usually make strong and healthy Bodies: And so this has proved, having never had more than one Disease break out, in the Space of ninety three Years, which may be accounted the Age of this State, reckoning from the Union of *Utrecht*, enter'd by the Provinces in 1579. But this Disease, like those of the Seed, or Conception, in a natural Body, though it first appear'd in *Barnevelt*'s Time, breaking out upon the Negotiations with *Spain*, and seemed to end with his Death (who was beheaded not many Years after) yet has it ever since continued lurking in the Veins of this State, and appearing upon all Revolutions, that seem to favour the Predominancy of one or other Humour in the Body; and under the Names of the Prince of *Orange*'s, and the *Arminian* Party, has ever made the weak Side of this State; and whenever their Period comes, will prove the Occasion of their Fall.

The Ground of this Name of *Arminian* was, That whilst *Barnevelt*'s Party accused those of the Prince of *Orange*'s, as being careless of their Liberties, so dearly bought; as devoted to the House of *Orange*, and disposed to the Admission of an absolute Principality, and in order thereunto, as Promoters of a perpetual War with *Spain*: So those of the Prince's Party accused the others, as leaning still to, and looking kindly upon, their old Servitude, and relishing the *Spaniard*, both in their Politicks, by so eagerly affecting a Peace with that Crown; and in their Religion, by being generally *Arminians*, (which was esteemed the middle part between the *Calvinists* and the *Roman* Religion)

Religion.) And beſides theſe mutual Reproaches, the two Parties have ever valued themſelves upon the aſſerting, one of the true and pure reformed Religion; and the other, of the truer and freer Liberties of the State.

The Fortunes of this Commonwealth, that have happened in their Wars or Negotiations, ſince the Truce with *Spain*, and what Circumſtances or Accidents, both abroad and at home, ſerved to cultivate their mighty Growth, and conſpired to the Greatneſs wherein they appear'd to the World in the Beginning of the Year 1665, being not only the Subject of the Relations, but even the Obſervations of this preſent Age; I ſhall either leave, as more obvious, and leſs neceſſary to the Account I intend of the Civil Government of this Commonwealth: Or elſe reſerve them till the ſame Vein of Leiſure or Humour invite me to continue this Deduction to this preſent Time; the Affairs of this State having been complicated with all the Variety and memorable Revolutions, both of Actions and Counſels, that have ſince happen'd in the reſt of Chriſtendom.

In the mean time, I will cloſe this Relation with an Event, which arrived ſoon after the Concluſion of the Truce, and had like to have broken it within the very Year, if not prevented by the Offices of the Neighbour Princes, but more by a Change of Humour in the United States, conſpiring to the Conſervation of the new-reſtored Peace in theſe Parts of the World.

In the End of the Year 1609, died the Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, without Heir-Male, leaving thoſe Dutchies to the Pretenſions of his Daughters, in whoſe Rights the Dukes of *Brandenburgh* and *Nieuburgh* poſſeſſed themſelves of ſuch Parts of thoſe Territories as they firſt could invade; each of them pretending Right to the whole Inheritance. *Brandenburgh* ſeeks Protection and Favour to his Title from the *United Provinces*. *Nieuburgh* from Arch-Duke *Albert*, and from *Spain*. The Arch-Duke, newly reſpiring from ſo long a War, had no deſire to intereſt himſelf in this Quarrel, further than the Care, that the *Dutch* ſhould not take Advantage of it; and, under pretext of aſſiſting one of the Parties, ſeize upon ſome of thoſe Dominions lying contiguous to their own. The *Dutch* were not ſo equal, nor content to loſe ſo fair an Occaſion, and ſurprized the Town of *Juliers* (tho' pretending only to keep it till the Parties agreed:) And believing that *Spain*, after having parted with ſo much in the late Truce, to end a Quarrel of their own, would not venture a Breach of it upon a Quarrel of their Neighbours. But the Arch-Duke having firſt taken his Meaſures with *Spain*, and foreſeeing the Conſequence of this Affair, reſolved to venture the whole State of *Flanders* in a new War, rather than ſuffer ſuch an Encreaſe of Power and Dominion to the States. And thereupon, Firſt, in the Behalf of the Duke of *Nieuburgh*, requires from them the Reſtitution of *Juliers*; and upon their artificious and dilatory Anſwers, immediately draws his Forces together, and with an Army, under the Command of *Spinola*, marches towards *Juliers* (which the States were in no Care of, as well provided for a bold Defence;) but makes a ſudden Turn, and ſits down before *Weſel*, with ſuch a Terror and Surpriſe to the Inhabitants, that he carries the Town before the *Dutch* could come in to their Aſſiſtance. *Weſel* was a ſtrong Town upon the *Rhine*, which the Duke of *Brandenburgh* pretended to, as belonging to the Dutchy of *Cleve*; but the Citizens held at this time as an imperial Town, and under Protection of the *Dutch*: Who, amazed at this ſudden and bold Attempt of *Spinola*, which made him Maſter of a Paſs that lay fair for any further Invaſion upon their Provinces (eſpecially thoſe on t'other Side the *Rhine*) engage the Offices of both the *Engliſh* and *French* Crowns, to mediate an Agreement, which at length they conclude, ſo as neither Party ſhould, upon any pretence, draw their Forces into any Part of theſe Dutchies. Thus the Arch-Duke having, by the Fondneſs of Peace, newly made a Truce, upon Conditions impoſ'd by the *Dutch*; now, by the Reſolution of making War, obtains a Peace, upon the very Terms propoſ'd by himſelf, and by *Spain*. An Event of great Inſtruction and Example, how dangerous it ever proves for weak Princes to call in greater to their Aid, which makes them a Prey to their Friend, inſtead of their Enemy: How the only Time of making an advantageous Peace, is, when your

Enemy

Enemy desires it, and when you are in the best Condition of pursuing a War: And how vain a Counsel it is, to avoid a War, by yielding any Point of Interest or Honour; which does but invite new Injuries, encourage Enemies, and dishearten Friends.

CHAP. II.

Of their GOVERNMENT.

IT is evident by what has been discoursed in the former Chapter concerning the Rise of this State (which is to be dated from the Union of *Utrecht*) that it cannot properly be stiled a Commonwealth, but is rather a Confederacy of Seven Sovereign Provinces united together for their common and mutual Defence, without any Dependence one upon the other. But to discover the Nature of their Government from the first Springs and Motions, it must be taken yet into smaller Pieces, by which it will appear, that each of these Provinces is likewise composed of many little States or Cities, which have several Marks of Sovereign Power within themselves, and are not subject to the Sovereignty of their Provinces; not being concluded in many Things by the Majority, but only by the universal Concurrence of Voices in the Provincial States. For as the States-General cannot make War or Peace, or any new Alliance, or Levies of Money, without the Consent of every Province; so cannot the States-Provincial conclude of any of those Points, without the Consent of each of the Cities, that, by their Constitution, has a Voice in that Assembly. And tho' in many Civil Causes there lies an Appeal from the common Judicature of the Cities, to the Provincial Courts of Justice; yet in Criminal, there lies none at all; nor can the Sovereignty of a Province exercise any Judicature, seize upon any Offender, or pardon any Offence within the Jurisdiction of a City, or execute any common Resolution or Law, but by the Justice and Officers of the City it self. By this a certain Sovereignty in each City is discerned, the chief Marks whereof are, the Power of exercising Judicature, levying of Money, and making War and Peace: For the other, of Coining Money, is neither in particular Cities or Provinces, but in the Generality of the Union, by common Agreement.

The main Ingredients therefore into the Composition of this State, are the Freedom of the Cities, the Sovereignty of the Provinces, the Agreements or Constitutions of the Union, and the Authority of the Princes of *Orange*: Which make the Order I shall follow in the Account intended of this Government. But whereas the several Provinces in the Union, and the several Cities in each Province, as they have, in their Orders and Constitutions, some particular Differences, as well as a general Resemblance; and the Account of each distinctly would swell this Discourse out of Measure, and to little purpose: I shall confine my self to the Account of *Holland*, as the richest, strongest, and of most Authority among the Provinces; and of *Amsterdam*, as that which has the same Preheminencies among the Cities.

Government of the City of Amsterdam.

The Sovereign Authority of the City of *Amsterdam* consists in the Decrees or Results of their Senate, which is compos'd of Six and Thirty Men, by whom the Justice is administer'd, according to ancient Forms; in the Names of Officers, and Places of Judicature. But Monies are levied by arbitrary Resolutions, and Proportions, according to what appears convenient or necessary upon the Change or Emergency of Occasions. These Senators are for their Lives, and the Senate was anciently chosen by the Voices of the richer Burghers, or Freemen of the City, who upon the Death of a Senator met together, either in a Church, a Market, or some other Place spacious enough to receive their Numbers; and there made an Election of the Person

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to ſucceed by the Majority of Voices. But about a hundred and thirty or forty Years ago, when the Towns of *Holland* began to increaſe in Circuit and in People, ſo as thoſe frequent Aſſemblies grew into danger of Tumult and Diſorder upon every Occaſion, by reaſon of their Numbers and Contentions; this Election of Senators came, by the Reſolution of the Burghers in one of their General Aſſemblies, to be devolved for ever upon the ſtanding Senate at that Time; ſo as ever ſince, when any one of their number dies, a new one is choſen by the reſt of the Senate, without any Intervention of the other Burghers; which makes the Government a ſort of *Oligarchy*, and very different from a popular Government, as it is generally eſteem'd by thoſe, who, paſſing or living in theſe Countries, content themſelves with common Obſervations or Inquiries. And this Reſolution of the Burghers, either was agreed upon, or follow'd by general Conſent or Example, about the ſame Time, in all the Towns of the Province, though with ſome difference in number of their Senators.

By this Senate are choſen the chief Magiſtrates of the Town, which are the Burgomaſters, and the Eſchevins: The Burgomaſters of *Amſterdam* are Four, whereof three are choſen every Year; ſo as one of them ſtays in Office two Years; but the three laſt choſen are call'd the *Reigning Burgomaſters* for that Year, and preſide by turns, after the firſt three Months; for ſo long after a new Elect, the Burgomaſter of the Year before preſides; in which time it is ſuppos'd the new ones will grow inſtructed in the Forms and Duties of their Office, and acquainted with the State of the Cities Affairs.

The Burgomaſters are choſen by moſt Voices of all thoſe Perſons in the Senate, who have been either Burgomaſters or Eſchevins; and their Authority reſembles that of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of our Cities. They repreſent the Dignity of the Government, and do the Honour of the City upon all Occaſions. They diſpoſe of all Under-Offices that fall in their Time; and iſſue out all Monies out of the common Stock or Treaſure, judging alone what is neceſſary for the Safety, Convenience, or Dignity of the City. They keep the Key of the Bank of *Amſterdam* (the common Treaſure of ſo many Nations) which is never open'd without the Preſence of one of them: And they inſpect and purſue all the great Publick Works of the City, as the *Ramparts* and *Stadt-houſe*, now almoſt finiſhed, with ſo great Magnificence, and ſo vaſt Expence.

This Office is a Charge of the greateſt Truſt, Authority, and Dignity; and ſo much the greater, by not being of Profit or Advantage, but only as a way to other conſtant Employments in the City, that are ſo. The Salary of a Burgomaſter of *Amſterdam* is but five hundred Gilders a Year, though there are Offices worth five thouſand in their Diſpoſal; but yet none of them known to have taken Money upon ſuch Occaſions, which would loſe all their Credit in the Town, and thereby their Fortunes by any Publick Employments. They are oblig'd to no ſort of Expence more than ordinary modeſt Citizens, in their Habits, their Attendance, their Tables, or any part of their own Domeſtick. They are upon all publick Occaſions waited on by Men in Salary from the Town; and whatever Feaſts they make upon ſolemn Days, or for the Entertainment of any Princes or Foreign Miniſters, the Charge is defrayed out of the common Treaſure; but proportion'd by their own Diſcretion. At other times, they appear in all Places with the Simplicity and Modeſty of other private Citizens. When the Burgomaſter's Office expires, they are of courſe diſpos'd into the other Charges or Employments of the Towns, which are very many and beneficial; unleſs they loſe their Credit with the Senate, by any want of Diligence or Fidelity in the Diſcharge of their Office, which ſeldom arrives.

The *Eſchevins* are the Court of Juſtice in every Town. They are at *Amſterdam* nine in Number; of which ſeven are choſen annually; but two of the preceding Year continues in Office. A double Number is named by the Senate, out of which the Burgomaſters now chuſe, as the Prince of *Orange* did in the former Conſtitution. They are Sovereign Judges in all criminal Cauſes. In Civil, after a certain Value, there lies Appeal to the Court

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of Juſtice of the Province. But they paſs Sentence of Death upon no Man, without firſt adviſing with the Burgomaſters; though, after that Form is paſt, they proceed themſelves, and are not bound to follow the Burgomaſters Opinion, but are left to their own: This being only a Care or Favour of Supererogation to the Life of a Man, which is ſo ſoon cut off, and never to be retrieved or made amends for.

Under theſe Sovereign Magiſtrates, the chief ſubordinate Officers of the Town, are the Treaſurers, who receive and iſſue out all Monies that are properly the Revenues or Stock of the City: The *Scout*, who takes care of the Peace, ſeizes all Criminals, and ſees the Sentences of Juſtice executed, and whoſe Authority is like that of a Sheriff in a Country with us, or a Conſtable in a Pariſh; the *Penſioner*, who is a Civil-Lawyer, vers'd in the Cuſtoms, and Records, and Privileges of the Town, concerning which he informs the Magiſtracy upon Occaſion, and vindicates them upon Diſputes with other Towns; he is a Servant of the Senate and the Burgomaſters, delivers their Meſſages, makes their Harangues upon all publick Occaſions, and is not unlike the Recorder in one of our Towns.

In this City of *Amſterdam* is the famous Bank, which is the greateſt Treaſure, either real or imaginary, that is known any where in the World. The Place of it is a great Vault under the Stadthouſe, made ſtrong with all the Circumſtances of Doors and Locks, and other appearing Cautions of Safety, that can be: And 'tis certain, that whoever is carried to the Bank, ſhall never fail to find the Appearance of a mighty real Treaſure, in Bars of Gold and Silver, Plate and infinite Bags of Metals, which are ſuppoſed to be all Gold and Silver, and may be ſo for ought I know. But the Burgomaſters only having the Inſpection of this Bank, and no Man taking any particular Account of what iſſues in and out, from Age to Age, 'tis impoſſible to make any Calculation, or gueſs what Proportion the real Treaſure may hold to the Credit of it. Therefore the Security of the Bank lies not only in the Effects that are in it, but in the Credit of the whole Town or State of *Amſterdam*, whoſe Stock and Revenue is equal to that of ſome Kingdoms; and who are bound to make good all Monies that are brought into their Bank. The Tickets or Bills hereof make all uſual great Payments, that are made between Man and Man in the Town; and not only in moſt other Places of the *United Provinces*, but in many other Trading Parts of the World. So as this Bank is properly a general Caſh, where every Man lodges in Money, becauſe he eſteems it ſafer, and eaſier paid in and out, than if it were in his Coffers at home: And the Bank is ſo far from paying any Intereſt for what is there brought in, that Money in the Bank is worth ſomething more in common Payments, than what runs current in Coin from Hand to Hand; no other Money paſſing in the Bank, but in the Species of Coin the beſt known, the moſt aſcertain'd, and the moſt generally current in all parts of the *Higher* as well as the *Lower Germany*.

The Revenues of *Amſterdam* ariſe out of the conſtant Exciſe upon all ſorts of Commodities bought and ſold within the Precinct: Or, out of the Rents of thoſe Houſes or Lands that belong in common to the City: Or, out of certain Duties and Impoſitions upon every Houſe, towards the Uſes of Charity, and the Repairs, or Adornments, or Fortifications, of the Place: Or elſe, out of extraordinary Levies conſented to by the Senate, for furniſhing their Part of the Publick Charge that is agreed to by their Deputies in the Provincial States, for the Uſe of the Province: Or, by the Deputies of the States of *Holland* in the States-General, for Support of the Union. And all theſe Payments are made into one Common Stock of the Town, not, as many of ours are, into that of the Pariſh, ſo as Attempts may be eaſier made at the Calculations of their whole Revenue: And I have heard it affirmed, that what is paid of all kinds to publick Uſes of the States-General, the Province, and the City in *Amſterdam*, amounts to above ſixteen hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling* a Year. But I enter into no Computations, nor give theſe for any thing more, than what I have heard from Men who pretended to make ſuch Enquiries, which, I confeſs, I did not. 'Tis certain, that in no Town, Strength, Beauty, and Convenience are better provided for, nor with more unlimited Expence, than

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in this, by the Magnificence of their publick Buildings, as Stadthouſe and Arſenals; the Number and Spaciouſneſs, as well as Order and Revenues, of their many Hoſpitals; the Commodiouſneſs of their Canals, running through the chief Streets of Paſſage; the mighty Strength of their Baſtions and Ramparts; and the Neatneſs, as well as Convenience, of their Streets, ſo far as can be compaſs'd in ſo great a Confluence of induſtrious People: All which could never be atchieved without a Charge much exceeding what ſeems proportioned to the Revenue of one ſingle Town.

Government of the Province of Holland.

The Senate chuſes the Deputies, which are ſent from this City to the States of *Holland*; the Soveraignty whereof is repreſented by Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, compoſing nineteen Voices: Of which the Nobles have only the firſt, and the Cities eighteen, according to the Number of thoſe which are called *Stemms*; the other Cities and Towns of the Province having no Voice in the States. Theſe Cities were originally but Six, *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Delf*, *Leyden*, *Amſterdam* and *Tergou*. But were encreaſed, by Prince *William* of *Naſſau*, to the Number of Eighteen, by the Addition of *Rotterdam*, *Gorcum*, *Schedam*, *Schonoven*, *Briel*, *Alcmaer*, *Horne*, *Enchuſen*, *Edam*, *Monnickdam*, *Medenblick*, and *Permeren*. This makes as great an Inequality in the Government of the Province, by ſuch a ſmall City as *Permeren* having an equal Voice in the Provincial-States with *Amſterdam* (which pays perhaps half of all Charges of the Province) as ſeems to be in the States-General, by ſo ſmall a Province as *Overyſſel* having an equal Voice in the States-General with that of *Holland*, which contributes more than half to the general Charge of the Union. But this was by ſome Writers of that Age interpreted to be done by the Prince's Authority, to leſſen that of the Nobles, and balance that of the greater Cities, by the Voices of the ſmaller, whoſe Dependencies were eaſier to be gained and ſecured.

The Nobles, though they are few in this Province, yet are not repreſented by all their Number, but by Eight or Nine, who, as Deputies from their Body, have Seſſion in the States-Provincial; and who, when one among them dies, chooſe another to ſucceed him. Though they have all together but one Voice equal to the ſmalleſt Town; yet they are very conſiderable in the Government, by poſſeſſing many of the beſt Charges both Civil and Military; by having the Direction of all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue that was ſeiz'd by the State upon the Change of Religion; and by ſending their Deputies to all the Councils both of the Generalty and the Province, and by the Nomination of one Counſellor in the two great Courts of Juſtice. They give their Voice firſt in the Aſſembly of the States, and thereby a great Weight to the Buſineſs in Conſultation. The Penſioner of *Holland* is ſeated with them, delivers their Voice for them, and aſſiſts at all their Deliberations, before they come to the Aſſembly. He is, properly, but Miniſter or Servant of the Province, and ſo his Place or Rank is behind all their Deputies; but has always great Credit, becauſe he is perpetual, or ſeldom diſcharged; though of right he ought to be chooſen or renewed every fifth Year. He has Place in all the ſeveral Aſſemblies of the Province, and in the States propoſes all Affairs, gathers the Opinions, and forms or digeſts the Reſolutions; pretending likewiſe a Power, not to conclude any very important Affair by plurality of Voices, when he judges in his Conſcience he ought not to do it, and that it will be of ill Conſequence or Prejudice to the Province. He is likewiſe one of their conſtant Deputies in the States-General.

The Deputies of the Cities are drawn out of the Magiſtrates and Senate of each Town. Their Number is uncertain and arbitrary, according to the Cuſtoms or Pleaſure of the Cities that ſend them, becauſe they have all together but one Voice, and are all maintained at their Cities Charge: But commonly one of the Burgomaſters and the Penſioner are of the Number.

The States of *Holland* have their Seſſion in the Court at the *Hague*, and aſſemble ordinarily four times a Year, in *February*, *June*, *September*, and *November*. In the former Seſſions, they provide for the filling up of all vacant Charges, and for renewing the Farms of all the ſeveral Taxes, and for conſulting about any Matters that concern either the general Good of the Province,

vince, or any particular Differences arising between the Towns. But in *November*, they meet purpoſely to reſolve upon the Continuance of the Charge which falls to the Share of their Province the following Year, according to what may have been agreed upon by the Deputies of the States-General, as neceſſary for the Support of the State or Union.

For extraordinary Occaſions, they are convoked by a Council called the *Gecommitteerde Raaden*, or the commiſſioned Counſellors, who are properly a Council of State, of the Province, compoſed of ſeveral Deputies; one from the Nobles; one from each of the chief Towns; and but one from three of the ſmaller Towns, each of the three chooſing him by turns. And this Council ſits conſtantly at the *Hague*; and both propoſes to the Provincial States, at their extraordinary Aſſemblies, the Matters of Deliberation; and executes their Reſolutions.

In theſe Aſſemblies, though all are equal in Voices, and any one hinders a Reſult; yet it ſeldom happens, but that, united by one common Bond of Intereſt, and having all one common End of publick Good, they come after full Debates to eaſie Reſolutions; yielding to the Power of Reaſon, where it is clear and ſtrong, and ſuppreſſing all private Paſſions or Intereſts, ſo as the ſmaller part ſeldom conteſts hard or long, what the greater agrees on. When the Deputies of the States agree in Opinion, they ſend ſome of their Number to their reſpective Towns, propoſing the Affair and the Reaſons alledged, and deſiring Orders from them to conclude; which ſeldom fails, if the Neceſſity or Utility be evident: If it be more intricate, or ſuffers Delay, the States adjourn for ſuch a Time, as admits the Return of all the Deputies to their Towns; where their Influence and Intereſt, and the Impreſſions of the Debates in their Provincial Aſſemblies, make the Conſent of the Cities eaſier gain'd.

Beſides the States and Council mention'd, the Province has likewiſe a Chamber of Accounts, who manage the general Revenues of the Province: And, beſides this Truſt, they have the abſolute Diſpoſition of the ancient Demeſn of *Holland*, without giving any Account to the States of the Province: Only at Times, either upon uſual Intervals, or upon a Neceſſity of Money, the States call upon them for a Subſidy of two or three hundred thouſand Crowns, or more, as they are preſs'd, or conceive the Chamber to be grown rich, beyond what is proportioned to the general Deſign of encreaſing the Eaſe and Fortunes of thoſe Perſons who compoſe it. The States of *Holland* diſpoſe of theſe Charges to Men grown aged in their Service, and who have paſs'd through moſt of the Employments of State, with the Eſteem of Prudence and Integrity; and ſuch Perſons find here an honourable and profitable Retreat.

The Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, as they uſed formerly to have one Governor in the Time of the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Auſtria*; ſo they have long had one common Judicature, which is exerciſed by two Courts of Juſtice, each of them common to both the Provinces. The firſt is compoſed of twelve Counſellors, nine of *Holland*, and three of *Zealand*, of whom the Governor of the Provinces is the Head; by the old Conſtitution uſed to preſide whenever he pleaſed, and to name all the Counſellors except one, who was choſen by the Nobles. This Court judges without Appeal in all Criminal Cauſes; but in Civil there lies Appeal to the other Court, which is called the High Council, from which there is no Appeal, but only by Petition to the States of the Province for a Reviſion: When theſe judge there is Reaſon for it, they grant Letters-patents to that purpoſe, naming ſome *Syndiques* out of the Towns, who being added to the Counſellors of the two former Courts reviſe and judge the Cauſe in the laſt Reſort. And this Courſe ſeems to have been inſtituted by way of Supply or Imitation of the Chamber of *Mechlyn*, to which, before the Revolt of the Provinces, there lay an Appeal, by way of Reviſion, from all or moſt of the Provincial Courts of Juſtice, as there ſtill doth in the *Spaniſh* Provinces of the *Netherlands*.

Government of the United Provinces.

The Union is made up of the ſeven Soveraign Provinces before named, who chooſe their reſpective Deputies, and ſend them to the *Hague*, for the compoſing of three ſeveral Colledges, call'd the States-General, the Council

of State, and the Chamber of Accounts. The Sovereign Power of this United State lies effectively in the Aſſembly of the States-General, which uſed at firſt to be convoked upon extraordinary Occaſions by the Council of State; but that ſeldom, in regard they uſually conſiſted of about Eight Hundred Perſons, whoſe meeting together in one Place, from ſo many ſeveral Parts, gave too great a Shake to the whole Body of the Union; made the Debates long, and ſometimes confuſed; the Reſolutions ſlow, and, upon ſudden Occaſions, out of time. In the Abſence of the States-General, the Council of State repreſented their Authority, and executed their Reſolutions, and judged of the Neceſſity of a new Convocation; till after the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s Departure from the Government, the Provincial-States deſired of the General, That they might, by their conſtant reſpective Deputies, continue their Aſſemblies under the Name of *States-General*, which were never after aſſembled but at *Bergen ap Zoom*, for ratifying with more ſolemn Form and Authority the Truce concluded with Duke *Albert* and *Spain*.

This Deſire of the Provinces was grounded upon the Pretences, That the Council of State convoked them but ſeldom, and at Will; and that being to execute all in their Abſence, they thereby arrogated to themſelves too great an Authority in the State. But a more ſecret Reaſon had greater Weight in this Affair, which was, That the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador had, by agreement with Queen *Elizabeth*, a conſtant Place in their Council of State; and upon the Diſtaſtes ariſing between the Provinces and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with ſome Jealouſies of the Queen's Diſpoſition to make a Peace with *Spain*, they had no mind that her Ambaſſador ſhould be preſent any longer in the firſt Digeſtion of their Affairs, which was then uſually made in the Council of State. And hereupon they firſt framed the ordinary Council, call'd the *States-General*, which has ever ſince paſs'd by that Name, and ſits conſtantly in the Court at the *Hague*, repreſents the Soveraignty of the Union, gives Audience and Diſpatches to all Foreign Miniſters; but yet is indeed only a Repreſentative of the States-General, the Aſſemblies whereof are wholly diſuſed.

The Council of State, the Admiralty, and the Treaſury, are all ſubordinate to this Council: All which are continu'd in as near a Reſemblance, as could be, to the ſeveral Councils uſed in the Time when the Provinces were ſubject to their ſeveral Principalities; or united under one in the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Auſtria*: Only the ſeveral Deputies (compoſing one Voice) now ſucceeding the ſingle Perſons employ'd under the former Governments: And the *Hague*, which was the ancient Seat of the Counts of *Holland*, ſtill continues to be ſo of all theſe Councils; where the Palace of the former Soveraigns, lodges the Prince of *Orange* as Governor, and receives theſe ſeveral Councils as attending ſtill upon the Soveraignty, repreſented by the States-General.

The Members of all theſe Councils are placed and changed by the ſeveral Provinces, according to their different or agreeing Cuſtoms. To the States-General every one ſends their Deputies, in what Number they pleaſe; ſome Two, ſome Ten or Twelve; which makes no Difference, becauſe all Matters are carry'd, not by the Votes of Perſons, but of Provinces; and all the Deputies from one Province, how few or many ſoever, have one ſingle Vote. The Provinces differ likewiſe in the Time fixed for their Deputation; ſome ſending for a Year, ſome for more, and others for Life. The Provinces of *Holland* ſend to the States-General one of their Nobles, who is perpetual; Two Deputies choſen out of their Eight chief Towns; and One out of *North-Holland*; and with theſe, Two of their Provincial Council of State, and their *Penſioner*.

Neither Stadtholder or Governor, or any Perſon in Military Charge, has Seſſion in the States-General. Every Province preſides their Week in turns, and by the moſt qualified Perſon of the Deputies of that Province: He ſits in a Chair with Arms, at the middle of a long Table, capable of holding about thirty Perſons; for about that Number this Council is uſually compoſed of. The *Greffier*, who is in Nature of a Secretary, ſits at the lower end of the Table. When a Foreign Miniſter has Audience, he is ſeated at the

middle of this Table, over againſt the Preſident, who propoſes all Matters in this Aſſembly; makes the *Greffier* read all Papers; puts the Queſtion; calls the Voices of the Provinces; and forms the Concluſion. Or, if he refuſes to conclude according to the Plurality, he is obliged to reſign his Place to the Preſident of the enſuing Week, who concludes for him.

This is the Courſe in all Affairs before them, except in Caſes of Peace and War, of Foreign Alliances, of Raiſing or Coining Monies, or the Privileges of each Province or Member of the Union. In all which, All the Provinces muſt concur, Plurality being not at all weighed or obſerved. This Council is not Soveraign, but only repreſents the Soveraignty; and therefore, though Ambaſſadors are both received and ſent in their Name; yet neither are their own choſen, nor Foreign Miniſters anſwer'd, nor any of thoſe mention'd Affairs reſolv'd, without conſulting firſt the States of each Province by their reſpective Deputies, and receiving Orders from them; and in other important Matters, though decided by Plurality, they frequently conſult with the Council of State.

Nor has this Method or Conſtitution ever been broken ſince their State began, excepting only in one Affair, which was in *January* 1668, when His Majeſty ſent me over to propoſe a League of Mutual Defence with this State, and another for the Preſervation of *Flanders* for the Invaſion of *France*, which had already conquered a great Part of the *Spaniſh* Provinces, and left the reſt at the Mercy of the next Campaign. Upon this Occaſion I had the Fortune to prevail with the States-General to conclude three Treaties, and upon them draw up and ſign the ſeveral Inſtruments, in the Space of five Days; without paſſing the eſſential Forms of their Government by any Recourſe to the Provinces, which muſt likewiſe have had it to the ſeveral Cities: There, I knew, thoſe Foreign Miniſters, whoſe Duty and Intereſt it was to oppoſe this Affair, expected to meet, and to elude it; which could not have failed, in caſe it had run that Circle, ſince engaging the Voice of one City muſt have broken it. 'Tis true, that in concluding theſe Alliances without Commiſſion from their Principals, the Deputies of the States-General ventur'd their Heads, if they had been diſowned by their Provinces; but being all unanimous, and led by the clear Evidence of ſo direct and ſo important an Intereſt (which muſt have been loſt by the uſual Delays) they all agreed to run the Hazard; and were ſo far from being diſowned, that they were applauded by all the Members of every Province: Having thereby changed the whole Face of Affairs in Chriſtendom, and laid the Foundation of the Triple-Alliance, and the Peace of *Aix* (which were concluded about four Months after.) So great has the Force of Reaſon and Intereſt ever prov'd in this State, not only to the uniting of all Voices in their Aſſemblies, but to the abſolving of the greateſt Breach of their Original Conſtitutions; even in a State, whoſe Safety and Greatneſs has been chiefly founded upon the ſevere and exact Obſervance of Order and Method, in all their Counſels and Executions. Nor have they ever uſed, at any other time, any greater Means to agree and unite the ſeveral Members of their Union, in the Reſolutions neceſſary, upon the moſt preſſing Occaſions, than for the agreeing Provinces to name ſome of their ableſt Perſons to go and confer with the Diſſenting, and repreſent thoſe Reaſons and Intereſts, by which they have been induced to their Opinions.

The Council of State is compos'd of Deputies from the ſeveral Provinces, but after another manner than the States-General, the Number being fix'd. *Gelderland* ſends Two, *Holland* Three, *Zealand* and *Utrecht* Two apiece, *Friezland*, *Overyſſel* and *Groningben*, each of them One, making in all Twelve. They vote not by Provinces, but by Perſonal Voices; and every Deputy preſides by Turns. In this Council the Governor of the Provinces has Seſſion, and a deciſive Voice; and the Treaſurer-General, Seſſion, but a Voice only deliberative; yet he has much Credit here, being for Life; and ſo is the Perſon deputed to this Council from the Nobles of *Holland*, and the Deputies of the Province of *Zealand*. The reſt are but for two, three, or four Years.

The Council of State executes the Reſolution of the States-General; conſults and propoſes to them the moſt expedient Ways of raiſing Troops, and

levying

levying Monies, as well as the Proportions of both, which they conceive neceſſary in all Conjunctures and Revolutions of the State; ſuperintends the Militia, the Fortifications, the Contributions out of the Enemies Country, the Forms and Diſpoſals of all Paſſports, and the Affairs, Revenues, and Government of all Places conquer'd ſince the Union; which, being gain'd by the common Arms of this State, depend upon the States-General, and not upon any particular Province.

Towards the End of every Year, this Council forms a State of the Expence they conceive will be neceſſary for the Year enſuing; preſents it to the States-General, deſiring them to demand ſo much of the States-Provincial, to be raiſed according to the uſual Proportions, which are, of 100000 Guilders.

	Grs.	St.	D.
Gelderland	3612	05	00
Holland	38309	01	10
Zealand	6183	14	02
Utrecht	5830	17	11
Friezland	11661	15	10
Overyſſel	3571	08	04
Groninghen	5930	17	11

This Petition, as 'tis called, is made to the States-General, in the Name of the Governor and Council of State, which is but a Continuance of the Forms uſed in the Time of their Sovereigns, and ſtill by the Governors and Council of State in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: Petition ſignifying barely aſking or demanding, tho' implying the Thing demanded to be wholly in the Right and Power of them that give. It was uſed by the firſt Counts, only upon extraordinary Occaſions, and Neceſſities; but in the Time of the Houſes of *Burgundy* and *Auſtria* grew to be a Thing of Courſe, and annual, as it is ſtill in the *Spaniſh* Provinces.

The Council of State diſpoſes of all Sums of Money deſtin'd for all extraordinary Affairs, and expedites the Orders for the whole Expence of the State, upon the Reſolutions firſt taken, in the main, by the States-General. The Orders muſt be ſigned by three Deputies of ſeveral Provinces, as well as by the Treaſurer-General, and then regiſter'd in the Chamber of Accounts, before the Receiver-General pays them, which is then done without any Difficulty, Charge, or Delay.

Every Province raiſes what Monies it pleaſes, and by what Ways or Means, ſends its *Quota*, or Share, of the general Charge, to the Receiver-General, and converts the reſt to the preſent Uſe, or reſerves it for the future Occaſions of the Province.

The Chamber of Accounts was erected about ſixty Years ago, for the Eaſe of the Council of State, to examine and ſtate all Accounts of all the ſeveral Receivers, to controul and regiſter the Orders of the Council of State, which diſpoſes of the Finances: And this Chamber is compos'd of Two Deputies from each Province, who are changed every three Years.

Beſides theſe Colleges, is the Council of the Admiralty; who, when the States-General, by Advice of the Council of State, have deſtin'd a Fleet of ſuch a Number and Force to be ſet out, have the abſolute Diſpoſition of the Marine Affairs, as well in the Choice and Equipage of all the ſeveral Ships, as in iſſuing the Monies allotted for that Service.

This College is ſubdivided into Five, of which Three are in *Holland*, viz. One in *Amſterdam*, another at *Rotterdam*, and the Third at *Horn*; the Fourth is at *Middlebourgh* in *Zealand*, and the Fifth at *Harlinguen* in *Friezland*. Each of theſe is compoſed of Seven Deputies, Four of that Province where the College reſides, and Three named by the other Provinces. The Admiral, or, in his Abſence, the Vice-Admiral, has Seſſion in all theſe Colleges, and preſides when he is preſent. They take Cogniſance of all Crimes committed at Sea; judge all Pirates that are taken, and all Frauds or Negligences in the Payment or Collections of the Cuſtoms, which are particularly affected

to

to the Admiralty, and applicable to no other Uſe. This *Fond* being not ſufficient in Times of War, is ſupplied by the States with whatever more is neceſſary from other *Fonds*; but in Time of Peace, being little exhauſted by other conſtant Charge, beſides that of Convoys to their ſeveral Fleets of Merchants in all Parts, the Remainder of this Revenue is applied to the Building of great Ships of War, and furniſhing the ſeveral Arſenals and Stores with all ſorts of Proviſion, neceſſary for the Building and Rigging of more Ships than can be needed by the Courſe of a long War.

So ſoon as the Number and Force of the Fleets deſign'd for any Expedition is agreed by the States-General, and given out by the Council of State to the Admiralty; each particular College furniſhes their own Proportion, which is known as well as that of the ſeveral Provinces, in all Monies that are to be raiſed. In all which, the Admiral has no other Share or Advantage, beſides his bare Salary, and his Proportion in Prizes that are taken. The Captains and Superior Officers of each Squadron are choſen by the ſeveral Colleges; the Number of Men appointed for every Ship: After which, each Captain uſes his beſt Diligence and Credit to fill his Number with the beſt Men he can get, and take the whole Care and Charge of Victualling his own Ship from the Time intended for that Expedition, and ſignify'd to him by the Admiralty; and this at a certain Rate of ſo much a Man. And by the good or ill Diſcharge of his Truſt, as well as that of providing Chirurgeons, Medicines, and all Things neceſſary for the Health of the Men, each Captain grows into good or ill Credit with the Seamen, and, by their Report, with the Admiralties; upon whoſe Opinion and Eſteem the Fortune of all Sea-Officers depends: So as, in all their Expeditions, there appears rather an Emulation among the particular Captains who ſhall treat his Seamen beſt in theſe Points, and employ the Monies allotted for their Victualling to the beſt Advantage, than any little Knaviſh Practices, of filling their own Purſes by keeping their Men's Bellies empty, or forcing them to corrupted unwholſome Diet: Upon which, and upon Cleanlineſs in their Ships, the Health of many People crowded up into ſo little Room ſeems chiefly to depend.

The Salaries of all the Great Officers of this State are very ſmall: I have already mention'd that of a Burgomaſter's of *Amſterdam* to be about Fifty Pounds *ſterling* a Year: That of their Vice-Admiral (for ſince the laſt Prince of *Orange*'s Death, to the Year 1670, there had been no Admiral) is Five Hundred, and that of the *Penſioner* of *Holland* Two Hundred.

The Greatneſs of this State ſeems much to conſiſt in theſe Orders, how confuſed ſoever and of different Pieces they may ſeem: But more in two main Effects of them, which are, The good Choice of the Officers of chief Truſt in the Cities, Provinces, and State: And the great Simplicity and Modeſty in the common Port or Living of their chiefeſt Miniſters; without which, the Abſoluteneſs of the Senates in each Town, and the Immenſity of Taxes throughout the whole State, would never be endured by the People with any Patience; being both of them greater than in many of thoſe Governments, which are eſteem'd more arbitrary among their Neighbours. But in the Aſſemblies and Debates of their Senates, every Man's Abilities are diſcovered, as their Diſpoſitions are in the Conduct of their Lives and Domeſtick Affairs among their Fellow-Citizens. The Obſervations of theſe either raiſes, or ſuppreſſes, the Credit of particular Men, both among the People, and the Senates of their Towns; who, to maintain their Authority with leſs popular Envy or Diſcontent, give much to the general Opinion of the People in the Choice of their Magiſtrates: By this means it comes to paſs, that, though perhaps the Nation generally be not wiſe, yet the Government is, Becauſe it is compoſed of the wiſeſt of the Nation; which may give it an Advantage over many others, where Ability is of more common Growth, but of leſs Uſe to the Publick; if it happens that neither Wiſdom nor Honeſty are the Qualities, which bring Men to the Management of State-Affairs, as they uſually do in this Commonwealth.

Beſides, though theſe People, who are naturally Cold and Heavy, may not be ingenious enough to furniſh a pleaſant or agreeable Converſation; yet they

they want not plain down-right Senſe to underſtand and do their Buſineſs both publick and private, which is a Talent very different from the other; and I know not whether they often meet: For the firſt proceeds from Heat of the Brain, which makes the Spirits more airy and volatile, and thereby the Motions of Thought lighter and quicker, and the Range of Imagination much greater than in cold Heads, where their Spirits are more earthy and dull: Thought moves ſlower and heavier, but thereby the Impreſſions of it are deeper, and laſt longer; one Imagination being not ſo frequently, nor ſo eaſily effaced by another, as where new ones are continually ariſing. This makes duller Men more conſtant and ſteady, and quicker Men more inconſtant and uncertain; whereas the greateſt Ability in Buſineſs ſeems to be the ſteady Purſuit of ſome one Thing, till there is an End of it, with perpetual Application and Endeavour not to be diverted by every Repreſentation of new Hopes or Fears of Difficulty or Danger, of of ſome better Deſign. The firſt of theſe Talents cuts like a Razor, the other like a Hatchet: One has Thinneſs of Edge, and Fineneſs of Metal and Temper, but is eaſily turn'd by any Subſtance that is hard, and reſiſts: T'other has Toughneſs and Weight, which makes it cut through, or go deep, where ever it falls; and therefore one is for Adornment, and t'other for Uſe.

It may be ſaid further, that the Heat of the Heart commonly goes along with that of the Brain; ſo that Paſſions are warmer, where Imaginations are quicker: And there are few Men (unleſs in caſe of ſome evident Natural Defect) but have Senſe enough to diſtinguiſh in groſs between Right and Wrong, between Good and Bad, when repreſented to them; and conſequently have Judgment enough to do their Buſineſs, if it be left to itſelf, and not ſway'd nor corrupted by ſome Humour or Paſſion, by Anger or Pride, by Love or by Scorn, Ambition or Avarice, Delight or Revenge; ſo that the Coldneſs of Paſſions ſeems to be the natural Ground of Ability and Honeſty among Men, as the Government or Moderation of them the great End of Philoſophical and Moral Inſtructions. Theſe Speculations may perhaps a little leſſen the common Wonder, How we ſhould meet with in one Nation ſo little ſhew of Parts and of Wit, and ſo great Evidence of Wiſdom and Prudence, as has appear'd in the Conduct and Succeſſes of this State, for near an Hundred Years; which needs no other Teſtimony, than the mighty Growth and Power it arriv'd to, from ſo weak and contemptible Seeds and Beginnings.

The other Circumſtance I mentioned as an Occaſion of their Greatneſs, was the Simplicity and Modeſty of their Magiſtrates in their way of Living; which is ſo general, that I never knew one among them exceed the common frugal popular Air; and ſo great, that of the two chief Officers in my Time, Vice-Admiral *De Ruite* and the Penſioner *De Wit* (one generally eſteemed by Foreign Nations as great a Seaman, and the other as great a Statesman, as any of their Age.) I never ſaw the firſt in Cloaths better than the commonſt Sea-Captain, nor with above one Man following him, nor in a Coach: And in his own Houſe, neither was the Size, Building, Furniture, or Entertainment, at all exceeding the Uſe of every common Merchant and Tradeſman in his Town. For the Penſioner *De Wit*, who had the great Influence in the Government, the whole Train and Expence of his Domeſtic went very equal with other common Deputies or Miniſters of the State: His Habit grave and plain, and popular: His Table, what only ſerv'd Turn for his Family, or a Friend: His Train (beſides Commiſſaries and Clerks kept for him in an Office adjoining to his Houſe, at the publick Charge) was only one Man, who performed all the Menial Service of his Houſe at home; and upon his Viſits of Ceremony, putting on a plain Livery-Cloak, attended his Coach abroad: For, upon other Occaſions, he was ſeen uſually in the Streets on Foot and alone, like the commoneſt Burgher of the Town. Nor was this manner of Life affected, or us'd only by theſe particular Men, but was the general Faſhion and Mode among all the Magiſtrates of the State: For I ſpeak not of the Military Officers, who are reckon'd their Servants, and live in a different Garb, though generally modeſter than in other Countries.

Thus

Thus this ſtomachful People, who could not endure the leaſt Exerciſe of Arbitrary Power or Impoſitions, or the Sight of any Foreign Troops under the *Spaniſh* Government, have been ſince inured to all of them, in the higheſt Degree, under their own popular Magiſtrates; bridled with hard Laws; terrified with ſevere Executions; environ'd with Foreign Forces; and oppreſs'd with the moſt cruel Hardſhip and Variety of Taxes, that was ever known under any Government. But all this, whilſt the Way to Office and Authority lies through thoſe Qualities, which acquire the general Eſteem of the People; whilſt no Man is exempted from the Danger and Current of Laws; whilſt Soldiers are confin'd to Frontier-Garriſons (the Guard of Inland, or Trading Towns being left to the Burghers themſelves;) and whilſt no great Riches are ſeen to enter by publick Payments into private Purſes, either to raiſe Families, or to feed the prodigal Expences of vain, extravagant and luxurious Men; but all publick Monies are applied to the Safety, Greatneſs, or Honour of the State, and the Magiſtrates themſelves bear an equal Share in all the Burthens they impoſe.

The Authority of the Princes of Orange.

The Authority of the Princes of *Orange*, though intermitted upon the untimely Death of the laſt, and Infancy of this preſent Prince; yet, as it muſt be ever acknowledg'd to have had a moſt eſſential Part in the firſt Frame of this Government, and in all the Fortunes thereof, during the whole Growth and Progreſs of the State: So has it ever preſerv'd a very ſtrong Root, not only in ſix of the Provinces, but even in the general and popular Affections of the Province of *Holland* itſelf, whoſe States have, for theſe laſt twenty Years, ſo much endeavour'd to ſuppreſs or exclude it.

This began in the Perſon of Prince *William* of *Naſſau*, at the very Birth of the State; and not ſo much by the Quality of being Governour of *Holland* and *Zealand* in *Charles* the Fifth's and *Philip* the Second's Time; as by the Eſteem of ſo great Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Courage, as excell'd in that Prince, and ſeems to have been from him deriv'd to his whole Race; being, indeed, the Qualities that naturally acquire Eſteem and Authority among the People, in all Governments. Nor has this Nation in particular, ſince the Time perhaps of *Civilis*, ever been without ſome Head, under ſome Title or other; but always an Head ſubordinate to their Laws and Cuſtoms, and to the Soveraign Power of the State.

In the firſt Conſtitution of this Government, after the Revolt from *Spain*, all the Power and Rights of Prince *William* of *Orange*, as Governor of the Provinces, ſeem to have been carefully reſerv'd. But thoſe which remain'd inherent in the Soveraign were devolved upon the Aſſembly of the States-General, ſo as in them remain'd the Power of making Peace and War and all Foreign Alliances, and of raiſing and coining of Monies. In the Prince, the Command of all Land and Sea-Forces, as Captain-General and Admiral, and thereby the Diſpoſition of all Military Commands; the Power of pardoning the Penalty of Crimes; the chooſing of Magiſtrates upon the Nomination of the Towns; for they preſented three to the Prince, who elected one out of that Number. Originally the States-General was convoked by the Council of State, where the Prince had the greateſt Influence: Nor, ſince that Change, have the States uſed to reſolve any important Matter without his Advice. Beſides all this, as the States-General repreſented the Sovereignty; ſo did the Prince of *Orange* the Dignity of this State, by publick Guards; and the Attendance of all Military Officers; by the Application of all Foreign Miniſters, and all Pretenders at home; by the Splendor of his Court, and Magnificence of his Expence, ſupported not only by the Penſions and Rights of his ſeveral Charges and Commands, but by a mighty Patrimonial Revenue in Lands and Soveraign Principalities, and Lordſhips, as well in *France*, *Germany* and *Burgundy*, as in the ſeveral Parts of the Seventeen Provinces; ſo as Prince *Henry* was uſed to anſwer ſome, that would have flatter'd him into the Deſigns of a more Arbitary Power, That he had as much as any wiſe Prince would deſire in that State; ſince he wanted none indeed, beſides that of puniſhing Men, and raiſing Money; whereas he had rather the Envy of the firſt ſhould lie upon the Forms of the Government; and he knew the other could

never

never be ſupported without the Conſent of the People, to that degree which was neceſſary for the Defence of ſo ſmall a State, againſt ſo mighty Princes as their Neighbours.

Upon theſe Foundations was this State firſt eſtabliſhed, and by theſe Orders maintain'd, till the Death of the laſt Prince of *Orange*: When, by the great Influence of the Province of *Holland* amongſt the reſt, the Authority of the Princes came to be ſhar'd among the ſeveral Magiſtracies of the State; Thoſe of the Cities aſſum'd the laſt Nomination of their ſeveral Magiſtrates; the States-Provincial, the Diſpoſal of all Military Commands in thoſe Troops, which their Share was to pay; and the States-General, the Command of the Armies, by Officers of their own Appointment, ſubſtituted and changed at their Will. No Power remain'd to pardon what was once condemned by Rigor of Law; nor any Perſon to repreſent the Port and Dignity of a Soveraign State: Both which could not fail of being ſenſibly miſs'd by the People; ſince no Man in particular can be ſecure of offending, or would therefore abſolutely deſpair of Impunity himſelf, though he would have others do ſo; and Men are generally pleas'd with the Pomp and Splendor of a Government, not only as it is an Amuſement for idle People, but as it is a Mark of the Greatneſs, Honour and Riches of their Country.

However, theſe Defects were for near Twenty Years ſupply'd in ſome Meaſure, and this Frame ſupported by the great Authority and Riches of the Province of *Holland*, which drew a ſort of Dependence from the other Six; and by the great Sufficiency, Integrity and Conſtancy of their chief Miniſter, and by the Effect of both in the proſperous Succeſſes of their Affairs: Yet having been a Conſtitution ſtrained againſt the current Vein and Humour of the People; it was always evident, that upon the Growth of this young Prince, the great Virtues and Qualities he deriv'd from the Mixture of ſuch Royal and ſuch Princely Blood, could not fail, in time, of raiſind his Authority to equal, at leaſt, if not to ſurpaſs that of his glorious Anceſtors.

Becauſe the Curious may deſire to know ſomething of the other Provinces, as well as *Holland*, at leaſt in general, and where they differ; it may be obſerv'd, That the Conſtitutions of *Gelderland*, *Zealand* and *Utrecht*, agree much with thoſe of *Holland*; the States in each Province being compos'd of Deputies from the Nobles and the Cities; but with theſe ſmall Differences: In *Gelderland*, all the Nobles, that have certain Fees or Lordſhips in the Province, have Seſſion, they compoſe one half of the States, and the Deputies of the Towns the other; and though ſome certain Perſons among them are deputed to the States-General, yet any of the Nobles of *Gelder* may have place there, if he will attend at his own Charge.

In *Zealand*, the Nobility having been extinguiſh'd in the *Spaniſh* Wars, and the Prince of *Orange* poſſeſſing the Marquiſats of *Fluſhing* and *Terveer*, his Highneſs alone makes that Part of the States in the Province, by the Quality and Title of Firſt, or Sole, Noble of *Zealand*; and thereby has, by his Deputy, the firſt Place and Voice in the States of the Province, the Council of State, and Chamber of Accounts: As Soveraign of *Fluſhing* and *Terveer*, he likewiſe creates the Magiſtrates, and conſequently diſpoſes the Voices, not only of the Nobles, but alſo of two Towns, whereas there are in all but Six, that ſend their Deputies to the States, and make up the Soveraignty of the Province.

In *Utrecht*, beſides the Deputies of the Nobles and Towns, Eight Delegates of the Clergy have Seſſion, and make a third Member in the States of the Province. Theſe are elected out of the four great Chapters of the Town, the Preferments and Revenues whereof (though anciently Eccleſiaſtical) yet are now poſſeſſed by Lay-perſons, who are moſt of them Gentlemen of the Province.

The Government of the Province of *Friezland* is wholly different from that of the Four Provinces alredy mention'd; and is compoſed of Four Members, which are call'd, The Quarter of *Oſtergo*, conſiſting of Eleven Baillages; of *Weſtergo*, conſiſting of Nine; and of *Seveawolden*, conſiſting of Ten. Each Baillage comprehends a certain Number of Villages, Ten, Twelve,

Fifteen, or Twenty, according to their ſeveral Extents. The Fourth Member conſiſts of the Towns of the Province, which are Eleven in Number. Theſe Four Members have each of them right of ſending their Deputies to the States, that is, Two choſen out of every Baillage, and Two out of every Town. And theſe repreſent the Soveraignty of the Province, and deliberate and conclude on all Affairs, of what Importance ſoever, without any Recourſe to thoſe who deputed them, or Obligation to know their Intentions, which the Deputies of all the former Provinces are ſtrictly bound to, and either muſt follow the Inſtructions they bring with them to the Aſſembly, or know the Reſolution of their Principals before they conclude of any new Affair that ariſes.

In the other Provinces, the Nobles of the Towns chooſe the Deputies which compoſe the States, but in *Friezland* the Conſtitution is of quite another Sort. For every Baillage, which is compos'd of a certain Extent of Country, and Number of Villages (as has been ſaid) is govern'd by a Baily, whom in their Language they call *Greetman*, and this Officer governs his Circuit, with the Aſſiſtance of a certain Number of Perſons, who are call'd his Aſſeſſors, who, together, judge of all Civil Cauſes, in the firſt Inſtance, but with Appeal to the Court of Juſtice of the Province. When the States are convoked, every Baily aſſembles together all the Perſons, of what Quality ſoever, who poſſeſs a certain Quantity of Land within his Diſtrict, and theſe Men, by moſt Voices, name the Two Deputies which each Baillage ſends to the Aſſembly of the States.

This Aſſembly, as it repreſents the Soveraignty of the Province, ſo it diſpoſes of all vacant Charges, chooſes the nine Deputies who compoſe that permanent College which is the Council of State of the Province; and likewiſe twelve Counſellors (that is, three for every Quarter) who compoſe the Court of Juſtice of the Province, and judge of all Civil Cauſes in the laſt Reſort, but of all Criminal from the firſt Inſtance; there being no other Criminal Juriſdiction, but this only, through the Province: Whereas, in the other Provinces, there is no Town which has it not within itſelf: And ſeveral, both Lords and Villages, have the High and Low Juſtice belonging to them.

In the Province of *Groningue*, which is upon the ſame Tract of Land, the Elections of the Deputies out of the Country are made as in *Friezland*, by Perſons poſſeſs'd of ſet Proportions of Land; but in *Overyſſel*, all Nobles, who are qualify'd by having Seigneurial Lands, make a Part of the States.

Theſe Three Provinces, with *Weſtphalia*, and all thoſe Countries between the *Wezer*, the *Yſſel*, and the *Rhine*, were the Seat of the ancient *Frizons*, who, under the Name of *Saxons* (given them from the Weapon they wore, made like a Sithe, with the Edge outwards, and call'd in their Language *Seaxes*) were the fierce Conquerors of our *Britiſh* Iſland, being call'd in upon the Deſertion of the *Roman* Forces, and the cruel Incurſions of the *Picts* againſt a People, whoſe long Wars, at firſt with the *Romans* and afterwards Servitude under them, had exhauſted all the braveſt Blood of their Nation, either in their own, or their Maſters, ſucceeding Quarrels, and depreſs'd the Hearts and Courages of the reſt.

The Biſhop of *Munſter*, whoſe Territories lie in this Tract of Land, gave me the firſt certain Evidences of thoſe being the Seats of our ancient *Saxons*, which have ſince been confirmed to me by many Things I have obſerved in reading the Stories of thoſe Times, and by what has been affirmed to me upon Enquiry of the *Frizons* old Language having ſtill ſo great Affinity with our old *Engliſh*, as to appear eaſily to have been the ſame; moſt of their Words ſtill retaining the ſame Signification and Sound; very different from the Language of the *Hollanders*. This is the moſt remarkable in a little Town called *Mulcaera*, upon the *Zudder* Sea, in *Friezland*, which is ſtill built after the Faſhion of the old *German* Villages, deſcrib'd by *Tacitus*; without any Uſe or Obſervation of Lines or Angles; but as if every Man had built in a common Field,

Field, juſt where he had a mind, ſo as a Stranger, when he goes in, muſt have a Guide to find the Way out again.

Upon theſe Informations and Remarks, and the particular Account afterwards given me of the Conſtitutions of the Province of *Friezland*, ſo different from the others; I began to make Reflections upon them, as the likelieſt Originals of many ancient Conſtitutions among us, of which no others can be found, and which may ſeem to have been introduc'd by the *Saxons* here, and by their long and abſolute Poſſeſſion of that Part of the Iſle, called *England*, to have been ſo planted and rooted among us, as to have waded ſafe in a great Meaſure, through the ſucceeding Inundations and Conqueſts of the *Daniſh* and *Norman* Nations. And, perhaps, there may be much Matter found for the curious Remarks of ſome diligent and ſtudious Antiquaries, in the Compariſons of the *Bailli* or *Greetman* among the *Frizons*, with our *Sheriff*: Of their *Aſſeſſors*, with our *Juſtices* of the Peace: Of their judging Civil Cauſes in their Diſtrict, upon the Reſort, but not without Appeal, with the Courſe of our Quarter-Seſſions: Of their chief Judicature, being compoſed of Counſellors of Four ſeveral Quarters, with our Four Circuits. Of theſe being the common Criminal Judicature of the Country: Of the Compoſition of their States, with our Parliament, at leaſt, our Houſe of Commons: In the Particulars of Two Deputies being choſen from each Town, as with us, and Two from each Baillage, as from each County here: And theſe laſt by Voices of all Perſons, poſſeſs'd of a certain Quantity of Land; and at a Meeting aſſembled by the *Greetman* to that Purpoſe: And theſe Deputies having Power to reſolve all Matters without Reſort to thoſe that choſe 'em, or Knowledge of their Intentions; which are all Circumſtances agreeing with our Conſtitutions, but abſolutely differing from thoſe of the other Provinces in the United States, and from the Compoſition, I think, of the States, either now, or formerly, uſed in the other Nations of *Europe*.

To this Original, I ſuppoſe, we likewiſe owe what I have often wonder'd at, that in *England* we neither ſee nor find upon Record, any Lord or Lordſhip, that pretends to have the Exerciſe of Judicature belong to it, either that which is called High or Low Juſtice, which ſeems to be a Badge of ſome ancient Sovereignty: Though we ſee them very frequent among our Neighbours, both under more arbitrary Monarchies, and under the moſt free and popular States.

CHAP. III.

Of their SITUATION.

HOlland, Zealand, Friezland and Groninguen are ſeated upon the Sea, and make the Strength and Greatneſs of this State: The other Three, with the conquer'd Towns in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and *Cleve*, make only the Outworks or Frontiers, ſerving chiefly for Safety and Defence of theſe. No Man can tell the ſtrange and mighty Changes, that may have been made in the Face and Bounds of Maritime Countries, at one time or other, by furious Inundations, upon the unuſual Concurrence of Land-Floods, Winds and Tides; and therefore no Man knows, whether the Province of *Holland* may not have been in ſome paſt Ages, all Wood, and rough unequal Ground, as ſome old Traditions go; and levell'd to what we ſee, by the Sea's breaking in, and continuing long upon the Land; ſince recover'd by its Receſs, and with the Help of Induſtry. For it is evident, that the Sea, for ſome Space of Years, advances continually upon one Coaſt, retiring from the oppoſite; and in another Age, quite changes this Courſe, yielding up what it had ſeized, and ſeizing what it had yielded up, without any Reaſon

to be given of such contrary Motions. But, I suppose, this great Change was made in *Holland*, when the Sea first parted *England* from the Continent, breaking through a Neck of Land between *Dover* and *Calais*; which may be a Tale, but I am sure is no Record. It is certain, on the contrary, that Sixteen Hundred Years ago there was no usual Mention or Memory of any such Changes; and that the Face of all these Coasts, and Nature of the Soil, especially that of *Holland*, was much as it is now; allowing only the Improvements of Riches, Time, and Industry; which appears by the Description made in *Tacitus*, both of the Limits of the Isle of *Batavia*, and the Nature of the Soil, as well as the Climate, with the very Names and Course of Rivers, still remaining.

Rhenus apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnes dividitur, ad Gallicam ripam latior & placidior verso cognomento Vahalem accolæ dicunt, mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine, ejusque immenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur.

Cum interim flexu Autumni & crebris imbribus superfusus amnis palustrem humilemque Insulam in faciem Stagni opplevit.

'Tis likely, the Changes arrived since that Age in these Countries may have been made by Stoppages grown in time with the rolling of Sands upon the Mouths of three great Rivers, which disembogued into the Sea through the Coasts of these Provinces; that is, the *Rhine*, the *Maes*, and the *Scheld*. The ancient *Rhine* divided, where *Skenckschence* now stands, into two Rivers; of which, one kept the Name, till running near *Leyden*, it fell into the Sea at *Catwick*; where are still seen, at low Tides, the Foundations of an ancient *Roman* Castle that commanded the Mouth of this River: But this is wholly stopt up, though a great Canal still preserves the Name of the *Old Rhine*. The *Maes*, running by *Dort* and *Rotterdam*, fell, as it now does, into the Sea at the *Briel*, with mighty Issues of Waters; but the Sands, gather'd for three or four Leagues upon this Coast, make the Haven extream dangerous, without great Skill of Pilots, and Use of Pilot-boats, that come out with every Tide, to welcome and secure the Ships bound for that River: And it is probable, that these Sands, having obstructed the free Course of the River, has at times caused or encreas'd those Inundations, out of which so many Islands have been recover'd, and of which that Part of the Country is so much compos'd.

The *Scheld* seems to have had its Issue by *Walcheren* in *Zealand*, which was an Island in the Mouth of that River, till the Inundation of that, and the *Maes*, seem to have been joined together, by some great Helps or Irruptions of the Sea, by which the whole Country was overwhelmed, which now makes that Inland-Sea that serves for a common Passage between *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Flanders* and *Brabant*: The Sea, for some Leagues from *Zealand*, lies generally upon such Banks of Sand, as it does upon the Mouth of the *Maes*, though separated by something better Channels than are found in the other.

That which seems likeliest to have been the Occasion of stopping up wholly one of these Rivers, and obstructing the others, is the Course of Westerly Winds (which drive upon this Shore) being so much more constant and violent than the East: For, taking the Seasons and Years, one with another, I suppose, there will be observed three Parts of Westerly for one Easterly Wind: Besides, that these generally attend the calm Frosts and fair Weather; and the other the stormy and foul. And I have had Occasion to make Experiment of the Sands rising and sinking before a Haven, by two Fits of these contrary Winds, above four Foot. This, I presume, is likewise the natural Reason of so many deep and commodious Havens found upon all the *English* Side of the Channel, and so few (or indeed none) upon the *French* and *Dutch*: An Advantage seeming to be given us by Nature, and never to be equall'd by any Art or Expence of our Neighbours.

I remember no mention in ancient Authors of that, which is now call'd the *Zuyder Sea*; which makes me imagine, That may have been form'd likewise by some great Inundation, breaking in between the *Texel*-Islands, and others, that lie first in a Line contiguous, and like the broken Remainders of a continu'd Coast. This seems more probable, from the great Shallowness of that Sea, and Flatness of the Sands, upon the whole Extent of it; from the violent

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Rage of the Waters breaking in that way, which threaten the Parts of *North-Holland* about *Medenblick* and *Enchuſen*, and brave it over the higheſt and ſtrongeſt Duties of the Province, upon every high Tide, and Storm at North-weſt. As likewiſe from the Names of *Eaſt* and *Weſt Friezland*, which ſhould have been one Continent, till divided by this Sea: For, in the Time of *Tacitus*, no other Diſtinction was known, but that of greater or leſſer *Frizons*, and that only from the Meaſure of their Numbers, or Forces; and though they were ſaid to have great Lakes among them, yet that Word ſeems to import they were of freſh Water, which is made yet plainer by the Word * *Ambiunt*, that ſhews thoſe Lakes to have been inhabited round by theſe Nations. From all this I ſhould gueſs, that the more Inland part of the *Zudder Sea* was one of the Lakes there mention'd, between which and the *Teſſel* and *Lilie* Iſlands there lay anciently a great Tract of Land (where the Sands are ſtill ſo ſhallow, and ſo continu'd, as ſeems to make it evident:) But ſince covered by ſome great Irruptions of Waters, that joined thoſe of the Sea and the Lake together, and thereby made that great Bay, now call'd the *Zudder-Sea*, by favour whereof the Town of *Amſterdam* has grown to be the moſt frequented Haven of the World.

*A fronte Friſii excipiunt Majoribus Minoribuſq; Friſiis vocabulum, ex modo virium utraq; Nationes uſque ad Oceanum Rheno prætexuntur * ambiuntq; immenſos inſuper lacus.* Tacit. de Mor. Ger.

Whatever it was, whether Nature or Accident, and upon what Occaſion ſoever it arriv'd, the Soil of the whole Province of *Holland* is generally flat, like the Sea in a Calm, and looks as if after a long Contention between Land and Water, which it ſhould belong to, it had at length been divided between them: For to conſider the great Rivers, and the ſtrange Number of Canals that are found in this Province, and do not only lead to every great Town, but almoſt to every Village, and every Farm-houſe in the Country; and the Infinity of Sails that are ſeen every where courſing up and down upon them; one would imagine the Water to have ſhar'd with the Land; and the People that live in Boats, to hold ſome proportion with thoſe that live in Houſes. And this is one great Advantage towards Trade, which is natural to the Situation, and not to be attained in any Country, where there is not the ſame Level and Softneſs of Soil, which makes the cutting of Canals ſo eaſie Work, as to be attempted almoſt by every private Man: And one Horſe ſhall draw in a Boat more than fifty can do by Cart, whereas Carriage makes a great part of the Price in all heavy Commodities: And by this eaſie Way of Traveling, an induſtrious Man loſes no Time from his Buſineſs, for he Writes, or Eats, or Sleeps, while he goes; whereas the Time of labouring or induſtrious Men is the greateſt Native Commodity of any Country.

There is, beſides, one very great Lake of freſh Water ſtill remaining in the midſt of this Province, by the Name of *Harle Maer*, which might, as they ſay, be eaſily drained, and would thereby make a mighty Addition of Land to a Country, where nothing is more wanted; and receive a great Quantity of People, in which they abound, and who make their Greatneſs and Riches. Much Diſcourſe there has been about ſuch an Attempt, but the City of *Leyden* having no other Way of refreſhing their Town, or renewing the Water of their Canals, but from this *Maer*, will never conſent to it. On the other Side, *Amſterdam*, will ever oppoſe the opening and cleaning of the old Channel of the *Rhine*, which, they ſay, might eaſily be compaſſed, and by which the Town of *Leyden* would grow Maritime, and ſhare a great Part of the Trade now engroſſed by *Amſterdam*. There is in *North-Holland* an Eſſay already made at the poſſibility of draining theſe great Lakes, by one of about two Leagues broad having been made firm Land, within this forty Years; This makes that part of the Country called the *Beemſter*, being now the richeſt Soil of the Province, lying upon a dead Flat, divided with Canals, and the Ways through it diſtinguiſh'd with Ranges of Trees, which make the pleaſanteſt Summer Landſchape of any Country I have ſeen, of that ſort.

Another Advantage of their Situation of Trade, is made by thoſe two great Rivers of the *Rhine* and *Maes*, reaching up, and navigable ſo mighty a Length, into ſo rich and populous Countries of the *Higher* and *Lower Germany*; which, as it brings down all the Commodities from thoſe Parts to the

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the Magazines of *Holland*, that vent them by their ſhipping into all Parts of the World, where the Market calls for them; ſo, with ſomething more Labour and Time, it returns all the Merchandizes of other Parts, in thoſe Countries that are ſeated upon thoſe Streams. For their commodious Seat, as to the Trade of the *Streights*, or *Baltique*, or any Parts of the Ocean, I ſee no Advantage they have of moſt Parts of *England*; and they muſt certainly yield to many we poſſeſs, if we had other equal Circumſtances to value them.

The Lowneſs and Flatneſs of their Lands makes in a great Meaſure the Richneſs of their Soil, that is eaſily overflow'd every Winter, ſo as the whole Country, at that Seaſon, ſeems to lie under Water, which, in Spring, is driven out again by Mills. But that which mends the Earth, ſpoils the Air, which would be all Fog and Miſt, if it were not clear'd by the Sharpneſs of their Froſts, which never fail with every Eaſt Wind for about four Months of the Year, and are much fiercer than in the ſame Latitude with us, becauſe that Wind comes to them over a mighty Length of dry Continent; but is moiſtened by the Vapours, or ſoften'd by the Warmth of the Sea's Motion, before it reaches us.

And this is the greateſt Diſadvantage of Trade they receive from their Situation, though neceſſary to their Health; becauſe many times their Havens are all ſhut up for two or three Months with Ice, when ours are open and free.

The fierce Sharpneſs of theſe Winds makes the Charges of their Weather and Seaſons more violent and ſurpriſing, than in any Place I know; ſo as a warm faint Air turns in a Night to a ſharp Froſt, with the Wind coming into the North Eaſt: And the contrary with another Change of Wind. The Spring is much ſhorter, and leſs agreeable, than with us; the Winter much colder, and ſome parts of the Summer much hotter; and I have known more than once, the Violence of one give way to that of the other, like the cold Fit of an Ague to the Hot, without any good Temper between.

The Flatneſs of their Land expoſes it to the Danger of the Sea, and forces them to infinite Charge in the continual Fences and Repairs of their Banks to oppoſe it; which employ yearly more Men, than all the Corn of the Province of *Holland* could maintain (as one of their chief Miniſters has told me.) They have lately found the common Sea-weed to be the beſt Material for theſe Digues, which faſten'd with a thin Mixture of Earth, yields a little to the Force of the Sea, and returns when the Waves give back: Whether they are thereby the ſafer againſt Water, as, they ſay, Houſes that ſhake are againſt Wind; or whether, as pious Naturaliſts obſerve, all Things carry about them that which ſerves for a Remedy againſt the Miſchief they do in the World.

The extream Moiſture of the Air, I take to be the Occaſion of the great Neatneſs in their Houſes, and Cleanlineſs in their Towns. For without the Help of thoſe Cuſtoms, their Country would not be habitable by ſuch Crowds of People, but the Air would corrupt upon every hot Seaſon, and expoſe the Inhabitants to general and infectious Diſeaſes; which they hardly eſcape three Summers together, eſpecially about *Leyden*, where the Waters are not ſo eaſily renew'd, and for this reaſon, I ſuppoſe, it is, that *Leyden* is found to be the neateſt cleanlieſt kept, of all their Towns.

The ſame Moiſture of Air makes all Metals apt to ruſt, and Wood to mould; which forces them, by continual Pains of rubbing and ſcouring, to ſeek a Prevention, or Cure: This makes the Brightneſs and Cleanneſs that ſeems affected in their Houſes, and is call'd Natural to them, by People who think no further. So the Deepneſs of their Soil, and Wetneſs of Seaſons, which would render it unpaſſable, forces them, not only to Exactneſs of Paving in their Streets, but to the Expence of ſo long Cauſeways between many of their Towns, and in their High-ways. And indeed, moſt National Cuſtoms are the Effect of ſome unſeen, or unobſerved natural Cauſes, or Neceſſities.

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CHAP. VI.

Of their People and Diſpoſitions.

THE People of *Holland* may be divided into theſe ſeveral Claſſes: The Clowns or Boors (as they call them) who cultivate the Land. The Mariners or Schippers, who ſupply their Ships and Inland-Boats. The Merchants or Traders, who fill their Towns. The *Rentiers*, or Men that live in all their chief Cities upon the Rents or Intereſt of Eſtates formerly acquir'd in their Families: And the Gentlemen, and Officers of their Armies.

The firſt are a Race of People diligent rather than laborious; dull and ſlow of Underſtanding, and ſo not dealt with by haſty Words, but manag'd eaſily by ſoft and fair; and yielding to plain Reaſon, if you give them Time to underſtand it. In the Country and Villages, not too near the great Towns, they ſeem plain and honeſt, and content with their own; ſo that if, in Bounty, you give them a Shilling for what is worth but a Groat, they will take the current Price, and give you the reſt again; if you bid them take it, they know not what you mean, and ſometimes ask, if you are a Fool. They know no other Good, but the Supply of what Nature requires, and the common Increaſe of Wealth. They feed moſt upon Herbs, Roots, and Milks; and by that means, I ſuppoſe, neither their Strength nor Vigour ſeems anſwerable to the Size or Bulk of their Bodies.

The Mariners are a Plain, but much rougher People; whether from the Element they live in, or from their Food, which is generally Fiſh and Corn, and heartier than that of the Boors. They are ſurly and ill-manner'd, which is miſtaken for Pride; but, I believe, is learnt, as all Manners are, by the Converſation we uſe. Now theirs lying only among one another, or with Winds or Waves, which are not moved or wrought upon by any Language or Obſervance, or to be dealt with, but by Pains and by Patience; theſe are all the Qualities their Mariners have learnt; their Valour is *Paſſive* rather than *Active*; and their Language is little more, than what is of neceſſary uſe to their Buſineſs.

The Merchants and Tradeſmen, both the greater and mechanick, living in Towns that are of great Reſort, both by Strangers and Paſſengers of their own, are more *Mercurial* (Wit being ſharpen'd by Commerce and Converſation of Cities) though they are not very inventive, which is the Gift of warmer Heads; yet are they great in Imitation, and ſo far, many times, as goes beyond Originals: Of mighty Induſtry, and conſtant Application to the Ends they propoſe and purſue. They make uſe of their Skill, and their Wit, to take Advantage of other Mens Ignorance and Folly they deal with; as great Exacters, where the Law is in their own Hands: In other Points, where they deal with Men that underſtand like themſelves, and are under the reach of Juſtice and Laws, they are the plaineſt and beſt Dealers in the World; which ſeems not to grow ſo much from a Principle of Conſcience, or Morality, as from a Cuſtom or Habit introduced by the Neceſſity of Trade among them, which depends as much upon common Honeſty, as War does upon Diſcipline; and without which all would break up, Merchants would turn Pedlars, and Soldiers Thieves.

Thoſe Families which live upon their patrimonial Eſtates in all the great Cities are a People differently bred and manner'd from the Traders, though like them in the Modeſty of Garb and Habit, and the Parſimony of Living. Their Youth are generally bred up at Schools, and at the Univerſities of *Leyden* or *Utrecht*, in the common Studies of Human Learning, but chiefly of the Civil Law, which is that of their Country, at leaſt as far as it is ſo in *France* and *Spain*. For (as much as I underſtand of thoſe Countries) no Deciſions

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or Decrees of the Civil Law, nor Conſtitutions of the *Roman* Emperors, have the Force or Current of Law among them, as is commonly believ'd, but only the Force of Reaſons when alledged before their Courts of Judicature, as far as the Authority of Men eſteemed wiſe, paſſes for Reaſon: But the ancient Cuſtoms of thoſe ſeveral Countries, and the Ordonnances of their Kings and Princes, conſented to by the Eſtates, or in *France* verify'd by Parliaments, have only the Strength and Authority of Law among them.

Where theſe Families are rich, their Youths, after the Courſe of their Studies at home, travel for ſome Years, as the Sons of our Gentry uſe to do; but their Journies are chiefly into *England*, and *France*, not much into *Italy*, ſeldom into *Spain*, nor often into the more Northern Countries, unleſs in Company of Train of their publick Miniſters. The chief End of their Breeding, is, to make them fit for the Service of their Country in the Magiſtracy of their Towns, their Provinces, and their State. And of theſe kind of Men are the Civil Offices of this Government generally compoſed, being deſcended of Families who have many times been conſtantly in the Magiſtracy of their Native Towns for many Years, and ſome for ſeveral Ages.

Such were moſt or all of the chief Miniſters, and the Perſons that compoſed their chief Councils, in the Time of my Reſidence among them; and not Men of mean or Mechanick Trades, as it is commonly receiv'd among Foreigners, and makes the Subject of Comical Jeſts upon their Government. This does not exclude many Merchants, or Trades in groſs, from being often ſeen in the Offices of their Cities, and ſometimes deputed to their States; nor ſeveral of their States from turning their Stocks in the Management of ſome very beneficial Trade by Servants, and Houſes maintain'd to that purpoſe. But the Generality of the States and Magiſtrates are of the other Sort; their Eſtates conſiſting in the Penſions of their publick Charges, in the Rents of Lands, or Intereſt of Money upon the *Cantores*, or in Actions of the *Eaſt-India* Company, or in Shares upon the Adventures of great Trading Merchants.

Nor do theſe Families, habituated as it were to the Migiſtracy of their Towns and Provinces, uſually arrive at great or exceſſive Riches; the Salaries of publick Employments and Intereſt being low, but the Revenue of Lands being yet very much lower, and ſeldom exceeding the Profit of two in the Hundred. They content themſelves with the Honour of being uſeful to the Publick, with the Eſteem of their Cities or their Country, and with the Eaſe of their Fortunes; which ſeldom fails, by the Frugality of their Living, grown univerſal by being (I ſuppoſe) at firſt neceſſary, but ſince honourable, among them.

The mighty Growth and Exceſs of Riches is ſeen among the Merchants and Traders, whoſe Application lies wholly that Way, and who are the better content to have ſo little ſhare in the Government; deſiring only Security in what they poſſeſs; troubled with no Cares, but thoſe of their Fortunes, and the Management of their Trades, and turning the reſt of their Time and Thought to the Divertiſement of their Lives. Yet theſe, when they attain great Wealth, chooſe to breed up their Sons in the Way, and marry their Daughters into the Families of thoſe others moſt generally credited in their Towns, and verſed in their Magiſtracies; and thereby introduce their Families into the Way of Government and Honour, which conſiſts not here in Titles, but in publick Employments.

The next Rank among them, is that of their Gentlemen or Nobles, who, in the Province of *Holland* (to which I chiefly confine theſe Obſervations) are very few, moſt of the Families having been extinguiſhed in the long Wars with *Spain*. But thoſe that remain, are in a manner all employ'd in the Military or Civil Charges of the Province or State. Theſe are, in their Cuſtoms, and Manners, and Way of living, a good deal different from the reſt of the People; and having been bred much abroad, rather affect the Garb of their Neighbour Courts, than the Popular Air of their own Country. They value themſelves more upon their Nobility, than Men do in other Countries, where 'tis more common; and would think themſelves utterly diſhonoured

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by the Marriage of one that were not of their Rank, though it were to make up the broken Fortune of a Noble Family, by the Wealth of a *Plebean*. They ſtrive to imitate the *French* in their Mien, their Cloaths, their Way of Talk, of Eating, of Gallantry or Debauchery; and are, in my Mind, ſomething worſe than they would be, by affecting to be better than they need; making ſometimes but ill Copies, whereas they might be good Originals, by refining or improving the Cuſtoms and Virtues proper to their own Country and Climate. They are otherwiſe an Honeſt, Well-natur'd, Friendly, and Gentlemanly ſort of Men, and acquit themſelves generally with Honour and Merit, where their Country employs them.

The Officers of their Armies live after the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of the Gentlemen; and ſo do many Sons of the rich Merchants, who, returning from Travel abroad, have more Deſigns upon their own Pleaſure, and the Vanity of appearing, than upon the Service of their Country: Or, if they pretend to enter into that, it is rather by the Army than the State. And all theſe are generally deſirous to ſee a Court in their Country, that they may value themſelves at home, by the Qualities they have learnt abroad; and make a Figure, which agrees better with their own Humour and the Manner of Courts, than with the Cuſtoms and Orders that prevail in more Popular Governments.

There are ſome Cuſtoms or Diſpoſitions that ſeem to run generally through all theſe Degrees of Men among them; as great Frugality and Order in their Expences. Their common Riches lie in every Man's having more than he ſpends; or, to ſay it more properly, in every Man's ſpending leſs than he has coming in, be that what it will: Nor does it enter into Men's Heads among them, that the common Port or Courſe of Expence ſhould equal the Revenue; and when this happens, they think at leaſt they have liv'd that Year to no Purpoſe; and the Train of it diſcredits a Man among them, as much as any vicious or prodigal Extravagance does in other Countries. This enables every Man to bear their extream Taxes, and make them leſs ſenſible than they would be in other Places: For he that lives upon Two Parts in Five of what he has coming in, if he pays Two more to the State, he does but part with what he ſhould have laid up, and had no preſent Uſe for; whereas, he that ſpends yearly what he receives, if he pays but the Fiftieth Part to the Publick, it goes from him like that which was neceſſary to buy Bread or Cloaths for himſelf or his Family.

This makes the Beauty and Strength of their Towns, the Commodiouſneſs of Travelling in their Country by their Canals, Bridges and Cauſeways; the Pleaſantneſs of their Walks, and their Grafts in and near all their Cities: And, in ſhort, the Beauty, Convenience, and ſometimes Magnificence of their Publick Works, to which every Man pays as willingly, and takes as much Pleaſure and Vanity in them, as thoſe of other Countries do in the ſame Circumſtances, among the Poſſeſſions of their Families, or private Inheritance. What they can ſpare, beſides the neceſſary Expence of their Domeſtic, the Publick Payments, and the common Courſe of ſtill encreaſing their Stock, is laid out in the Fabrick, Adornment or Furniture of their Houſes: Things not ſo tranſitory, or ſo prejudicial to Health, and to Buſineſs, as the conſtant Exceſſes and Luxury of Tables; nor perhaps altogether ſo vain as the extravagant Expences of Cloaths and Attendance; at leaſt, theſe end wholly in a Man's ſelf, and the Satisfaction of his perſonal Humour; whereas the other make not only the Riches of a Family, but contribute much towards the publick Beauty and Honour of a Country.

The Order in caſting up their Expences, is ſo great and general, that no Man offers at any Undertaking which he is not prepared for, and Maſter of his Deſign, before he begins; ſo as I have neither obſerved nor heard of any Building, publick or private, that has not been finiſhed in the Time deſigned for it. So are their Canals, Cauſeways and Bridges; ſo was their Way from the *Hague* to *Skeveling*, a Work that might have become the old *Romans*, conſidering how ſoon it was diſpatch'd. The Houſe at the *Hague*, built purpoſely

for casting of Cannon, was finished in one Summer, during the Heat of the first *English* War, and look'd rather like a Design of Vanity in their Government, than Necessity or Use. The Stadthouse of *Amsterdam* has been left purposely to Time, without any Limitation in the first Design, either of that, or of Expence; both that the Diligence and the Genius of so many succeeding Magistrates should be employ'd in the Collection of all Things, that could be esteem'd proper to encrease the Beauty or Magnificence of that Structure; and perhaps a little to reprieve the Experiment of a current Prediction, That the Trade of that City should begin to fall the same Year the Stadthouse should be finish'd, as it did at *Antwerp*.

Charity seems to be very National among them, though it be regulated by Orders of the Country, and not usually mov'd by the common Objects of Compassion. But it is seen in the admirable Provisions that are made out of it for all sort of Persons that can want, or ought to be kept in a Government. Among the many and various Hospitals, that are in every Man's Curiosity and Talk that travels their Country, I was affected with none more than that of the aged Sea-men at *Enchusyen*, which is contrived, finished and ordered, as if it were done with a kind Intention of some well-natur'd Man, that those, who had pass'd their whole Lives in the Hardships and Incommodities of the Sea, should find a Retreat stor'd with all the Eases and Conveniencies that Old Age is capable of feeling and enjoying. And here I met with the only rich Man that I ever saw in my Life: For one of these old Sea-men entertaining me a good while with the plain Stories of his Fifty Years Voyages and Adventures, while I was viewing their Hospital, and the Church adjoining; I gave him at parting a Piece of their Coin about the Value of a Crown: He took it smiling, and offer'd it me again; but when I refus'd it, he ask'd me what he should do with Money? for all that ever they wanted, was provided for them at their House. I left him to overcome his Modesty as he could; but a Servant coming after me, saw him give it to a little Girl that open'd the Church-door, as she pass'd by him: Which made me reflect upon the fantastick Calculation of Riches and Poverty that is current in the World, by which a Man that wants a Million, is a Prince; he that wants but a Groat, is a Beggar; and this was a poor Man, that wanted nothing at all.

In general, All Appetites and Passions seem to run lower and cooler here, than in other Countries where I have convers'd. Avarice may be excepted. And yet that shall not be so violent, where it feeds only upon Industry and Parsimony, as where it breaks out into Fraud, Rapine and Oppression. But Quarrels are seldom seen among them, unless in their Drink, Revenge rarely heard of, or Jealousie known. Their Tempers are not airy enough for Joy, or any unusual Strains of pleasant Humour; nor warm enough for Love. This is talk'd of sometimes among the younger Men, but as a Thing they have heard of, rather than felt; and as a Discourse that becomes them, rather than affects them. I have known some among them, that personated Lovers well enough; but none that I ever thought were at Heart in Love; nor any of the Women, that seem'd at all to care whether they were so or no. Whether it be, that they are such Lovers of their Liberty, as not to bear the Servitude of a Mistress, any more than that of a Master; or, that the Dulness of their Air renders them less susceptible of more refined Passions; or, that they are diverted from it by the general Intention every Man has upon his Business, whatever it is (nothing being so mortal an Enemy of Love, that suffers no Rival, as any Bent of Thought another Way.)

The same Causes may have had the same Effects among their married Women, who have the whole Care and absolute Management of all their Domestic; and live with very general good Fame: A certain sort of Chastity being hereditary and habitual among them, as Probity among the Men.

The same Dulness of Air may dispose them to that strange Assiduity and constant Application of their Minds, with that perpetual Study and Labour upon any thing they design and take in Hand. This gives them Patience to

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purſue the Queſt of Riches by ſo long Voyages and Adventures to the *Indies*, and by ſo long Parſimony as that of their whole Lives. Nay, I have (for a more particular Example of this Diſpoſition among them) known one Man that was employed four and twenty Years about the making and perfecting of a Globe, and another above thirty about the inlaying of a Table. Nor does any Man know, how much may have been contributed towards the great Things in all Kinds, both publick and private, that have been atchieved among them by this one Humour of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to paſs, nor leaving one Scent to follow another they meet with; which is the Property of the lighter and more ingenious Nations: And the Humour of a Government being uſually the ſame with that of the Perſons that compoſe it, not only in this, but in all other Points; ſo as, where Men that govern are wiſe, good, ſteady and juſt, the Government will appear ſo too; and the contrary, where they are otherwiſe.

The ſame Qualities in their Air may encline them to the Entertainments and Cuſtoms of Drinking, which are ſo much laid to their Charge, and, for ought I know, may not only be neceſſary to their Health (as they generally believe it) but to the Vigour and Improvement of their Underſtandings, in the midſt of a thick foggy Air, and ſo much Coldneſs of Temper and Complexion. For though the Uſe or Exceſs of Drinking may deſtroy Men's Abilities who live in better Climates, and are of warmer Conſtitutions; Wine to hot Brains being like Oil to Fire, and making the Spirits, by two much Lightneſs, evaporate into Smoak, and perfect airy Imaginations; or, by too much Heat, rage into Frenzy, or at leaſt into Humours and Thoughts that have a great Mixture of it; yet on the other ſide, it may improve Men's Parts and Abilities of cold Complexions, and in dull Air; and may be neceſſary to thaw and move the frozen or unactive Spirits of the Brain; to rowze ſleepy Thought, and refine groſſer Imaginations; and perhaps to animate the Spirits of the Heart, as well as enliven thoſe of the Brain: Therefore the old *Germans* ſeem'd to have ſome Reaſon in their Cuſtom, not to execute any great Reſolutions which had not been twice debated, and agreed at two ſeveral Aſſemblies, one in an Afternoon, and t'other in a Morning, becauſe, they thought their Counſels might want Vigour when they were ſober, as well as Caution when they had drunk.

Yet in *Holland* I have obſerved very few of their chief Officers or Miniſters of State vicious in this kind; or if they drunk much, 'twas only at ſet Feaſts, and rather to acquit themſelves, than of Choice or Inclination: And for the Merchants and Traders, with whom it is cuſtomary, they never do it in a Morning, nor till they come from the Exchange, where the Buſineſs of the Day is commonly diſpatch'd; nay, it hardly enters into their Heads, that 'tis lawful to drink at all before that Time; but they will excuſe it, if you come to their Houſe, and tell you how ſorry they are you come in a Morning, when they cannot offer you to drink; as if at that Time of Day it were not only unlawful for them to drink themſelves, but ſo much as for a Stranger to do it within their Walls.

The Afternoon, or, at leaſt, the Evening, is given to whatever they find will divert them; and is no more than needs, conſidering how they ſpend the reſt of the Day, in Thought, or in Cares; in Toils, or in Buſineſs. For Nature cannot hold out with conſtant Labour of Body, and as little with conſtant Bent or Application of Mind: Much Motion of the ſame Parts of the Brain either wearies and waſtes them too faſt for Repair, or elſe (as it were) fires the Wheels, and ſo ends, either in general Decays of the Body, or Diſtractions of the Mind: (For theſe are uſually occaſion'd by perpetual Motions of Thought about ſome one Object; whether it be about one's ſelf in Exceſſes of Pride, or about another in thoſe of Love or of Grief.) Therefore none are ſo excuſable as Men of much Care and Thought, or of great Buſineſs, for giving up their Times of Leiſure to any Pleaſures or Diverſions that offend no Laws, nor hurt others or themſelves: And this ſeems the Reaſon, that, in all Civil Conſtitutions, not only Honours, but Riches, are annexed

to the Charges of thoſe who govern, and upon whom the publick Cares are meant to be devolv'd; not only, that they may not be diſtracted from theſe, by the Cares of their own Domeſtick or Private Intereſts; but, that by the Help of Eſteem, and of Riches, they may have thoſe Pleaſures and Diverſions in their Reach, which idle Men neither need nor deſerve, but which are neceſſary for the Refreſhment or Repair of Spirits, exhauſted with Cares, and with Toil, and which ſerve to ſweeten and preſerve thoſe Lives that would otherwiſe wear out too faſt, or grow too uneaſie in the Service of the Publick.

Quærun-tur (Fabii Valentis) Legiones, orbari ſe fortiſſimorum virorum auxilio, veteres illos & tot bellorum auctos res non abrumpendos ut corpori validiſſimos artus. Tacit. Hiſt.

The Two Characters that are left by the old *Roman* Writers, of the ancient *Batavi* or *Hollanders*, are, That they were both the braveſt among the *German* Nations, and the moſt obſtinate Lovers and Defenders of their Liberty; which made them exempted from all Tribute by the *Romans*, who deſir'd only Soldiers of their Nation, to make up ſome of their Auxiliary Bands, as they did in former Ages of thoſe Nations in *Italy* that were their Friends and Allies. The laſt Diſpoſition ſeems to have continu'd conſtant and national among them, ever ſince that Time, and never to have more appear'd, than in the Riſe and Conſtitutions of their preſent State. It does not ſeem to be ſo of the Firſt, or that the People in general can be ſaid now to be Valiant; a Quality, of old, ſo National among them, and which, by the ſeveral Wars of the Counts of *Holland* (eſpecially with the *Frizons*) and by the deſperate Defences made againſt the *Spaniards*, by this People, in the Beginnings of their State, ſhould ſeem to have laſted long, and to have but lately decay'd: That is, ſince the whole Application of their Natives has been turn'd to Commerce and Trade, and the Vein of their Domeſtick Lives ſo much to Parſimony (by Circumſtances which will be the Subject of another Chapter;) and ſince the main of all their Forces, and Body of their Army, has been compos'd, and continually ſupply'd out of their Neighbour-Nations.

Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui Batavi non multum ex ripa ſed Inſulam Rheni amnis colunt. Tacit. de Mor. Ger.

For Soldiers and Merchants are not found, by Experience, to be more incompatible in their Abode, than the Diſpoſitions and Cuſtoms ſeem to be different, that render a People fit for Trade, and for War. The Soldier thinks of a ſhort Life, and a merry. The Trader thinks upon a long, and a painful. One intends to make his Fortunes ſuddenly by his Courage, by Victory and Spoil: The other ſlower, but ſurer, by Craft, by Treaty and by Induſtry. This makes the firſt franc and generous, and throw away, upon his Pleaſures, what has been gotten in one Danger, and may either be loſt or repair'd, in the next. The other wary and frugal, and loth to part with in a Day, what he has been labouring for a Year, and has no Hopes to recover, but by the ſame Spaces of Diligence and Time. One aims only to preſerve what he has, as the Fruits of his Father's Pains; or what he ſhall get, as the Fruit of his own: T'other thinks the Price of a little Blood is more than of a great deal of Sweat; and means to live upon other Men's Labours, and poſſeſs in an Hour, what they have been Years in acquiring: This makes one love to live under ſtanch Orders and Laws; while t'other would have all depend upon Arbitrary Power and Will. The Trader reckons upon growing Richer, and by his Account Better, the longer he lives; which makes him careful of his Health, and his Life, and ſo apt to be orderly and temperate in his Diet: While the Soldier is Thoughtleſs, or Prodigal of both; and having not his Meat ready at Hours, or when he has a Mind to it, eats full and greedily, whenever he gets it; and perhaps Difference of Diet may make greater Difference in Men's natural Courage, than is commonly thought of.

For Courage may proceed, in ſome Meaſure, from the Temper of Air, may be form'd by Diſcipline, and acquir'd by Uſe, or infus'd by Opinion; but that which is more natural, and ſo more National in ſome Countries than in others, ſeem to ariſe from the Heat or Strength of Spirits about the Heart, which may a great deal depend upon the Meaſures and the Subſtance of the Food Men are us'd to. This made a great Phyſician among us ſay, He would make any Man a Coward with ſix Week's Dieting; and Prince *Maurice* of *Orange* call for the *Engliſh* that were newly come over, and had (as he

he ſaid) their own Beef in their Bellies, for any bold and deſperate Action. This may be one reaſon, why the Gentry, in all Places of the World, are braver than the Peaſantry, whoſe Hearts are depreſſed, not only by Slavery, but by ſhort and heartleſs Food, the Effect of their Poverty. This is a Cauſe, why the Yeomanry and Commonalty of *England* are generally braver than in other Countries, becauſe by the Plenty and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom they are ſo much eaſier in their Rents and their Taxes, and fare ſo much better and fuller than thoſe of their Rank in any other Nation. Their chief, and indeed conſtant, Food, being all Fleſh: And among all Creatures, both the Birds and the Beaſts, we ſhall find thoſe that feed upon Fleſh, to be the fierce and the bold; and on the contrary, the fearful and faint-hearted to feed upon Graſs, and upon Plants. I think, there can be pretended but two Exceptions to this Rule, which are the Cock and the Horſe; whereas the Courage of the One is noted no where but in *England*, and there only in certain Races: And for the other, all the Courage we commend in them, is, the want of Fear; and they are obſerved to grow much fierceer, whenever, by Cuſtom or Neceſſity, they have been us'd to Fleſh.

From all this may may be inferr'd, That not only the long Diſuſe of Arms among the Native *Hollanders* (eſpecially at Land) and making uſe of other Nations chiefly in their Malice: But the Arts of Trade, as well as Peace, and their great Parſimony in Diet, and eating ſo very little Fleſh (which the common People ſeldom do above once a Week) may have help'd to debaſe much the ancient Valour of the Nation, at leaſt, in the Occaſions of Service at Land. Their Seamen are much better; but not ſo good as thoſe of *Zealand*, who are generally brave; which, I ſuppoſe, comes by theſe having upon all occaſions turn'd ſo much more to Privateering, and Men of War; and thoſe of *Holland* being generally employ'd in Trading and Merchant-Ships; while their Men of War are mann'd by Mariners of all Nations, who are very numerous among them, but eſpecially thoſe of the *Eaſtland* Coaſts of *Germany*, *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*.

'Tis odd, that Veins of Courage ſhould ſeem to run like Veins of good Earth in a Country, and yet not only thoſe of the Province of *Hainault* among the *Spaniſh*, and of *Gelderland* among the *United Provinces*, are eſteem'd better Soldiers than the reſt; but the Burghers of *Valenciennes* among the Towns of *Flanders*, and of *Nimmeguen* among thoſe of the *Lower Gelder*, are obſerv'd to be particularly brave. But there may be Firmneſs and Conſtancy of Courage from Tradition, as well as of Belief: Nor methinks ſhould any Man know how to be a Coward, that is brought up with the Opinion, That all his Nation or City have ever been Valiant.

I can ſay nothing of what is uſually laid to their Charge, about their being Cruel, beſides what we have ſo often heard of their barbarous Uſage to ſome of our Men in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and what we have ſo lately ſeen of their Savage Murther of their *Penſioner de Wit*; a Perſon that deſerv'd another Fate, and a better Return from his Country, after eighteen Years ſpent in their Miniſtry, without any Care of his Entertainments or Eaſe, and a little of his Fortune. A Man of unweary'd Induſtry, inflexible Conſtancy, ſound, clear, and deep Underſtanding, with untainted Integrity; ſo that whenever he was blinded, it was by the Paſſion he had for that which he eſteem'd the Good and Intereſt of his State. This Teſtimony is juſtly due to him from all that practis'd him; and is the more willingly paid, ſince there can be as little Intereſt to flatter, as Honour to reproach the Dead. But this Action of that People may be attributed to the Misfortune of their Country; and is ſo unlike the Appearance of their Cuſtoms and Diſpoſitions, living, as I ſaw them, under the Laws and Orders of a quiet and ſettled State; and one muſt confeſs Mankind to be a very various Creature, and none to be known, that has not been ſeen in his Rage, as well as his Drink.

CHAP. They

They are generally not ſo long-liv'd, as in better Airs; and begin to decay early, both Men and Women, eſpecially at *Amſterdam:* For, at the *Hague*, (which is their beſt Air) I have known two conſiderable Men a good deal above Seventy, and one of them in very good Senſe and Health: But this is not ſo uſual as it is in *England*, and in *Spain*. The Diſeaſes of the Climate ſeem to be chiefly the Gout and the Scurvy; but all hot and dry Summers bring ſome that are infectious among them, eſpecially into *Amſterdam* and *Leyden:* Theſe are uſual Fevers, and lie moſt in the Head, and either kill ſuddenly, or languiſh long before they recover. Plagues are not ſo frequent, at leaſt not in a Degree to be taken Notice of, for all ſuppreſs the Talk of them as much as can, and no Diſtinction is made in the Regiſtry of the Dead, nor much in the Care and Attendance of the Sick: Whether from a Belief of Predeſtination, or elſe a Preference of Trade, which is the Life of the Country, before that of particular Men.

Strangers among them are apt to complain of the Spleen, but thoſe of the Country ſeldom or never: Which I take to proceed from their being ever buſie, or eaſily ſatisfy'd. For this ſeems to be the Diſeaſe of People that are idle, or think themſelves but ill entertain'd, and attribute every Fit of dull Humour, or Imagination, to a formal Diſeaſe, which they have found this Name for; whereas, ſuch Fits are incident to all Men, at one time or other, from the Fumes of Indigeſtion, from the common Alterations of ſome inſenſible Degrees in Health and Vigor; * or from ſome changes or approaches of change in Wind and Weather, which affect the finer Spirits of the Brain, before they grow ſenſible to other Parts; and are apt to alter the Shapes, or Colours, of whatever is repreſented to us by our Imaginations, whilſt we are ſo affected. Yet this Effect is not ſo ſtrong, but that Buſineſs, or Intention of Thought, commonly either reſiſts, or diverts it: And thoſe who underſtand the Motions of it, let it paſs, and return to themſelves. But ſuch as are idle, or know not from whence theſe Changes ariſe, and trouble their Heads with Notions or Schemes of general Happineſs or Unhappineſs in Life, upon every ſuch Fit, begin Reflections on the Condition of their Bodies, their Souls, or their Fortunes; and (as all Things are then repreſented in the worſt Colours) they fall into melancholy Apprehenſions of one or other, and ſometimes of them all: Theſe make deep Impreſſion in their Minds, and are not eaſily worn out by the natural Returns of good Humour, eſpecially if they are often interrupted by the contrary; as happens in ſome particular Conſtitutions, and more generally in uncertain Climates, eſpecially if improv'd by Accidents of ill Health, or ill Fortune. But this is a Diſeaſe too refin'd for this Country and People, who are well, when they are not ill; and pleas'd, when they are not troubled; are content, becauſe they think little of it; and ſeek their Happineſs in the common Eaſe and Commodities of Life, or the Encreaſe of Riches; not amuſing themſelves with the more ſpeculative Contrivance of Paſſion, or Refinements of Pleaſure.

* *Ubi tempeſtas & cœli mobilis Humor*
Mutavere vias; & Jupiter humidus Auſtris
Denſat, erant quæ rara modo, & quæ denſa relaxat;
Vertuntur ſpecies animorum, & pectora motus
Nunc alios, alios, dum nubila ventus agebat;
Concipiunt, hinc ille avium concentus in agris.
Et lætæ pecudes, & ovantes gutture corvi.
Virg. Georg.

To conclude this Chapter: *Holland* is a Country, where the Earth is better than the Air, and Profit more in requeſt than Honour; where there is more Senſe than Wit; more good Nature than good Humour; and more Wealth than Pleaſure: Where a Man will chooſe rather to travel, than to live; ſhall find more Things to obſerve than deſire; and more Perſons to eſteem, than to love. But the ſame Qualities and Diſpoſitions do not value a private Man and a State, nor make a Converſation agreeable, and a Government great: Nor is it unlikely, that ſome very great King might make but a very ordinary private Gentleman, and ſome very extraordinary Gentleman might be capable of making but a very mean Prince.

They

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of their RELIGION.

I Intend not here to ſpeak of Religion at all as a Divine, but as a mere Secular Man, when I obſerve the Occaſions that ſeem to have eſtabliſh'd it in the Forms, or with the Liberties, wherewith it is now attended in the *United Provinces*. I believe the reform'd Religion was introduced there, as well as in *England*, and the many other Countries where it is profeſs'd, by the Operation of Divine Will and Providence; and by the ſame, I believe the *Roman Catholick* was continu'd in *France*: Where it ſeem'd, by the conſpiring of ſo many Accidents in the Beginning of *Charles* the Ninth's Reign, to be ſo near a Change. And whoever doubts this, ſeems to queſtion not only the Will, but the Power of God. Nor will it at all derogate from the Honour of a Religion, to have been planted in a Country, by Secular Means, or Civil Revolutions, which have long ſince ſucceeded to thoſe Miraculous Operations that made way for Chriſtianity in the World. 'Tis enough, that God Almighty infuſes Belief into the Hearts of Men, or elſe ordains it to grow out of Religious Enquiries and Inſtructions: and that where-ever the Generality of a Nation come by theſe Means to be of a Belief, it is by the Force of this Concurrence introduc'd into the Government, and becomes the eſtabliſh'd Religion of that Country. So was the Reform'd Profeſſion introduc'd into *England*, *Scotland*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, and many Parts of *Germany*. So was the *Roman Catholick* reſtor'd in *France* and in *Flanders*; where, notwithſtanding the great Concuſſions that were made in the Government by the *Hugonots* and the *Gueſes*, yet they were never eſteem'd, in either of thoſe Countries, to amount further than the Seventh or Eighth Part of the People. And whoſoever deſigns the Change of Religion in a Country or Government, by any other Means than that of a general Converſion of the People, or the greateſt part of them, deſigns all the Miſchiefs to a Nation, that uſe to uſher in, or attend the two great Diſtempers of a State, Civil War, or Tyranny; which are Violence, Oppreſſion, Cruelty, Rapine, Intemperance, Injuſtice; and, in ſhort, the miſerable Effuſion of Human Blood, and the Confuſion of all Laws, Orders, and Virtues, among Men.

Such Conſequences as theſe, I doubt, are ſomething more than the diſputed Opinions of any Man, or any particular Aſſembly of Men, can be worth; ſince the great and general End of all Religion, next to Men's Happineſs hereafter, is their Happineſs here; as appears by the Commandments of God, being the beſt and greateſt Moral and Civil, as well as Divine Precepts, that have been given to a Nation; and by the Rewards propos'd to the Piety of the *Jews*, throughout the Old Teſtament, which were the Bleſſings of this Life, as Health, Length of Age, Number of Children, Plenty, Peace, or Victory.

Now the Way to our future Happineſs has been perpetually diſputed throughout the World, and muſt be left at laſt to the Impreſſions made upon every Man's Belief and Conſcience, either by natural or ſupernatual Arguments and Means; which Impreſſions Men may diſguiſe or diſſemble, but no Man can reſiſt. For Belief is no more in a Man's Power, than his Stature, or his Feature; and he that tells me, I muſt change my Opinion for his, becauſe 'tis the truer and the better, without other Arguments, that have to me the Force of Conviction, may as well tell me, I muſt change my Grey Eyes, for others like his that are Black, becauſe theſe are lovelier, or more in Eſteem. He that tells me, I muſt inform my ſelf, has Reaſon, if I do it not; But if I endeavour it all that I can, and perhaps more than he ever did, and yet ſtill differ from him; and he, that, it may be, is idle, will have me ſtudy on, and inform my ſelf better, and ſo to the End of my Life; then

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I eaſily underſtand what he means by informing, which is, in ſhort, that I muſt do it, till I come to be of his Opinion.

If he, that perhaps purſues his Pleaſures or Intereſts, as much, or more, than I do; and allows me to have as good Senſe, as he has in all other Matters, tells me, I ſhould be of his Opinion, but that Paſſion or Intereſt blinds me; unleſs he can convince me how, or where this lies, he is but where he was, only pretends to know me better than I do my ſelf, who cannot imagine why I ſhould not have as much Care of my Soul, as he has of his.

A Man that tells me, my Opinions are abſurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreaſonable, becauſe they differ from his, ſeems to intend a Quarrel inſtead of a Diſpute; and calls me Fool, or Mad-man, with a little more Circumſtance; though, perhaps, I paſs for one as well in my Senſes as he, as pertinent in Talk, and as prudent in Life: Yet theſe are the common Civilities in Religious Arguments, of ſufficient and conceited Men, who talk much of right Reaſon, and mean always their own; and make their private Imagination the Meaſure of general Truth. But ſuch Language determines all between us, and the Diſpute comes to end in three Words at laſt, which it might as well have ended in at firſt, That he is in the right, and I am in the wrong.

Fiunt diverſæ reipublicæ ex civium moribus, qui, quocunque fluxerint, cætera ſecum rapiunt. Plat. de Rep.

The other great End of Religion, which is our Happineſs here, has been generally agreed on by all Mankind, as appears in the Records of all their Laws, as well as all their Religions, which come to be eſtabliſh'd by the Concurrence of Men's Cuſtoms and Opinions; though in the latter, that Concurrence may have been produced by Divine Impreſſions or Inſpirations. For all agree in Teaching and Commanding, in Planting and Improving, not only thoſe Moral Virtues, which conduce to the Felicity and Tranquillity of every private Man's Life; but alſo thoſe Manners and Diſpoſitions that tend to the Peace, Order, and Safety of all Civil Societies and Governments among Men. Nor could I ever underſtand, how thoſe who call themſelves, and the World uſually calls, *Religious Men*, come to put ſo great Weight upon thoſe Points of Belief, which Men never have agreed in; and ſo little upon thoſe of Virtue and Morality, in which they have hardly ever diſagreed. Nor, why a State ſhould venture the Subverſion of their Peace, and their Order, which are certain Goods, and ſo univerſally eſteemed, for the Propagation of uncertain or conteſted Opinions.

One of the great Cauſes of the firſt Revolt in the *Low-Countries*, appear'd to be, The Oppreſſion of Men's Conſciences, or Perſecution in their Liberties, their Eſtates and their Lives, upon Pretence of Religion. And this at a Time, when there ſeem'd to be a conſpiring Diſpoſition in moſt Countries of Chriſtendom, to ſeek the Reformation of ſome Abuſes, grown in the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, either by the Ruſt of Time, by Negligence, or by Human Inventions, Paſſions and Intereſts. The rigid Oppoſition given at *Rome* to this general Humour, was followed by a Defection of mighty Numbers in all thoſe ſeveral Countries, who profeſſed to reform themſelves according to ſuch Rules as they thought were neceſſary for the Reformation of the Church. Theſe Perſons, though they agreed in the main of diſowning the Papal Power, and reducing Belief from the Authority of Tradition to that of the Scripture; yet they differed much among themſelves in other Circumſtances, eſpecially of Diſcipline, according to the Perſuaſions and Impreſſions of their Leading Doctors in their ſeveral Countries. So the Reformed of *France* became univerſal *Calviniſts*; but for thoſe of *Germany*, though they were generally *Lutherans*, yet there was a great Mixture both of *Calviniſts* and *Anabaptiſts* among them.

The firſt Perſecutions of theſe Reformed aroſe in *Germany*, in the Time of *Charles* the Fifth, and drove great Numbers of them down into the Seventeen Provinces, eſpecially *Holland* and *Brabant*, where the Privileges of the Cities were greater, and the Emperor's Government was leſs ſevere, as among the Subjects of his own Native Countries. This was the Occaſion, that in the Year 1566, when, upon the firſt Inſurrection in *Flanders*, thoſe of the Reformed Profeſſion began to form Conſiſtories, and levy Contributions among themſelves,

themſelves, for Support of their Common Cauſe; it was reſolved, upon Conſultation, among the Heads of them, that for declining all Differences among themſelves, at a time of common Exigence, the publick Profeſſion of their Party ſhould be that of the *Lutherans*, though with Liberty and Indulgence to thoſe of different Opinions. By the Union of *Utrecht*, concluded in 1579, Each of the Provinces was left to order the Matter of Religion, as they thought fit and moſt conducing to the Welfare of their Province; with this Proviſion, that every Man ſhould remain free in his Religion, and none be examined or entrapped for that Cauſe, according to the Pacification at *Gant*. But in the Year 1583, it was enacted by general Agreement, that the Evangelical Religion ſhould be only profeſſed in all the Seven Provinces: Which came thereby to be the Eſtabliſh'd Religion of this State.

The Reaſons, which ſeem'd to induce them to this Settlement, were many and of weight: As firſt, Becauſe by the Perſecution arriv'd in *France* (where all the Reformed were *Calviniſts*) Multitudes of People had retired out of that Kingdom into the *Low-Countries*: And by the great Commerce and continual Intercourſe with *England*, where the Reformation agreed much with the *Calviniſts* in point of Doctrine, though more with the *Lutherans* in point of Diſcipline, Thoſe Opinions came to be credited and propagated more than any other, among the People of theſe Provinces, ſo as the Numbers were grown to be greater far in the Cities of This than of any other Profeſſion. Secondly, The Succours and Supplies both of Men and Money, by which the weak Beginnings of this Commonwealth were preſerved and fortify'd, came chiefly from *England*, from the Proteſtants of *France* (when their Affairs were ſucceſsful) and from the *Calviniſt* Princes of *Germany*, who lay neareſt, and were readieſt to relieve them. In the next place, Becauſe thoſe of this Profeſſion ſeemed the moſt contrary and violent againſt the *Spaniards*, who made themſelves Heads of the *Roman Catholicks* throughout Chriſtendom; and the Hatred of *Spain*, and their Dominion, was ſo rooted in the Hearts of this People, that it had Influence upon them in the very Choice of their Religion. And laſtly, Becauſe, by this Profeſſion, all Rights and Juriſdiction of the Clergy or Hierarchy being ſuppreſſed, there was no Eccleſiaſtical Authority left to riſe up and trouble or fetter the Civil Power; and all the Goods and Poſſeſſions of Churches and Abbies were ſeized wholly into the Hands of the State, which made a great Encreaſe of the publick Revenue, a Thing the moſt neceſſary for the Support of their Government.

There might perhaps be added one Reaſon more, which was particular to one of the Provinces: For, whereas in moſt, if not all, other Parts of Chriſtendom, the Clergy compoſed one of the three Eſtates of the Country, and thereby ſhar'd with the Nobles and Commons in their Influences upon the Government, that Order never made any part of the Eſtates in *Holland*, nor had any Vote in their Aſſembly, which conſiſted only of the Nobles and the Cities; and this Province bearing always the greateſt Sway in the Councils of the Union, was moſt inclined to the Settlement of that Profeſſion which gave leaſt Pretence of Power or Juriſdiction to the Clergy, and ſo agreed moſt with their own ancient Conſtitutions.

Since this Eſtabliſhment, as well as before, the great Care of this State has ever been, to favour no particular or curious Inquiſition into the Faith or Religious Principles of any peaceable Man, who came to live under the Protection of their Laws, and to ſuffer no Violence or Oppreſſion upon any Man's Conſcience, whoſe Opinions broke not out into Expreſſions or Actions of ill Conſequence to the State. A free Form of Government either making way for more Freedom in Religion; or elſe, having newly contended ſo far themſelves for Liberty in this Point, they thought it the more unreaſonable for them to oppreſs others. Perhaps while they were ſo threatened and endangered by Foreign Armies, they thought it more neceſſary to provide againſt Diſcontents within, which can never be dangerous, where they are not grounded or fathered upon Oppreſſion in point either of Religion or

Liberty. But in those two Cases, the Flame often proves most violent in a State, the more 'tis shut up, or the longer concealed.

The *Roman Catholick* Religion was alone excepted from the common Protection of their Laws, making Men (as the States believed) worse Subjects than the rest, by the Acknowledgment of a Foreign and Superior Jurisdiction; for so must all Spiritual Power needs be, as grounded upon greater Hopes and Fears than any Civil, at least, where-ever the Persuasions from Faith are as strong as those from Sense; of which there are so many Testimonies recorded by the Martyrdoms, Penances, or Conscientious Restraints and Severities, suffer'd by infinite Persons in all sorts of Religions.

Besides, this Profession seemed still a Retainer of the *Spanish* Government, which was then the great Patron of it in the World: Yet, such was the Care of this State to give all Men Ease in this Point, who ask no more than to serve God, and save their own Souls, in their own Way and Forms; that what was not provided for by the Constitutions of their Government, was so, in a very great degree, by the Connivence of their Officers, who, upon certain constant Payments from every Family, suffer the Exercise of the *Roman Catholick* Religion in their several Jurisdictions, as free and easie, though not so cheap, and so avowed, as the rest. This, I suppose, has been the Reason, that though those of this Profession are very numerous in the Country, among the Peasants, and considerable in the Cities, and not admitted to any publick Charges; yet they seem to be a sound Piece of the State, and fast jointed in with the rest; and have neither given any Disturbance to the Government, nor express'd any Inclinations to a Change, or to any Foreign Power, either upon the former Wars with *Spain*, or the later Invasions of the Bishop of *Munster*.

Of all other Religions, every Man enjoys the free Exercise in his own Chamber, or his own House, unquestioned and unespy'd: And if the Followers of any Sect grow so numerous in any Place, that they affect a publick Congregation, and are content to purchase a Place of Assembly, to bear the Charge of a Pastor or Teacher, and to pay for this Liberty to the Publick; they go and propose their Desire to the Magistrates of the Place where they reside, who inform themselves of their Opinions, and Manners of Worship; and if they find nothing in either, destructive to Civil Society, or prejudicial to the Constitutions of their State, and content themselves with the Price that is offer'd for the Purchase of this Liberty, they easily allow it; but with the Condition, that one or more Commissioners shall be appointed, who shall have free Admission at all their Meetings, shall be both the Observers and Witnesses of all that is Acted or Preached among them, and whose Testimony shall be received concerning any thing that passes there to the Prejudice of the State: In which Case, the Laws and Executions are as severe as against any Civil Crimes.

Thus the *Jews* have their allowed Synagogues in *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*; And in the first, almost all Sects, that are known among Christians, have their publick Meeting-places; and some whose Names are almost worn out in all other Parts, as the *Brownists*, *Familists*, and others: The *Arminians*, though they make a great Name among them, by being rather the Distinction of a Party in the State, than a Sect in the Church; yet are, in comparison of others, but few in Number, though considerable by the Persons, who are of the better Quality, the more learned and intelligent Men, and many of them in the Government. The *Anabaptists* are just the contrary, very numerous, but in the lower Ranks of People, Mechanicks and Sea-men, and abound chiefly in *North Holland*.

The *Calvinists* make the Body of the People, and are possessed of all the publick Churches in the Dominions of the State, as well as of the only Ministers or Pastors, who are maintained by the Publick; but these have neither Lands, nor Tithes, nor any authoriz'd Contributions from the People, but certain Salaries from the State, upon whom they wholly depend: And though they are often very bold in taxing and preaching publickly against the Vices, and sometimes the innocent Entertainments, of Persons most considerable in

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the Government, as well as of the Vulgar; yet they are never heard to cenſure or control the publick Actions or Reſolutions of the State: They are, in general, throughout the Country, paſſionate Friends to the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Orange*; and, during the Intermiſſion of that Authority, found ways of expreſſing their Affections to the Perſon and Fortunes of this Prince, without offending the State, as it was then conſtituted. They are fierce Enemies of the *Arminian* Party, whoſe Principles were thought to lead them, in *Barnevelt*'s Time, towards a Conjunction, or at leaſt Compliance, with the *Spaniſh* Religion and Government, both which the Houſe of *Orange*, in the whole courſe of the War, endeavour'd to make irreconcileable with thoſe of the State.

It is hardly to be imagin'd, how all the Violence and Sharpneſs, which accompanies the Differences of Religion in other Countries, ſeems to be appeaſed or ſoftened here, by the general Freedom which all Men enjoy, either by Allowance or Connivance; nor how Faction and Ambition are thereby diſabled to colour their Intereſted and Seditious Deſigns with the Pretences of Religion, which has coſt the Chriſtian World ſo much Blood for theſe laſt Hundred and Fifty Years. No Man can here complain of Preſſure in his Conſcience; of being forced to any publick Profeſſion of his private Faith; of being reſtrain'd from his own manner of Worſhip in his Houſe, or obliged to any other abroad: And whoever asks more in Point of Religion, without the undiſputed Evidence of a particular Miſſion from Heaven, may juſtly ſuſpected, not to ask for God's Sake, but for his own; ſince pretending to Soveraignty, inſtead of Liberty, in Opinion, is indeed pretending the ſame in Authority too, which conſiſts chiefly in Opinion: And what Man, or Party ſoever, can gain the common and firm Belief, of being moſt immediately inſpired, inſtructed, or favoured of God, will eaſily obtain the Prerogative of being moſt honour'd and obey'd by Men.

But in this Commonwealth, no Man having any reaſon to complain of oppreſſion in Conſcience; and no Man having Hopes, by advancing his Religion, to form a Party, or break in upon the State, the Differences in Opinion make none in Affections, and little in Converſation, where it ſerves but for Entertainment and Variety. They argue without Intereſt or Anger; they differ without Enmity or Scorn; and they agree without Confederacy. Men live together, like Citizens of the World, aſſociated by the common Ties of Humanity, and by the Bonds of Peace, and the impartial Protection of indifferent Laws, with equal Encouragement of all Art and Induſtry, and equal Freedom of Speculation and Enquiry; all Men enjoying their imaginary Excellencies and Acquiſitions of Knowledge, with as much Safety as their more real Poſſeſſions and Improvements of Fortune. The Power of Religion among them, where it is, lies in every Man's Heart. The Appearance of it is but like a Piece of Humanity, by which every one falls moſt into the Company or Converſation of thoſe, whoſe Cuſtoms and Humours, whoſe Talk and Diſpoſitions he likes beſt: And as in other Places 'tis in every Man's Choice with whom he will Eat or Lodge, with whom go to Market, or to Court; ſo it ſeems to be here, with whom he will Pray, or go to Church, or aſſociate in the Service and Worſhip of God: Nor is any more Notice taken, or more Cenſure paſs'd, for whatever one chooſes in theſe Caſes, than in the other.

I believe the Force of Commerce, Alliances, and Acquaintances, ſpreading ſo farnes they'l do in ſmall Circuits (ſuch as the Province of *Holland*) may contribute much to make Converſation, and all the Offices of common Life, ſo eaſy, among ſo different Opinions, of which ſo many ſeveral Perſons are often in every Man's Eye, and no Man checks or takes Offence at Faces, or Cuſtoms, or Ceremonies, he ſees every Day, as at thoſe he hears of in Places far diſtant, and perhaps by partial Relations, and comes to ſee late in his Life, and after he has long been poſſeſs'd by Paſſion or Prejudice againſt them. However it is, Religion may poſſibly do more good in other Places, but it does leſs hurt here. And wherever the inviſible Effects of it are the greateſt and moſt advantagious, I am ſure the viſible are ſo in this Country, by the continual and undiſturbed Civil Peace of their Government for ſo long a

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Courſe of Years; and by ſo mighty an Encreaſe of their People, wherein will appear to conſiſt chiefly the vaſt Growth of their Trade and Riches, and conſequently the Strength and Greatneſs of their State.

CHAP. VI.

Of their TRADE.

THIS evident to thoſe, who have read the moſt, and travell'd fartheſt, that no Country can be found either in this preſent Age, or upon Record of any Story, where ſo vaſt a Trade has been manag'd, as in the narrow Compaſs of the Four Maritime Provinces of this Commonwealth: Nay, it is generally eſteem'd, that they have more Shipping belongs to them, than there does to all the reſt of *Europe*. Yet they have no Native Commodities towards the Building, or Rigging of the ſmalleſt Veſſel; their Flax, Hemp, Pitch, Wood, and Iron, coming all from Abroad, as Wool does for cloathing their Men, and Corn for feeding them. Nor do I know any thing properly of their own Growth, that is conſiderable either for their own neceſſary Uſe, or for Traffick with their Neighbour, beſide Butter, Cheeſe, and Earthen Wares. For Havens, they have not any good upon their whole Coaſt: The beſt are *Helverſluys*, which has no Trade at all; and *Fluſſingue*, which has little in compariſon of other Towns in *Holland*: But *Amſterdam*, that triumphs in the Spoils of *Lisbon* and *Antwerp* (which before engroſs'd the greateſt Trade of *Europe* and the *Indies*) ſeems to be the moſt incommodious Haven they have, being ſeated upon ſo ſhallow Waters, that ordinary Ships cannot come up to it without the Advantage of Tides; not great ones without unlading. The Entrance of the *Teſſel*, and Paſſage over the *Zuider-Sea*, is more dangerous than a Voyage from thence to *Spain*, lying all in blind and narrow Channels; ſo that it eaſily appears, that 'tis not an Haven that draws Trade, but Trade that fills an Haven, and brings it in Vogue. Nor has *Holland* grown rich by any Native Commodities, but by Force of Induſtry; by Improvement and Manufacture of all Foreign Growths; by being the general Magazine of *Europe*, and furniſhing all Parts with whatever the Market wants or invites; and by their Sea-men being, as they have properly been call'd, the common Carriers of the World.

Since the Ground of Trade cannot be deduc'd from Havens, or Native Commodities (as may well be concluded from the Survey of *Holland*, which has the leaſt and the worſt; and of *Ireland*, which has the moſt and the beſt of both) it were not amiſs to conſider, from what other Source it may be more naturally and certainly deriv'd: For if we talk of Induſtry, we are ſtill as much to ſeek, what it is that makes People induſtrious in one Country, and idle in another. I conceive the true Original and Ground of Trade, to be great Multitude of People crowded into ſmall compaſs of Land, whereby all Things neceſſary to Life become dear, and all Men, who have Poſſeſſions, are induc'd to Parſimony; but thoſe who have none, are forc'd to Induſtry and Labour, or elſe to Want. Bodies that are vigorous, fall to Labour; ſuch as are not, ſupply that Defect by ſome ſort of Inventions or Ingenuity. Theſe Cuſtoms ariſe firſt from Neceſſity, but encreaſe by Imitation, and grow in time to be habitual in a Country; and where-ever they are ſo, if it lies upon the Sea, they naturally break out into Trade, both becauſe whatever they want of their own, that is neceſſary to ſo many Men's Live, muſt be ſupply'd from abroad; and becauſe, by the Multitude of People, and ſmallneſs of Country, Land grows ſo dear, that the Improvement of Money, that Way, is inconſiderable, and ſo turns to Sea, where the Greatneſs of the Profit makes amends for the Venture.

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This cannot be better illustrated, than by its contrary, which appears no where more than in *Ireland*; where, by the Largeness and Plenty of the Food, and Scarcity of People, all Things necessary to Life are so cheap, that an industrious Man, by two Day's Labour, may gain enough to feed him the rest of the Week; which I take to be a very plain Ground of the Laziness attributed to the People: For Men naturally prefer Ease before Labour, and will not take Pains, if they can live idle; though when, by necessity, they have been inured to it, they cannot leave it, being grown a Custom necessary to their Health, and to their very Entertainment: Nor perhaps is the Change harder, from constant Ease to Labour, than from constant Labour to Ease.

This Account of the Original of Trade, agrees with the Experience of all Ages, and with the Constitutions of all Places, where it has most flourish'd in the World, as *Tyre*, *Carthage*, *Athens*, *Syracuse*, *Agrigentum*, *Rhodes*, *Venice*, *Holland*; and will be so obvious to every Man, that knows and considers the Situation, the Extent, and the Nature of all those Countries, that it will need no Enlargement upon the Comparisons.

By these Examples, which are all of Commonwealths, and by the Decay or Dissolution of Trade in the six first, when they came to be conquer'd, or subjected to Arbitrary Dominions, it might be concluded, that there is something in that Form of Government proper and natural to Trade, in a more peculiar manner. But the Height it arrived to at *Bruges* and *Antwerp*, under their Princes, for four or five Descents of the House of *Burgundy*, and two of *Austria*, shews, it may thrive under good Princes and legal Monarchies, as well as under free States. Under Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power it must of necessity decay and dissolve, because this empties a Country of People, whereas the others fill it; this extinguishes Industry, whilst Men are in doubt of enjoying themselves what they get, or leaving it to their Children; the others encourage it, by securing Men of both: One fills a Country with Soldiers, and the other with Merchants; who were never yet known to live well together, because they cannot trust one another: And as Trade cannot live without mutual Trust among private Men; so it cannot grow or thrive, to any great degree, without a Confidence both of publick and private Safety, and consequently a Trust in the Government, from an Opinion of its Strength, Wisdom, and Justice; which must be grounded either upon the Personal Virtues and Qualities of a Prince, or else upon the Constitutions and Orders of a State.

It appears to every Man's Eye, who hath travell'd *Holland*, and obserr'd the Number and Vicinity of their great and populous Towns and Villages, with the prodigious Improvement of almost every Spot of Ground in the Country, and the great Multitudes constantly employ'd in their Shipping abroad and their Boors at home, that no other known Country in the World of the same Extent, holds any Proportion with this in Numbers of People; and if that be the great Foundation of Trade, the best Account that can be given of theirs, will be by considering the Causes and Accidents, that have serv'd to force or invite so vast a Confluence of People into their Country. In the first Rank may be placed the Civil Wars, Calamities, Persecutions, Oppressions, or Disorders, that have been so fatal to most of their Neighbours, for some time before as well as since their State began.

The Persecutions for Matters of Religion, in *Germany* under *Charles* the Fifth, in *France* under *Henry* the Second, and in *England* under Queen *Mary*, forc'd great Numbers of People out of all those Countries, to shelter themselves in the several Towns of the Seventeen Provinces, where the ancient Liberties of the Country, and Privileges of the Cities, had been inviolate under so long a Succession of Princes, and gave Protection to those oppressed Strangers, who fill'd their Cities both with People and Trade, and rais'd *Antwerp* to such an Height and Renown, as continu'd till the Duke of *Alva*'s Arrival in the *Low Countries*. The Fright of this Man, and the Orders he brought, and strict to execute them, began to scatter the Flock of People

that for ſome time had been neſted there; ſo as, in very few Months, above a Hundred Thouſand Families remov'd out of the Country. But when the Seven Provinces United, and began to defend themſelves with Succeſs, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*, and the Countenance of *England* and *France*, and the Perſecutions for Religion began to grow ſharp in the *Spaniſh* Provinces, all the Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion, and Haters of the *Spaniſh* Dominion, retir'd into the ſtrong Cities of this Commonwealth, and gave the ſame Date to the Growth of Trade there, and the Decay of it at *Antwerp*.

The long Civil Wars, at firſt of *France*, then of *Germany*, and laſtly of *England*, ſerved to encreaſe the Swarm in this Country, not only by ſuch as were perſecuted at home, but great Numbers of peaceable Men, who came here to ſeek for Quiet in their Lives, and Safety in their Poſſeſſions or Trades; like thoſe Birds that, upon the Approach of a rough Winter-ſeaſon, leave the Countries where they were born and bred, fly away to ſome kinder and ſofter Climate, and never return till the Frosts are paſt, and the Winds are laid at home.

The Invitation theſe People had, to fix rather in *Holland* than in many better Countries, ſeems to have been at firſt the Strength of their Towns, which by their Maritime Situation, and the low Flatneſs of their Country, can with their Sluices overflow all the Ground about them at ſuch Diſtances, as to become inacceſſible to any Land-Forces. And this natural Strength has been improv'd, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, by all the Art and Expence that could any ways contribute towards the Defence of the Place.

Next was the Conſtitution of their Government, by which, neither the States-General, nor the Prince, have any Power to invade any Man's Perſon or Property within the Precincts of their Cities. Nor could it be fear'd, that the Senate of any Town ſhould conſpire any ſuch Violence; nor, if they did, could they poſſibly execute it, having no Soldiers in their Pay, and the Burghers only being employ'd in the Defence of their Towns, and Executions of all Civil Juſtice among them.

Theſe Circumſtances gave ſo great a Credit to the Bank of *Amſterdam*; and that was another Invitation for People to come, and lodge here what Part of their Money they could tranſport, and knew no Way of ſecuring at home. Nor did thoſe People only lodge Monies here, who came over into the Country; but many more, who never left their own: Though they provided for a Retreat, or againſt a Storm, and thought no Place ſo ſecure as this, nor from whence they might ſo eaſily draw their Money into any Parts of the World.

Another Circumſtance was, the general Liberty and Eaſe, not only in Point of Conſcience, but all others that ſerve to the Commodiouſneſs and Quiet of Life; every Man following his own Way, minding his own Buſineſs, and little enquiring into other Mens; which, I ſuppoſe, happen'd by ſo great a Concourſe of People, of ſeveral Nations, different Religions and Cuſtoms, as left nothing ſtrange or new; and, by the general Humour, bent all upon Induſtry, whereas Curioſity is only proper to idle Men.

Beſides, it has ever been the great Principle of their State, running through all their Provinces and Cities, even with Emulation, to make their Country the common Refuge of all miſerable Men; from whoſe Protection, hardly any Alliance, Treaties, or Intereſts, have ever been able to divert or remove them. So as, during the great Dependence this State had upon *France*, in the Time of *Henry* the Fourth, all the Perſons diſgraced at that Court or baniſh'd that Country, made this their common Retreat; nor could the State ever be prevail'd with, by any Inſtances of the *French* Ambaſſadors, to refuſe them the Uſe and Liberty of common Life and Air, under the Protection of their Government.

This Firmneſs in the State, has been one of the Circumſtances that has invited ſo many unhappy Men out of all their Neighbourhood, and indeed from moſt Parts of *Europe*, to ſhelter themſelves from the Blows of Juſtice,

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or of Fortune. Nor indeed does any Country ſeem ſo proper to be made uſe of upon ſuch Occaſions, not only in reſpect of Safety, but as a Place that holds ſo conſtant and eaſie Correſpondencies with all Parts of the World, and whither any Man may draw whatever Money he has at his Diſpoſal in any other Place; where neither Riches expoſe Men to Danger, nor Poverty to Contempt: But on the contrary, where Parſimony is honourable, whether it be neceſſary or no; and he that is forced by his Fortune to live low, may here alone live in Faſhion, and upon equal Terms (in Appearance abroad) with the chiefeſt of their Miniſters, and richeſt of their Merchants: Nor is it eaſily imagin'd, how great an Effect this Conſtitution among them may, in Courſe of Time, have had upon the Encreaſe both of their People and their Trade.

As the two firſt Invitations of People into this Country, were the Strength of their Towns, and Nature of their Government; ſo, two others have grown with the Courſe of Time, and Progreſs of their Riches and Power. One is, The Reputation of their Government, ariſing from the Obſervation of the Succeſs of their Arms, the Prudence of their Negotiations, the Steadineſs of their Counſels, the Conſtancy of their Peace and Quiet at home, and the Conſideration they hereby arrived at among the Princes and States of Chriſtendom. From all theſe, Men grew to a general Opinion of the Wiſdom and Conduct of their State; and of its being eſtabliſh'd upon Foundations, that could not be ſhaken by any common Accidents, nor conſequently in danger of any great or ſudden Revolutions; and this is a mighty Inducement to induſtrious People to come and inhabit a Country, who ſeek not only Safety under Laws from Juſtice and Oppreſſion, but likewiſe under the Strength and good Conduct of a State, from the Violence of Foreign Invaſions, or of Civil Commotions.

The other is, The great Beauty of their Country (forced in Time, and by the Improvements of Induſtry, in ſpight of Nature) which draws every day ſuch Numbers of curious and idle Perſons to ſee their Provinces, though not to inhabit them. And indeed their Country is a much better Miſtreſs than a Wife; and where few Perſons who are well at home, would be content to live; but where none, that have Time and Money to ſpare, would not for once be willing to travel; and as *England* ſhews, in the Beauty of the Country, what Nature can arrive at; ſo does *Holland*, in the Number, Greatneſs, and Beauty of their Towns, whatever Art can bring to paſs. But theſe and many other Matters of Speculation among them, filling the Obſervations of all common Travellers, ſhall make no part of mine, whoſe Deſign is rather to diſcover the Cauſes of their Trade and Riches, than to relate the Effects.

Yet it may be noted hereupon, as a Piece of Wiſdom in any Kingdom or State, by the Magnificence of Courts, or of publick Structures; by encouraging Beauty in private Buildings, and the Adornment of Towns with pleaſant and regular Plantations of Trees; by the Celebration of ſome Noble Feſtivals or Solemnities; by the Inſtitutions of ſome great Marts or Fairs; and by the Contrivance of any extraordinary and renew'd Spectacles, to invite and occaſion, as much and as often as can be, the Concourſe of buſie or idle People from the neighbouring or remoter Nations, whoſe very Paſſage and Intercourſe is a great Encreaſe of Wealth and of Trade, and a ſecret Incentive of People to inhabit a Country, where Men may meet with equal Advantages, and more Entertainments of Life, than in other Places. Such were the *Olympick* and other Games among the *Greeks*; ſuch the Triumphs, Trophies, and Secular Plays of *Old Rome*, as well as the Spectacles exhibited afterwards by the Emperors, with ſuch ſtupendious Effects of Art and Expence, for courting or entertaining the People; ſuch the Jubilees of *New Rome*; the Juſts and Tournaments formerly uſed in moſt of the Courts of Chriſtendom; the Feſtivals of the more celebrated Orders and Knighthood; and in particular Towns, the Carnavals and Fairs; the Kermiſſes, which run through all the Cities of the *Netherlands*, and in ſome of them, with a great deal of Pageantry, as well as Traffick, being equal Baits of Pleaſure and of Gain.

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Having thus discover'd what has laid the great Foundations of their Trade, by the Multitude of the People, which has planted and habituated Industry among them, and, by that, all sorts of Manufacture; as well as Parsimony, and thereby general Wealth: I shall enumerate very briefly, some other Circumstances, that seem, next to these, the chief Advancers and Encouragers of Trade in their Country.

Low Interest and Dearness of Land, are Effects of the Multitude of People, and Cause of so much Money to lie ready for all Projects, by which Gain may be expected, as the cutting of Canals, making Bridges and Cawseys, levelling Downs, and draining Marshes, besides all new Essays at Foreign Trade, which are propos'd with any Probability of Advantage.

The Use of their Banks, which secures Money, and makes all Payments easie, and Trade quick.

The Sale by Registry, which was introduced here and in *Flanders* in the Time of *Charles* the Fifth, and makes all Purchasers safe.

The Severity of Justice, not only against all Thefts, but all Cheats and Counterfeits of any publick Bills (which is Capital among them) and even against all common Beggars, who are dispos'd of either into Work-houses, or Hospitals, as they are able or unable to labour.

The Convoys of Merchant-Fleets into all Parts, even in Time of Peace, but especially into the *Streights*; which give their Trade Security against many unexpected Accidents, and their Nation Credit abroad, and breeds up Seamen for their Ships of War.

The Lowness of their Customs, and Easiness of paying them, which, with the Freedom of their Ports, invite both Strangers and Natives to bring Commodities hither, not only as to a Market, but as to a Magazine, where they lodge till they are invited abroad to other and better Markets.

Order and Exactness in managing their Trade, which brings their Commodities in Cities abroad. This was first introduced in severe Laws and Penalties, but is since grown into Custom. Thus there have been above thirty several Placarts about the manner of curing, pickelling, and barrelling Herrings. Thus all Arms, made at *Utrecht*, are forfeited, if sold without Mark, or marked without Tryal. And I observed in their *Indian* House, that all the Pieces of Scarlet, which are sent in great Quantities to those Parts, are marked with the *English* Arms, and Inscriptions in *English*; by which they maintain the Credit gain'd to that Commodity, by our former Trade to Parts, where 'tis now lost or decay'd.

The Government manag'd either by Men that trade, or whose Families have risen by it, or who have themselves some Interest going in other Men's Traffick, or who are born and bred in Towns, the Soul and Being whereof consists wholly in Trade, which makes sure of all Favour, that, from time to time, grows necessary, and can be given it by the Government.

The Custom of every Town's affecting some particular Commerce or Staple, valuing it self thereupon, and so improving it to the greatest Height; as *Flussingue*, by that of the *West-Indies*; *Middleburgh*, of *French* Wines; *Terveer*, by the *Scotch* Staple; *Dort*, by the *English* Staple and *Rhenish* Wines; *Rotterdam*, by the *English* and *Scotch* Trade at large, and by *French* Wines; *Leyden*, by the Manufacture of all sorts of Stuffs, Silk, Hair, Gold and Silver; *Haerlem*, by Linnen, Mixt-Stuffs, and Flowers; *Delf*, by Beer and *Dutch*-Purcelane; *Surdam*, by the Built of Ships; *Enchuysen* and *Mazlandsluys*, by Herring-fishing; *Friezland*, by the *Greenland* Trade; and *Amsterdam* by that of the *East-Indies*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*.

The great Application of the whole Province to the Fishing-Trade, upon the Coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, which employs an incredible Number of Ships and Sea-men, and supplies most of the Southern Parts of *Europe* with a rich and necessary Commodity.

The last, I shall mention, is, the mighty Advance they have made towards engrossing the whole Commerce of the *East-Indies*, by their Successes against the *Portugueses*, and by their many Wars and Victories against the Natives, whereby they have forced them to Treaties of Commerce, exclusive to all

other

other Nations, and to the Admiſſion of Forts to be built upon Streights and Paſſes, that command the Entrances into the Traffick of ſuch Places. This has been archieved by the Multitude of their People and Mariners, that has been able to furniſh every Year ſo many great Ships for ſuch Voyages, and to ſupply the Loſs of ſo many Lives, as the Changes of Climate have coſt, before they learnt the Method of living in them: But the Vaſtneſs of the Stock that has been turn'd wholly to that Trade; and by the Conduct and Application of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who had managed it like a Commonwealth, rather than Trade, and thereby rais'd a State in the *Indies*, govern'd indeed by the Orders of the Company, but otherwiſe appearing to thoſe Nations like a Soveraign State, making War and Peace with their greateſt Kings, and able to bring to Sea forty or fifty Men of War, and thirty thouſand Men at Land, by the modeſteſt Computations. The Stock of this Trade, beſides what it turns to in *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, the *Streights*, and *Germany*, makes them ſo great Maſters in the Trade of the Northern Parts of *Europe*, as *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Pomerania*, and all the *Baltick*; where the Spices, that are an *Indian* Drug, and *European* Luxury, command all the Commodities of thoſe Countries, which are ſo neceſſary to Life, as their Corn; and to Navigation, as Hemp, Pitch, Maſts, Planks, and Iron.

Thus the Trade of this Country is diſcover'd to be no Effect of common Contrivances, of natural Diſpoſitions or Situation, or of trivial Accidents; but of a great Concurrence of Circumſtances, a long Courſe of Time, Force of Orders and Method, which never before met in the World to ſuch a Degree, or with ſo prodigious a Succeſs, and perhaps never will again. Having grown, (to ſum up all) from the Situation of their Country, extended upon the Sea, divided by two ſuch Rivers as the *Rhine* and the *Maes*, with the Vicinity of the *Ems*, *Weſer*, and *Elve*; from the Confluence of People out of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, invited by the Strength of their Towns, and by the Conſtitutions and Credit of their Government; by the Liberty of Conſcience, and Security of Life and Goods (ſubjected only to conſtant Laws;) from general Induſtry and Parſimony, occaſion'd by the Multitude of People, and Smalneſs of Country; from Cheapneſs and Eaſineſs of Carriage by Convenience of Canals; from low Uſe, and Dearneſs of Land, which turn Money to Trade; the Inſtitution of Banks; Sale by Regiſtry; Care of Convoys; Smalneſs of Cuſtoms; Freedom of Ports; Order in Trade; Intereſt of Perſons in the Government; particular Traffick affected to particular Places; Application to the Fiſhery; and Acquiſitions in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

It is no conſtant Rule, that Trade makes Riches; for there may be a Trade that impoveriſhes a Nation: As it is not going often to Market, that enriches the Country-man; but, on the contrary, if, every time he comes there, he buys to a greater Value than he ſells, he grows the poorer, the oftner he goes: But the only and certain Scale of Riches, ariſing from Trade in a Nation, is the Proportion of what is exported for the Conſumption of others, to what is imported for their own.

The true Ground of this Proportion lies in the general Induſtry and Parſimony of a People, or in the contrary of both. Induſtry encreaſes the Native Commodity, either in the Product of the Soil, or the Manufactures of the Country, which raiſes the Stock for Exportation. Parſimony leſſens the Conſumption of their own, as well as of Foreign Commodities; and not only abates the Importation by the laſt, but encreaſes the Exportation by the firſt; for, of all Native Commodities, the leſs is conſumed in a Country, the more is exported abroad; there being no Commodity, but, at one Price or other, will find a Market, which they will be Maſters of, who can afford it cheapeſt: Such are always the moſt induſtrious and parſimonious People, who can thrive by Prices, upon which the Lazy and Expenſive cannot live.

The vulgar Miſtake, That Importation of Foreign Wares, if purchaſed abroad with Native Commodities, and not with Money, does not make a Nation poorer, is but what every Man, that gives himſelf Leiſure to think, muſt immediately rectify, by finding out, that upon the End of an Account between a Nation, and all they deal with abroad, whatever the Exportation wants in Value, to balance that of the Importation, muſt of neceſſity be made up with ready Money.

By this we find out the Foundation of the Riches of *Holland*, as of their Trade by the Circumſtances already rehearſed. For never any Country traded ſo much, and conſumed ſo little: They buy infinitely, but 'tis to ſell again, either upon Improvement of the Commodity, or at a better Market. They are the great Maſters of the *Indian* Spices, and of the *Perſian* Silks; but wear plain Woollen, and feed upon their own Fiſh and Roots. Nay, they ſell the fineſt of their own Cloth to *France*, and buy coarſe out of *England* for their own Wear. They ſend abroad the beſt of their own Butter, into all Parts, and buy the cheapeſt out of *Ireland*, or the North of *England*, for their own Uſe. In ſhort, they furniſh infinite Luxury, which they never practiſe; and traffick in Pleaſures, which they never taſte.

The Gentlemen and Officers of the Army change their Cloaths and their Modes like their Neighbours. But among the whole Body of the Civil Magiſtrates, the Merchants, the rich Traders, and Citizens in general, the Faſhions continue ſtill the ſame; and others, as conſtant among the Sea-men and Boors: So that Men leave off their Cloaths, only becauſe they are worn out, and not becauſe they are out of Faſhion.

Their great Foreign Conſumption is *French* Wine and Brandy; but that may be allow'd them, as the only Reward they enjoy of all their Pains, and as that alone which makes them rich and happy in their voluntary Poverty, who would otherwiſe ſeem poor and wretched in their real Wealth. Beſides, what they ſpend in Wine, they ſave in Corn to make other Drinks, which is bought from Foreign Parts. And upon a Preſſure of their Affairs, we ſee now for two Years together, they have deny'd themſelves even this Comfort, among all their Sorrows, and made up in paſſive Fortitude, whatever they wanted in the active.

Thus it happens, that much going conſtantly out, either in Commodity, or in the Labour of Sea-faring-men; and little coming in to be conſumed at home; the reſt returns in Coin, and fills the Country to that degree, that more Silver is ſeen in *Holland*, among the common Hands and Purſes, than Braſs either in *Spain* or in *France*; though one be ſo rich in the beſt Native Commodities, and the other drain all the Treaſuries of the *Weſt-Indies*.

By all this Account of their Trade and Riches, it will appear, that ſome of our Maxims are not ſo certain, as they are current, in our common Politicks. As firſt, That Example and Encouragement of Exceſs and Luxury, if employ'd in the Conſumption of Native Commodities, is of Advantage to Trade: It may be ſo to that which impoveriſhes, but is not to that which enriches a Country; and is indeed leſs prejudicial, if it lie in Native, than in Foreign Wares. But the Cuſtom or Humour of Luxury and Expence, cannot ſtop at certain Bounds: What begins in Native will proceed in Foreign Commodities: And though the Example ariſe among idle Perſons, yet the Imitation will run into all Degrees, even of thoſe Men by whoſe Induſtry the Nation ſubſiſts. And beſides, the more of our own we ſpend, the leſs we ſhall have to ſend abroad; and ſo it will come to paſs, that while we drive a vaſt Trade, yet, by buying much more than we ſell, we ſhall come to be poor: Whereas when we drove a very ſmall Traffick abroad, yet by ſelling ſo much more than we bought, we were very rich in proportion to our Neighbours. This appear'd in *Edward* the Third's Time, when we maintain'd ſo mighty Wars in *France*, and carry'd our victorious Arms into the Heart of *Spain*: Whereas, in the 28th Year of that King's Reign, the Value and Cuſtom of all our Exported Commodities amounted to two hundred ninety four thouſand, one hundred and eighty four Pounds, ſeventeen Shillings and two pence. And that of Imported, but to thirty eight thouſand, nine hundred and ſeventy Pounds, three Shillings and ſix pence. So, as there muſt have enter'd that Year into the Kingdom in Coin, or Bullion (or elſe have grown a Debt to the Nation) two hundred fifty five thouſand two hundred and fourteen Pounds, thirteen Shillings and eight pence. And yet we then carry'd out our Wools unwrought, and brought in a great Part of our Cloths from *Flanders*.

Another common Maxim is, That if, by any Foreign Invaſion or Servitude, the State, and conſequently the Trade of *Holland*, ſhould be ruin'd,

the laſt would of courſe fall to our ſhare in *England*. Which is no conſequence: For it would certainly break into ſeveral Pieces, and ſhift, either to us, to *Flanders*, to the *Hans Towns*, or any other Parts, according as the moſt of thoſe Circumſtances ſhould any where concur to invite it (and the like to ſuch) as appear to have formerly drawn it into *Holland*, by ſo mighty a Confluence of People, and ſo general a Vein of Induſtry and Parſimony among them. And whoever pretends to equal their Growth in Trade and Riches by other ways than ſuch as are already enumerated, will prove, I doubt, either to deceive, or to be deceived.

A Third is, That if that State were reduced to great Extremities, ſo as to become a Province to ſome greater Power, they would chooſe our Subjection rather than any other; or thoſe, at leaſt, that are the Maritime, and the richeſt of the Provinces. But it will be more reaſonably concluded, from all the former Diſcourſes, That though they may be divided by abſolute Conqueſts, they will never divide themſelves by Conſent, but all fall one way, and, by common Agreement, make the beſt Terms they can for their Country, as a Province, if not as a State: And before they come to ſuch an Extremity, they will firſt ſeek to be admitted, as a *Belgic*-Circle, in the Empire (which they were of old;) and thereby receive the Protection of that mighty Body, which (as far as great and ſmaller things may be compar'd) ſeems the likeſt their own State in its main Conſtitutions, but eſpecially in the Freedom or Soveraignty of the Imperial Cities. And this I have often heard their Miniſters ſpeak of, as their laſt Refuge, in caſe of being threaten'd by too ſtrong and fatal a Conjuncture.

And if this ſhould happen, the Trade of the Provinces would rather be preſerv'd or encreas'd, than any way broken or deſtroyed by ſuch an Alteration of their State, becauſe the Liberties of the Country would continue what they are, and the Security would be greater than now it is.

The laſt I will mention, is of another Vein: That if the Prince of *Orange* were made Soveraign of their Country, though by Foreign Arms, he would be a great Prince, becauſe this now appears to be ſo great a State. Whereas, on the contrary, thoſe Provinces would ſoon become a very mean Country. For ſuch a Power muſt be maimtain'd by Force, as it would be acquir'd, and as indeed all abſolute Dominion muſt be in thoſe Provinces. This would raiſe general Diſcontents; and thoſe perpetual Seditions among the Towns, which would change the Orders of the Country, endanger the Property of private Men, and ſhake the Credits and Safety of the Government. Whenever this ſhould happen, the People would ſcatter, Induſtry would faint, Banks would diſſolve, and Trade would decay to ſuch a Degree, as probably, in courſe of Time, their very Digues would be no longer maintained by the Defences of a weak People againſt ſo furious an Invader; but the Sea would break in upon their Land, and leave their chiefeſt Cities to be Fiſher-Towns, as they were of old.

Without any ſuch great Revolutions, I am of Opinion, That Trade has, for ſome Years ago, paſs'd its Meridian, and begun ſenſibly to decay among them: Whereof there ſeem to be ſeveral Cauſes; as firſt, The general Application, that ſo many other Nations have made to it, within theſe two or three and twenty Years. For ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, which reſtored the Quiet of Chriſtendom in 1648, not only *Sweden* and *Denmark*, but *France* and *England*, have more particularly, than ever before, buſied the Thoughts and Counſels of their ſeveral Governments, as well as the Humours of their People, about the Matters of Trade.

Nor has this happened without good Degrees of Succeſs; though Kingdoms of ſuch Extent, that have other and Nobler Foundations of Greatneſs, cannot raiſe Trade to ſuch a Pitch as this little State, which had no other to build upon; no more than a Man, who has a fair and plentiful Eſtate, can fall to Labour and Induſtry, like one that has nothing elſe to truſt for the Support of his Life. But however, all theſe Nations have come of late to ſhare largely with them; and there ſeem to be grown too many Traders for

Trade in the World, ſo as they can hardly live one by another. As in a great populous Village, the firſt Grocer, or Mercer, that ſets up among them, grows preſently rich, having all the Cuſtom; till another, encouraged by his Succeſs, comes to ſet up by him, and ſhare in his Gains; at length ſo many fall to the Trade, that nothing is got by it; and ſome muſt give over, or all muſt break.

Not many Ages paſt, *Venice* and *Florence* poſſeſs'd all the Trade of *Europe*; the laſt by the Manufactures; but the firſt by their Shipping: And the whole Trade of *Perſia* and the *Indies*, whoſe Commodities were brought (thoſe by Land, and theſe by the *Arabian* Sea) to *Egypt*, from whence they were fetch'd by the *Venetian* Fleets, and diſperſed into moſt of the Parts of *Europe*: And in thoſe Times we find the whole Trade of *England* was driven by *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and *Lombards*. The *Eaſterlings*, who were the Inhabitants of the *Hans* Towns, as *Dantzic*, *Lubeick*, *Hamburgh*, and others upon that Coaſt, fell next into Trade, and manag'd all that of theſe Northern Parts for many Years, and brought it firſt down to *Bruges*, and from thence to *Antwerp*. The firſt Navigation of the *Portugueſes* to the *Eaſt-Indies* broke the Greatneſs of the *Venetian* Trade, and drew it to *Lisbon*: And the Revolt of the *Netherlands*, that of *Antwerp* to *Holland*. But in all this Time, the other and greater Nations of *Europe* concern'd themſelves little in it; their Trade was War; their Counſels and Enterprizes were buſied in the Quarrels of the *Holy Land*, or in thoſe between the Popes and the Emperors (both of the ſame Forge, engaging all Chriſtian Princes, and ending in the Greatneſs of the Eccleſiaſtical State throughout Chriſtendom;) Sometimes in the mighty Wars between *England* and *France*, between *France* and *Spain*: The more general, between *Chriſtians* and *Turks*; or more particular Quarrels between leſſer and neighbouring Princes. In ſhort, the Kingdoms and Principalities were in the World like the Noblemen and Gentlemen in a Country; the Free-States and Cities, like the Merchants and Traders: Theſe at firſt deſpis'd by the others; the others ſerv'd and revers'd by them; till by the various Courſe of Events in the World, ſome of theſe came to grow Rich and Powerful by Induſtry and Parſimony; and ſome of the others, poor by War and by Luxury: Which made the Traders begin to take upon them, and carry it like Gentlemen; and the Gentlemen begin to take a Fancy of falling to Trade. By this ſhort Account it will appear no Wonder, either that particular Places grew ſo rich, and ſo mighty, while they alone enjoy'd almoſt the general Trade of the World; nor why not only the Trade in *Holland*, but the Advantage of it in general, ſhould ſeem to be leſſen'd by ſo many that ſhare it.

Another Cauſe of its Decay in that State, may be, that, by the mighty Progreſs of their *Eaſt-India* Company, the Commodities of that Country are grown more than theſe Parts of the World can take off; and conſequently, the Rates of them muſt needs be leſſen'd, while the Charge is encreas'd by the great Wars, the Armies, and Forts, neceſſary to maintain or extend the Acquiſitions of that Company in the *Indies*. For, inſtead of five or ſix *Eaſt-India* Ships, which uſed to make the Fleets of the Year, they are now riſen to eighteen or twenty (I think two and twenty came in one Year to the *United Provinces*.) This is the Reaſon why the particular Perſons of that Company in *Holland*, make not ſo great Advantage of the ſame Stock, as thoſe of ours do in *England*; though their Company be very much richer, and drives a far greater Trade than ours, which is exhauſted by no Charge of Armies, or Forts, or Ships of War: And this is the Reaſon that the *Dutch* are forced to keep ſo long and ſo much of thoſe Commodities in their Magazines here, and to bring them out, only as the Markets call for them, or are able to take off; and why they bring ſo much leſs from the *Indies*, than they were able to do, if there were Vent enough here: As I remember, one of their Sea-men, newly landed out of their *Eaſt-India* Fleet, in the Year 69, upon Diſcourſe in a Boat between *Delf* and *Leyden*, ſaid, he had ſeen, before he came away,

three Heaps of Nutmegs burnt at a Time, each of which was more than a ſmall Church could hold, which he pointed at in a Village that was in ſight.

Another Cauſe may be, the great Cheapneſs of Corn, which has been for theſe Dozen Years, or more, general in all theſe Parts of *Europe*, and which has a very great Influence upon the Trade of *Holland*. For a great Vent of *Indian* Commodities (at leaſt the Spices which are the Groſs of them) uſed to be made into the Northern Parts of *Europe*, in Exchange for Corn, while it was taken off at good Rates by the Markets of *Flanders*, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, or *Italy*; in all which Countries it has of late Years gone ſo low, as to diſcourage the Import of ſo great Quantities, as uſed to come from *Poland* and *Pruſſia*, and other Parts of the North. Now the leſs Value thoſe Nations receive for Corn, the leſs they are able to give for Spice, which is a great Loſs to the *Dutch* on both Sides, leſſening the Vent of their *Indian* Ware in the Northern, and the Traffick of Corn in the Southern Parts. The Cauſe of this great Cheapneſs of Corn ſeems to be, not ſo much a Courſe of plentiful and ſeaſonable Years, as the general Peace that has been in *Europe* ſince the Year 59 or 60; by which ſo many Men and ſo much Land have been turned to Husbandry, that were before employ'd in the Wars, or lay waſted by them in all the Frontier-Provinces of *France* and *Spain*, as well as throughout *Germany*, before the Peace of *Munſter*; and in *England*, during the Actions or Conſequences of a Civil War: And Plenty grows not to a Height, but by the Succeſſion of ſeveral peaceful as well as ſeaſonable Years.

The laſt Clauſe I mention, is the mighty Enlargement of the City of *Amſterdam*, by that which is called the *New Town*; the Extent whereof is ſo ſpacious, and the Buildings of ſo much greater Beauty and Coſt than the Old, that it muſt have employ'd a vaſt Proportion of that Stock which in this City was before wholly turned to Trade. Beſides there ſeems to have been growing on for theſe later Years, a greater View of Luxury and Expence among many of the Merchants of that Town, than was ever formerly known: Which was obſerved and complained of, as well as the Enlargement of their City, by ſome of the wiſeſt of their Miniſters, while I reſided among them, who deſigned ſome Regulations by Sumptuary Laws; as knowing the very Foundations of their Trade would ſoon be undermined, if the habitual Induſtry, Parſimony, and Simplicity of their People, came to be over-run by Luxury, Idleneſs, and Exceſs. However it happen'd, I found it agreed by all the moſt diligent and circumſpect Enquiries I could make, that in the Years 69 and 70 there was hardly any Foreign Trade among them, beſides that of the *Indies*, by which the Traders made the Returns of their Money, without Loſs; and none, by which the common Gain was above two or three in the Hundred. So, as it ſeems to be with Trade, as with the Sea (its Element) that has a certain Pitch, above which it never riſes in the higheſt Tides; and begins to ebb, as ſoon as ever it ceaſes to flow; and ever loſes Ground in one Place, proportionable to what it gains in another.

CHAP. VII.

Of their FORCES *and* REVENUES.

THE Strength and Forces of a Kingdom, or State, were meaſured, in former Ages, by the Numbers of Native and Warlike Subjects, which they could draw into the Field, upon any War with their Neighbours. National Quarrels were decided by National Armies, not by Stipendiary Forces (raiſed with Money, or maintained by conſtant Pay.) In the ſeveral Kingdoms and Principalities of *Europe*, the Bodies of their Armies were compoſed, as they are ſtill in *Poland*, of the Nobility and Gentry, who

who were bound to attend their Princes to the Wars, with certain Numbers of armed Men, according to the Tenure and Extent of the ſeveral Lordſhips and Lands they held in the Crown: Where theſe were not proportionable to the Occaſion, the reſt were made up of Subjects drawn together by Love of their Prince, or their Country: By Deſire of Conqueſt and Spoils, or Neceſſity of Defence: Held together by Allegiance or Religion; and ſpirited by Honour, Revenge, or Avarice (not of what they could get from their Leaders, but from their Enemies.) A Battle or two, fairly fought, decided a War; and a War ended the Quarrel of an Age, and either loſt or gain'd the Cauſe or Country contended for: Till the Change of Times and Accidents brought it to a new Deciſion; till the Virtues and Vices of Princes made them ſtronger or weaker, either in the Love and Obedience of their People, or in ſuch Orders and Cuſtoms as render'd their Subjects more or leſs Warlike or Effeminate. Standing-Forces, or Guards in conſtant Pay, were no where us'd by lawful Princes in their Native or Hereditary Countries, but only by Conquerors in ſubdued Provinces, or Uſurpers at home; and were a Defence only againſt Subjects, not againſt Enemies.

Theſe Orders ſeem firſt to have been changed in *Europe* by the Two States of *Venice* and *Holland:* Both of them ſmall in Territories at Land, and thoſe extended in Frontier upon powerful Neighbours; both of them weak in number of Native Subjects; and thoſe leſs warlike at Land, by turning ſo much to Traffick, and to Sea: But both of them mighty in Riches and Trade; which made them endeavour to balance their Neighbour's Strength in Native Subjects, by Foreign Stipendiary Bands; and to defend their Frontiers by the Arts of Fortification, and Strength of Places, which might draw out a War into Length by Sieges, when they durſt not venture it upon a Battle; and ſo make it many times determine by force of Money, rather than of Arms. This forced thoſe Princes, who frontier'd upon theſe States, to the ſame Proviſions; which have been encreas'd by the perpetual Courſe of Wars, upon the Continent of *Europe*, ever ſince the Riſe of this State, until the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, between Princes bordering one upon the other; and ſo, ready for ſudden Inroads or Invaſions.

The Force therefore of theſe Provinces is to be meaſur'd, not by the Number or Diſpoſitions of their Subjects, but by the Strength of their Shipping, and Standing-Troops, which they conſtantly maintain, even in Time of Peace; and by the Numbers of both, which they have been able to draw into the Field, and to Sea, for Support of a War: By their conſtant Revenue to maintain the firſt; and by the temporary Charge, they have been able to furniſh, for Supply of the other.

I will not enumerate their Frontier Towns (which is a common Theme) or the Forces neceſſary for the Garriſons of them; nor the Nature and Variety of their Taxes and Impoſitions, though I have an exact Liſt of them by me, expreſſing the ſeveral Kinds, Rates, and Proportions, upon every Province and Town: But this would ſwell a Diſcourſe, with a great deal of tedious Matter, and to little purpoſe. I ſhall therefore be content only to obſerve, what I have informed my ſelf of their Forces and Revenues in general, from Perſons among them, the beſt able to give that Account.

The ordinary Revenue of this State conſiſts, either in what is levied in the conquered Towns and Country of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, or the *Rhine*; which is wholly adminiſter'd by the Council of State: Or elſe the ordinary Fonds which the Seven Provinces provide every Year according to their ſeveral Proportions, upon the Petition of the Council of State, and Computation of the Charge of the enſuing Year, given in by them to the States-General. And this Revenue commonly amounts to about one and twenty Millions of Gilders a Year; every Million making about Ninety Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, intrinſick Value.

The chief Fonds out of which this ariſes, is, the Exciſe and the Cuſtoms: The firſt is great, and ſo general, that I have heard it obſerv'd at *Amſterdam*, That when in a Tavern, a certain Diſh of Fiſh is eaten with the uſual Sawce, above

above thirty ſeveral Exerciſes are paid, for what is neceſſary to that ſmall Service. The laſt are low and eaſie, and apply'd particularly to the Admiralty.

Out of this Revenue is ſupply'd the Charge of the whole Milice, of all publick Officers of the State, and Ambaſſadors, or Miniſters abroad, and the Intereſt of about thirteen Millions owing by the States-General.

The Standing-Forces in the Year Seventy upon ſo general a Peace, and after all Reformations, were twenty ſix thouſand two hundred Men, in ten Regiments of Horſe, conſiſting of fifty Troops; and nineteen of Foot, conſiſting of three hundred and eighty Companies. The conſtant Charge of theſe Forces ſtood them in ſix Millions one hundred and nineteen thouſand Gilders a Year.

Their Admiralties, in time of Peace, maintain between thirty and forty Men of War, employ'd in the ſeveral Convoys of their Merchants Fleets, in a Squadron of eight or ten Ships to attend the *Algerines* and other *Corſairs* in the *Mediterranean*; and ſome always lying ready in their Havens for any ſudden Accidents or Occaſions of the State. The common Expence of the Admiralties in this Equipage, and the Built of Ships, is about ſix Millions a Year.

Beſides the Debt of the Generalty, the Province of *Holland* owes about ſixty five Millions, for which they pay Intereſt at four in the hundred; but with ſo great Eaſe and Exactneſs both in Principal and Intereſt, that no Man ever demands it twice; they might take up whatever Money they deſired. Whoever is admitted to bring in his Money, takes it for a great deal of Favour; and when they pay off any part of the Principal, thoſe it belongs to receive it with Tears, not knowing how to diſpoſe of it to Intereſt, with ſuch Safety and Eaſe. And the common Revenue of particular Men lies much in the Cantores, either of the Generality, or the ſeveral Provinces, which are the Regiſtries of theſe publick Debts.

Of the ſeveral Impoſts and Exciſes, thoſe that are upon certrin and immovable Poſſeſſions (as Houſes and Lands) are collected by the Magiſtrates of the ſeveral Places, and by them paid in to the Receivers, becauſe both the Number and Value of them are conſtant, and eaſily known. Thoſe which ariſe out of uncertain Conſumptions, are all ſet out to Farm, and to him that bids moſt, ſome every three Months, ſome every ſix, and ſome yearly.

The Collection, Receipt and Diſtribution of all publick Moneys, are made, without any Fee to Officers, who receive certain conſtant Salaries from the State, which they dare not encreaſe by any private Practices, or Extortions: So, whoever has a Bill of any publick Debt, has ſo much ready Money in his Coffers, being paid certainly at call, without Charge or Trouble; and aſſigned over in any Payment, like the beſt Bill of Exchange.

The extraordinary Revenue is, when upon ſome great Occaſions, or Wars, the Generality agrees to any extraordinary Contributions: As ſometimes the hundredth Penny of the Eſtates of all the Inhabitants; Pole, or Chimney-money; or any other Subſides, and Payments, according as they can agree, and the Occaſions require; which have ſometimes reach'd ſo far, as even to an Impoſition upon every Man that travels in the common Ways of their Country, by Boat, or in a Coach; in Waggon, or on Horſeback.

By all theſe means, in the firſt Year of the *Engliſh* War, in 1665, there were raiſed in the Provinces, forty Millions, of which twenty two in the Province of *Holland*. And upon the Biſhop of *Munſter*'s invading them, at the ſame time by Land, they had in the Year 66, above threeſcore thouſand Land-men in Pay; and a Fleet of above an hundred Men of War at Sea.

The Greatneſs of this Nation, at that Time, ſeems juſtly to have rais'd the Glory of ours; which, during the Years 65 and 66, maintained a War, not only againſt this powerful State, but againſt the Crowns of *France* and *Denmark*, in Conjunction with them: And all, at a time, when this Kingdom was forced to ſtruggle at home with the calamitous Effects of a raging Plague, that, in three Months of the firſt Year, ſwept away incredible Numbers of People; and of a prodigious Fire, that, in three Days of the ſecond, laid in Aſhes

that Ancient and Famous City of *LONDON* (the Heart and Center of our Commerce and Riches) consuming the greatest Part of its Buildings, and an immense Proportion of its Wealth. Yet, in the midst of these fatal Accidents, those two Summers were renowned with three Battles of the mightiest Fleets that ever met upon the Ocean; whereof two were determined by entire and unquestioned Victories, and Pursuit of our Enemies into their very Havens. The third having begun by the unfortunate Division of our Fleet, with the odds of ninety of their Ships against fifty of ours; and, in spight of such Disadvantages, having continued, or been renewed for three Days together (wherein we were every Morning the Aggressors) ended at last by the equal and mutual Weakness and Weariness of both Sides, the Maims of Ships and Tackling, with Want of Powder and Ammunition: Having left undecided the greatest Action that will perhaps appear upon Record of any Story. And in this Battle, *Monsieur de Wit* confess'd to me, That we gain'd more Honour to our Nation, and to the invincible Courage of our Sea-men, than by the other two Victories. That he was sure, their Men could never have been brought on the two following Days, after the Disadvantages of the first; and he believ'd no other Nation was capable of it but ours.

I will not judge, how we came to fail of a glorious Peace in the six Months next succeeding, after the Fortune of our last Victory, and with the Honour of the War: But as any rough Hand can break a Bone, whereas much Art and Care are required to set it again, and restore it to its first Strength and Proportion: So 'tis an easie part in a Minister of State, to engage a War; but 'tis given to few to know the Times, and find the Ways of making Peace. Yet when after the sensible Events of an unfortunate Negligence, an indifferent Treaty was concluded at *Breda* in 67; within six Months following, by an *Alliance* with this State in *January*, 1668 (which was receiv'd with incredible Joy and Applause among them) His Majesty became the unquestioned Arbiter of all the Affairs of Christendom; made a Peace between the two Great Crowns, at *Aix-la-Capelle*, which was avowed by all the World to be perfectly his own; and was received with equal Applause of Christian Princes abroad, and of his Subjects at home; and for three Years succeeding, by the unshaken Alliance and Dependence of the United States, His Majesty remained Absolute Master of the Peace of Christendom, and in a Posture of giving Bounds to the greatest, as well as Protection to the weakest, of his Neighbours.

CHAP. VIII.

The Causes of their FALL, in 1672.

IT must be avowed, that as this State, in the Course and Progress of its Greatness for so many Years past, has shined like a Comet; so in the Revolutions of this last Summer, it seemed to fall like a Meteor, and has equally amazed the World by the one and the other: When we consider such a Power and Wealth, as was related in the last Chapter, to have fallen in a manner prostrate within the Space of one Month: So many Frontier Towns, renowned in the Sieges and Actions of the *Spanish* Wars, enter'd like open Villages by the *French* Troops, without Defence or almost Denial: Most of them without any Blows at all, and all of them with so few: Their great Rivers, that were esteemed an invincible Security to the Provinces of *Holland* and *Utrecht*, passed with as much Ease, and as small Resistances, as little Fords: And in short, the very Hearts of a Nation so valiant of old against *Rome*, so obstinate against *Spain*, now subdued, and, in a manner, abandoning all before their Danger appear'd: We may justly have our Recourse to the secret and fixed Periods of all Human Greatness, for the Account of such a Revolution:

Or

Or rather, to the unſearchable Decrees, and irreſiſtible Force of Divine Providence; though it ſeems not more impious to queſtion it, than to meaſure it by our Scale; or reduce the Iſſues and Motions of that Eternal Will and Power, to a Conformity with what is eſteemed juſt, or wiſe, or good, by the uſual Conſent, or the narrow Comprehenſion of poor mortal Men.

But, as in the Search and Conſideration even of Things natural and common, our Talent, I fear, is to talk rather than to know; ſo we may be allow'd to enquire and reaſon upon all Things, while we do not pretend to Certainty, or call that undeniable Truth, which is every Day deny'd by ten thouſand; nor thoſe Opinions unreaſonable, which we know to be held by ſuch, as we allow to be reaſonable Men; I ſhall therefore ſet down ſuch Circumſtances, as to me ſeem moſt evidently to have conſpired in their Revolution; leaving the Cauſes leſs diſcernible to the Search of more diſcerning Perſons.

And firſt, I take their vaſt Trade, which was an Occaſion of their Greatneſs, to have been one likewiſe of their Fall, by having wholly diverted the Genius of their Native Subjects, and Inhabitants, from Arms, to Traffick and the Arts of Peace; leaving the whole Fortune of their late Wars, to be managed by Foreign and Mercenary Troops; which much abaſed the Courage of their Nation (as was obſerved in another Chapter) and made the Burghers of ſo little Moment towards the Defence of their Towns; whereas in the famous Sieges of *Haerlem*, *Alcmer*, and *Leyden*, they had made ſuch brave and fierce Defences, as broke the Heart of the *Spaniſh* Armies, and the Fortune of their Affairs.

Next was the Peace of *Munſter*, which had left them now, for above twenty Years, too ſecure of all Invaſions, or Enemies at Land; and ſo turn'd their whole Application to the Strength of their Forces at Sea; which have been ſince exerciſed with two *Engliſh* Wars in that Time, and enlivened with the ſmall yearly Expeditions into the *Streights* againſt the *Algerines*, and other *Corſairs* of the *Mediterranean*.

Another was, their too great Parſimony, in reforming ſo many of their beſt Foreign Officers and Troops, upon the Peace of *Munſter*; whoſe Valour and Conduct had been ſo great Occaſions of inducing *Spain* to the Counſels and Concluſions of that Treaty.

But the greateſt of all others, that concurr'd to weaken, and indeed break, the Strength of their Land Milice, was the Alteration of their State, which happen'd to be the *Perpetual Edict* of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friezland*, upon the Death of the laſt Prince of *Orange*, for Excluſion of the Power of Stadtholders in their Province, or at leaſt the Separation of it from the Charge of Captain-General. Since that Time, the main Deſign and Application of thoſe Provinces has been, to work out, by degrees, all the old Officers, both Native and Foreign, who had been formerly ſworn to the Prince of *Orange*, and were ſtill thought affectionate to the Intereſt of that Family; and to fill the Commands of their Army, with the Sons, or Kinſmen, of Burgomaſters, and other Officers or Deputies in the State, whom they eſteemed ſure to the Conſtitutions of their Popular Government, and good enough for an Age, where they ſaw no Appearance of Enemy at Land to attack 'em.

But the Humour of Kindneſs to the young Prince, both in the People and Army, was not to be diſſolved or diſperſed by any Medicines or Operations, either of Rigour or Artifice; but grew up inſenſibly with the Age of the Prince, ever preſaging ſome Reſolution in the State, when he ſhould come to the Years of aſpiring, and managing the general Affections of the People; being a Prince, who joined to the great Qualities of his Royal Blood, the popular Virtues of his Country; Silent and Thoughtful; given to Hear, and to Enquire; of a ſound and ſteady Underſtanding; much Firmneſs in what he once reſolves, or once denies; great Induſtry and Application to his Buſineſs, little to his Pleaſures; Piety in the Religion of his Country, but with Charity to others; Temperance natural to his Youth, and to the Climate; frugal in the common Management of his Fortune, and yet magnificent upon Occaſion; of great Spirit and Heart, aſpiring to the Glory of Military Actions,

with ſtrong Ambition to grow Great, but rather by the Service, than the Servitude of his Country. In ſhort, A Prince of many Virtues, without any appearing Mixture of Vice.

In the *Engliſh* War, begun the Year ſixty-five, the States disbanded all the *Engliſh* Troops that were then left in their Service, diſperſing the Officers and Soldiers of our Nation, who ſtaid with them, into other Companies or Regiments of their own. After the *French* Invaſion of *Flanders*, and the ſtrict Alliance between *England* and *Holland* in ſixty-eight, they did the ſame by all the *French* that were remaining in their Service. So as the ſeveral Bodies of theſe two Nations, which had ever the greateſt Part in the Honour and Fortune of their Wars, were now wholly diſſolv'd, and their ſtanding Milice, compoſed in a manner all of their own Natives, enervated by the long Uſes and Arts of Traffick and of Peace.

But they were too great a Match for any of the ſmaller Princes their Neighbours in *Germany*; and too ſecure of any Danger from *Spain*, by the Knowledge of their Forces, as well as Diſpoſitions; and being ſtrictly allied both with *England* and *Sweden*, in two ſeveral Defenſive Leagues, and in one common Triple Alliance, they could not foreſee any Danger from *France*, who, they thought, would never have the Courage or Force to enter the Liſts with ſo mighty Confederates; and who were ſure of a Conjunction, whenever they pleaſed, both with the Emperor and *Spain*.

Beſides, they knew that *France* could not attack them, without paſſing through *Flanders* or *Germany*: They were ſure *Spain* would not ſuffer it through the firſt, if they were backward in oppoſing it, as foreſeeing the inevitable Loſs of *Flanders*, upon that of *Holland*: And they could hardly believe the Paſſage ſhould be yielded by a *German* Prince, contrary to the expreſs Will and Intentions of the Emperor, as well as the common Intereſts of the Empire: So that they hop'd the War would, at leaſt, open in their Neighbours Provinces, for whoſe Defence they reſolv'd to employ the whole Force of their State. And would have made a mighty Reſiſtance, if the Quarrel had begun at any other Doors but their own.

They could not imagine a Conjunction between *England* and *France*, for the Ruin of their State; for, being acquainted with our Conſtitutions, they did not foreſee how we ſhould find our Intereſt in it, and meaſured all States, by that which they eſteem'd to be their Intereſt: Nor could they believe, that other Princes and States of *Europe* would ſuffer ſuch an Addition to be made to the Power of *France*, as a Conqueſt of *Holland*.

Beſides theſe publick Conſiderations, there were others particular to the Factions among them: And ſome of their Miniſters were neither forward nor ſupple enough to endeavour the early breaking or diverting ſuch Conjunctures as threaten'd them; becauſe they were not without Hopes, they might end in renewing their broken Meaſures with *France*; which thoſe of the Commonwealth Party were more enclin'd to, by foreſeeing the Influence that their Alliances with *England* muſt needs have in time, towards the reſtoring of the Prince of *Orange*'s Authority: And they thought at the worſt, that whenever a Pinch came, they could not fail of a ſafe Bargain, in one Market or other, having ſo vaſt a Treaſure ready to employ upon any good Occaſion.

Theſe Conſiderations made them commit three fatal Overſights in their Foreign Negotiations: For they made an Alliance with *England*, without engaging a Confidence and Friendſhip: They broke their Meaſures with *France*, without cloſing new ones with *Spain*: And they reckon'd upon the Aſſiſtances of *Sweden*, and their Neighbour-Princes of *Germany*, without making them ſure by Subſidiary Advances, before a War began.

Laſtly, the Prince of *Orange* was approaching the two and twentieth Year of his Age, which the States of *Holland* had, ſince their Alliance with his Majeſty in 1668, ever pretended ſhould be the Time of advancing him to the Charge of Captain-General and Admiral of their Forces, though without that of Stadtholder. But the nearer they drew to this Period, which

was

was like to make a new Figure in their Government; the more desirous some of their Ministers seem'd, either to decline or to restrain it. On the other side, the Prince grew confident upon the former Promises, or, at least, Intimations of *Holland*, and the concurring Dispositions of the other six Provinces to his Advancement: And his Party, spirited by their Hopes, and the great Qualities of this young Prince (now grown ripe for Action and for Enterprize) resolv'd to bring this Point to a sudden Decision; so, as this strong Disease, that had been so long working in the very Bowels of the State, seem'd just upon its *Crisis*; when a Conjunction of two mighty Kings brought upon them a sudden and furious Invasion by Land and Sea, at the same Time, by a Royal Fleet of above fourscore Ships; and an Army of as many thousand Men.

When the States saw this Cloud ready to break upon them (after a long Belief that it would blow over) they began, not only to provide Shelter at home, with their usual Vigour; but to look out for it abroad (tho' both too late.) Of the Princes that were their Allies, or concern'd in their Danger, such as were far off could not be in time; the nearer were unwilling to share in a Danger they were not enough prepar'd for; most were content to see the Pride of this State humbled; some the Injuries they had received from them, reveng'd; many would have them mortify'd, that would not have them destroy'd; and so all resolv'd to leave them to weather the Storm, as they could, for one *Campania*; which, they did not believe, could go far towards their Ruin, considering the Greatness of their Riches, Number of their Force, and Strength of their Places.

The State, in the mean time, had encreas'd their Troops to seventy thousand Men, and had begun to repair the Fortifications of their Frontier Towns: But so great a Length of their Country lay open to the *French* Invasion, by the Territories of *Colen* and *Liege*; and to the Bishop of *Munster* (their inveterate Enemy) by *Westphalia*, that they knew not where to expect or provide against the first Danger: And while they divided their Forces and Endeavours towards the securing of so many Garrisons, they provided for none to any Purpose but *Maestricht*; which the *French* left behind them, and fell in upon the Towns of the *Rhine*, and the Heart of their Provinces.

Besides, those Ministers who had still the Direction of Affairs, bent their chief Application to the Strength and Order of their Fleet, rather than of their Army: Whether more peck'd at *England* than *France*, upon the War and Manner of entering into it; or, believing that a Victory at Sea would be the Way to a Peace with this Crown; or, hoping their Towns would not fall so fast, but that, before three or four were lost, the Business at Sea would be decided; or perhaps content, that some ill Successes should attend the Prince of *Orange* at his first Entrance upon the Command of their Armies, and thereby contribute to their Designs of restraining his Authority, while they were forced to leave him the Name of Captain-General. This, indeed, was not likely to fail, considering the ill Constitution of their old Army, the hasty Levies of their new, and the Height of the Factions now broken out in the State; which left both the Towns and the Troops in Suspence, under whose Banners they fought, and by whose Orders they were to be govern'd, the Prince's or the State's.

There happen'd, at the same Time, an Accident unusual to their Climate, which was a mighty Drowth in the Beginning of the Summer, that left their Waters fordable in Places, where they us'd to be navigable for Boats of greatest Burthens. And this gave them more Trouble and Distraction in the Defence, as it did their Enemies more Facility in the Passage of those great Rivers, which were esteem'd no small Security of their Country.

And in this Posture were the Affairs of this Commonwealth, when the War broke out, with those fatal Events, that must needs attend any Kingdom, or State, where the Violence of a Foreign Invasion happens to meet with the distracted Estate of a Domestick Sedition or Discontent, which, like ill Humours in a Body, make any small Wound dangerous, and a great one

mortal. They were ſtill a great Body, but without their uſual Soul; they were a State, but it was of the *Diſ-united Provinces*. Their Towns were without Order; their Burghers without Obedience; their Soldiers without Diſcipline; and all without Heart: Whereas, in all Sieges, the Hearts of Men defend the Walls, and not Walls the Men: And, indeed, it was the Name of *England*, joining in the War againſt them, that broke their Hearts, and contributed more to the Loſs of ſo many Towns, and ſo much Country, than the Armies of *Munſter*, or of *France*. So that, upon all Circumſtances conſider'd, it ſeems eaſier to give an Account, what it was that loſt them ſo much, than what ſav'd them the reſt.

No Man at Play ſees a very great Game, either in his own or another's Hand, unexpectedly loſt, but he is apt to conſider, whether it could have been ſaved, and how it ought to have been play'd. The ſame Enquiry will be natural upon the Fall of this State, and very difficult to reſolve.

After the mighty Growth of the *French*, and Decay of the *Spaniſh* Power, which drew on the Invaſion of *Flanders* in 1667, this State had a very hard Game to play; either they muſt ſee *Flanders* wholly loſt, and *France* grown to confine upon them (whom they liked as an Ally, but dreaded as a Neighbour:) Or elſe, they muſt join with *France* to divide *Flanders* between them; but they knew what it was to ſhare with the Lion: Or, they muſt join with *Spain* to defend *Flanders* againſt *France*, that is, with their old Enemy, againſt their old Friend: Or laſtly, They muſt join with *England* for the Defence of *Flanders*; neither breaking with *France*, nor cloſing with *Spain*; and frame an Arbitrage, but of ſomething a rough Nature; rather preſcribing than mediating a Peace, and threatening a War upon that Crown that refus'd it.

They choſe the laſt, and wiſely, as all Men thought; but though this Alliance was happily planted, yet it was unhappily cultivated, and ſo the Fruit came to fall, and the Root to wither upon the firſt Change of Seaſons, in ſuch a manner, and to ſuch a degree, as we have lately ſeen. Whether they could have prevented a Conjunction of *England* with *France*, ſhall be no part of my Subject; for I pretend not to know, or to tell, Secrets of State; and intend theſe, not for the Obſervations of an Ambaſſador, but of a private Man as I am, and ſuch as any Gentleman might eaſily have made, who had reſided above two Years, as I did, in *Holland*; and had been, as I was, a little inclin'd to obſerve. I ſhall only ſay, that the Conjunction of *England* with *France* was to this State, like one of thoſe Diſeaſes, which the Phyſicians ſay, are hard to diſcern, while they are eaſie to cure; but when once they come to be plainly diſcover'd, they are paſt Remedy.

But, as *Holland* had ever defended it ſelf againſt *Spain*, by *England* and *France*; ſo it ought to have done againſt *France*, by *England* and *Spain*, and provided early againſt their own Danger, as well as that of *Flanders*, by improving and advancing their confederate League with *England* and *Sweden*, into a ſtrict Defenſive Alliance with *Spain*, as a Principal in the League. And by agreeing with that Crown, to furniſh between them ſome conſtant Subſidiary Payments to *Sweden*, for the Support of their ſtanding Forces, even in Time of Peace. This was the Deſire of *Spain*, the Intereſt of all that meant to ſecure the Peace of Chriſtendom; and the Opinion of ſome of the *Dutch* Miniſters, though not of the Chiefeſt, till it was too late: And the Omiſſion of this, was the greateſt Fault ever committed in their Politicks; and proceeded in a great meaſure from their ancient Animoſity to *Spain*; which, as it was the Beginning; ſo, by this Effect, it almoſt prov'd the End of their State.

When the War began in the midſt of the Conjunctures related, 'tis hard to ſay what could have defended them: But as Men in a Town, threaten'd with a mighty Siege, abandon their Suburbs, and ſlight thoſe Out-works which are either weak of themſelves, or not well defenſible for want of Men; and reſolve only to make good thoſe Poſts which they are able fully to Man, and eaſily to relieve; becauſe the Loſs of every ſmall Out-work does not only weaken the Number, but ſink the Courage of the Garriſon within:

So this State, which came to be in a manner beſieged by the mighty and numerous Armies of *France* and of *Munſter*, ought, in my Opinion, to have left

left themſelves but three Out-works to maintain; (I mean, three Poſts ſtanding without the Lines, that encloſed the main Body of their Provinces:) Theſe ſhould have been *Maeſtricht*, *Weſel* and *Coeverden*. They ſhould have ſlighted all the reſt of their Places, that lay without theſe upon the *Rhine*, or in *Overyſſel*; and drawn the Men into theſe Towns, ſo as to have left them rather like Camps than Garriſons; that is, eight thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe in *Maeſtricht*, as many in *Weſel*, and half the Number in *Coeverden*, if the Place would contain them; if not, they might have formed and fortify'd a Camp, with ſomething a greater Number, upon the next Paſs into *Friezland* and *Groninguen*.

Of the reſt of their Horſe (which were, I ſuppoſe, about five thouſand) with at leaſt fifteen thouſand Foot, they ſhould have form'd a great ſtanding Camp, within their Rivers, ſomewhere near *Arnhem*; fortify'd it with Cannon, and all the Art that could be; furniſh'd it with the greateſt Care, and Plenty of Proviſions. The remainder of their Infantry would have been enough for the reſt of their Garriſons; of which the Towns upon the *Yſſel*, *Doesburgh*, *Zutphen*, *Daventer*, and *Swoll*, would have been in a manner flank'd (though at ſome diſtance) by the ſtrong Garriſons of *Weſel* and *Coeverden*; and breaſted by the main Camp.

If, with this Diſpoſition of their Forces, they had provided well for the Strength and Defence of *Skinkſconce*, *Nimmeguen* and *Grave* (which would likewiſe have lain within all the Cover of theſe Out-Poſts:) They might, for ought I know, have expected the War without loſing the Heart and Steadineſs of their Counſels, and not without a Probability of making a Defence worthy the former Greatneſs and Atchievements of their State.

For a Siege of *Maeſtricht* or *Weſel* (ſo garriſon'd and reſolutely defended) might not only have amus'd, but endanger'd, the *French* Armies; as *Coeverden* might have done that of *Munſter*.

The Reſiſtance of one of theſe Towns would have encreas'd the Strength of all the reſt: For the Fortune of Battles, and Sieges, turns upon the Hearts of Men, as they are more or leſs capable of general Confidences or Fears, which are very much rais'd by Accidents and Opinions. It would not have been within any common Rules, to march ſo far into the Country, as to attack the *Barſe* or *Breda*, *Nimmeguen*, or *Grave*, leaving ſuch Camps behind, as thoſe at *Weſel* and *Maeſtricht*, and having ſo much a greater before them, as that about *Arnhem*. If any of theſe three Poſts had been loſt, yet it could not have happen'd without good Conditions, and ſo retiring the Men to ſtrengthen either the more inward Garriſons, or the main Camp, which would have lain ready to defend the Paſſes of their Rivers. And if, at the worſt, they had fail'd in this, yet the *French* Army muſt afterwards, either have attaked a fortify'd Camp of twenty thouſand Men, or left ſuch an Army behind them, when they march'd towards *Utrecht*, and into the Heart of the Provinces; both of which would have been Attempts, that, I think, have hardly been enterpriz'd with Succeſs upon any Invaſion.

There ſeems at leaſt ſome appearance of Order and Conduct in this Scheme of Defence; whereas there was none in theirs: But perhaps the greatneſs of the Tempeſt from abroad, and of the Factions at home, either broke the Heart, or diſtracted the Courſe of their Counſels. And beſides, ſuch old Sea-men in ſo ſtrong a Ship, that had weather'd ſo many Storms without Loſs, could not but think it hard, to throw over-board ſo much of their Lading before this began. After all, I know very well, that nothing is ſo hard, as to give wiſe Counſel before Events; and nothing ſo eaſie, as, after them, to make wiſe Reflections. Many things ſeem true in Reaſon, and prove falſe in Experience: Many that are weakly conſulted, are executed with Succeſs. Therefore, to conclude, we muſt all acknowledge, that Wiſdom and Happineſs dwell with God alone; and, among Mortal Men (both of their Perſons and their States) thoſe are the wiſeſt, that commit the feweſt Follies; and thoſe the happieſt, that meet with the feweſt Misfortunes.

F I N I S.

MISCELLANEA.

THE

FIRST PART.

CONTAINING

I. *A Survey of the Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the* Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France *and* Flanders; *with their Relation to* England, *in the Year* 1671.

II. *An Eſſay upon the Original and Nature of Government.*

III. *An Eſſay upon the Advancement of Trade in* Ireland.

IV. *Upon the Conjuncture of Affairs in* October, 1673.

V. *Upon the Exceſſes of Grief.*

VI. *An Eſſay upon the Cure of the* GOUT, *by* Moxa.

LONDON:

Printed for J. TONSON, SAM. BIRT, and T. OSBORNE.
MDCCXXXI.

MISCELLANEA.

THE FIRST PART.

CONTAINING

I. A Survey of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France and Flanders; with their Opinion to England, in the Year 1721.

II. An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government.

III. An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland.

IV. Upon the Continuance of Parliaments in October 1694.

V. Upon the Excellency of Coin.

VI. An Essay upon the Care of the Country by Most.

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MDCCXXXI

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OF THE

STATIONER to the READER.

THE *Author of these* ESSAYS *having heard, That since the first Publishing of them, as well as before, several Books that in the great License of Printing have come forth without Names, were either by mistake, or otherwise, given out to be his; he has upon this Edition given me leave to set his Name to this, and at the same time to give this publick Assurance, That since the first Printing his* OBSERVATIONS *upon the* United Provinces, *nothing of his has been published besides these Papers, nor shall be at any time hereafter, without his Name.*

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A SURVEY OF THE

Conſtitutions and Intereſts of the EMPIRE, SWEDEN, DENMARK, SPAIN, HOLLAND, FRANCE, *and* FLANDERS; *with their Relation to* ENGLAND *in the Year* 1671, *and then given to one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my Embaſſy at the* HAGUE.

THE Decay and Diſſolution of Civil, as well as Natural Bodies, proceeding uſually from outward Blows and Accidents, as well as inward Diſtempers or Infirmities, it ſeems equally neceſſary for any Government to know and reflect upon the Conſtitutions, Forces, and Conjunctures among their Neighbouring States, as well as the Factions, Humours and Intereſts of their own Subjects: For all Power is but comparative; nor can any Kingdom take a juſt Meaſure of its Safety by its own Riches or Strength at home, without caſting up at the ſame time what Invaſions may be feared, and what Defences expected from Enemies or Allies abroad.

'Tis certain, That ſo advantageous a Situation as that of His Majeſty's Dominions in theſe Iſlands of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, makes any Foreign Conſiderations leſs important to us, than to any other Nation; becauſe the Numbers and Native Courage of our Men, with the Strength of our Shipping, have ſo many Ages paſt (and ſtill, for ought we yet know) made us a Match for the greateſt of our Neighbours at Land, and an Over-match for the ſtrongeſt of them at Sea: Whereas, whoever hurts us without our own Arms, muſt be able to maſter us in both theſe Elements. Yet in regard there are the Names of ſeveral Conqueſts remaining ſtill upon Record (though all of them the meer Effects of our own Diviſions or Invitations;) when Trade is grown the Deſign of all Nations in *Europe*, that are poſſeſt of any Maritime Provinces, as being the only unexhauſted Mine, and out of whoſe Treaſures all Greatneſs at Sea naturally ariſes: When inſtead of a King of *France* ſurrounded and bearded by Dukes of *Britany* and *Burgundy*, as well as our own Poſſeſſions in *Normandy* and *Guienne*; inſtead of a Count of *Flanders* or *Holland*, who ſerved for no more, than like the ſmaller Weights to make the Balance ſometimes a little even in the greater Scales of the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *German* Powers: We now behold in *France* the greateſt Land Forces that perhaps have ever been known under the Command of any Chriſtian Prince; and in the *United Provinces*, the greateſt Numbers both of Ships and Mariners that were ever yet heard of under any State in the World; and which have hitherto been only awed by the Strength of our

Oak, the Art of our Ship-wrights, and chiefly by the invincible Hearts of our Seamen: When the Proſpect of theſe two Powers brings us to conſider, that any firm Conjunction of them, either by Confederacy or the Submiſſion of *Holland*, will prove the neareſt Approach that was ever made to our Ruin and Servitude: It may perhaps import us in this Calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more than we have done of late, to the Storms that are now raiſing abroad, and by the beſt Perſpectives we can find, to diſcover from what Coaſt they break, what Courſe they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their Danger, and whether the Shelter expected from us by our Neighbours, will be only a Strain of Generoſity and Humanity, or the beſt Proviſion we can make hereafter for our own Safety.

Thoſe Countries in whoſe Actions or Intereſts we have at any time concerned our ſelves, have been the *Empire*, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the *Low-Countries*, in the two ſeveral Bodies uſually diſtinguiſh'd by the Names of *Flanders* and *Holland*. For with *Poland* we have never gone further than our good Wiſhes towards their Defence againſt the *Turk*: Nor with *Italy*, than the Offices of Ceremony, or Intereſt of Traffick; unleſs ſometimes ſome ſhort Negotiation that ſerved the preſent Turn to ſtop the aſpiring Growth of either the *French* or *Spaniſh* Greatneſs, in thoſe as well as nearer Parts.

THE Foreign Intereſts of the Empire are the Defence of the Eaſtern Parts againſt the *Turk*, and the Preſervation of the Weſtern Circles againſt the Growth of *France*. The Domeſtick are the limited Conſtitution of the Imperial Power, and the Balance of the ſeveral Free Princes and States of the Empire among themſelves. The two laſt have raiſed no Duſt ſince the Peace of *Munſter*; which ſeems chiefly occaſion'd by the *Swede*'s coming in to be a Member of the Empire, upon the Share then yielded to him in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*. Theſe give him an immediate Entrance into the Heart of *Germany*, where the Native Poverty of his own Country makes him conſider'd as ſtill upon the Wing, and ready to ſtop at the firſt Quarry he can meet with upon any Diviſions in the Empire; ſo as there ſeems a general Reſolution not to furniſh him with ſuch Occaſions. Their Defence againſt the *Turk* will be provided and purſued by Common Inclinations and Forces, unleſs thoſe Princes of the Weſtern Circles ſhould at the ſame time be buſied in ſome nearer Danger from *France*. But if the Grand Viſier be ſo great a Man as he is reputed in Politicks, as well as Arms, he will never conſent by an Invaſion of *Hungary*, to make way for the Advance of the *French* Progreſs into the Empire, which a Conqueſt of the *Low-Countries* would make eaſie and obvious: And ſo great Acceſſions (with others that would lie fair and open in the *Spaniſh* Provinces upon the Mediterranean) would make *France* a formidable Power to the *Turk* himſelf, and greater than I ſuppoſe he deſires to ſee any in *Chriſtendom*. So that it ſeems not improbable, that the preſent Peace between the *Emperor* and the *Turk* may laſt longer than is generally calculated by the Fears or Deſires of thoſe who are moſt concerned in it.

In the Preſervation of the Weſtern Circles (eſpecially that of *Burgundy* and the *Rhine*) againſt the Progreſs of the *French* Greatneſs, the Diſpoſitions, if not Intereſts, of the ſeveral Members of the Empire, ſeem much more divided. The Emperor himſelf is firm in reſolving it, becauſe he has nothing to fear ſo much as the Power and Ambition of *France*, in regard of their common Pretenſions to *Spain*, after the young King's Death, and a Jealouſie of the Empire itſelf after a further Courſe of Succeſs: But he will be faint in any Execution of ſuch a Counſel, unleſs ſpirited by the unanimous Decrees of a general Diet; from his own Diſpoſitions, which are thought rather Generous and Juſt, than Ambitious and Enterprizing; from the Influence of the *Jeſuits* in that Court, who are obſerved to grow generally *French*, as they were *Spaniſh* in the laſt Age; from the Fear of the *Turks*, who

who are ſtill like a Cloud that hangs over his Head; and from a Jealouſie of *Sweden* joining abſolutely with *France*, which might ſhare a great part of the Empire between them.

The Elector of *Saxony* would fall intirely into the Intereſts of the Emperor in this Point, as a Prince that is a true *German*, loves the Liberty of the Empire; foreſees, that if it ſhould fall into the *French* Hands, all the Princes would grow little Companions to what they are, or return to be the ſeveral Officers of his Court, as they were in the unlimited Greatneſs of ſome Ancient Emperors. Beſides, his Diſtance from *France*, though it does not inſtruct him to think wiſer than other Princes, yet it helps him to ſpeak more boldly what he thinks upon theſe Conjunctures.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and Land-grave of *Heſſe*, and at leaſt two of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, are in their Diſpoſitions and Judgments upon the ſame Intereſts; but will be influenced and awed by *Sweden*, whoſe ill Talent will be ſtill ſuſpected to *Brandenburgh*, upon the Differences in *Pruſſia*; and to *Lunenburgh*, upon the late Diſappointment at *Bremen*.

The Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* have the ſame Inclinations; but lying at the Mercy of *France*, in ſo near and ſo imperious a Neighbourhood, they will take no Meaſures wherein they may not ſee their own Safety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; Wherein no Prince has greater Reputation of Prudence and Caution, than the Biſhop of *Mentz*.

The Elector *Palatine*, either upon Remainders of the Ancient Leagues with *France*, or Quarrels with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, has been thought inclined to the *French*: But as a wiſe Prince will be found generally in the true Intereſts of the Empire as far as the Seat of his Country will give him leave, which in a War will be ſo much expoſed.

The Elector of *Bavaria* has been eſteemed wholly in the *French* Intereſts ſince the Treaty of *Munſter*; but by what Ties or Motives, has not fallen under my Obſervation, in regard of the Diſtance of his Country, and ſmall Commerce out of the Limits of the Empire.

The Elector of *Cologne* is a Perſon of much natural Goodneſs and Candour, but of Age and Infirmities, and whom Devotion and Chymiſtry have ſhared between them, and in a manner removed from the Affairs of his State; which have been long and entirely devolved upon the Biſhop of *Strasburgh*, a Man buſie, and always in Motion or Intrigue: But for the reſt, whether upon future Ambition, or preſent Advantages, eſteemed to be perfectly in the *French* Intereſts; ſo as whatever Uſe can be made by *France* of that Elector's Name or Country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the Devotion of that Crown.

The Duke of *Nieuburgh* is in his Perſon and Mein, rather like an *Italian* than a *German*; and ſhould be ſo in his Diſpoſition, by playing the Game of an *Italian* Prince; in declaring no Partialities, provoking no Enemies, and living more retired than the other Princes of his Country: Having never ſhewed any Ambition, but for the Crown of *Poland*, which Deſign helpt to inſpire him with great Compliance towards all his Neighbours, and other Princes, who were able to do him good or ill Offices in that Point. But the failing of it, was thought to have ſomething diſoblig'd him from *France* (upon whoſe Aſſiſtance he reckoned) and has ſunk him in a Debt, which he will hardly recover.

The Biſhop of *Munſter* is made only conſiderable by his Situation, which lies the fitteſt of all others to invade *Holland*: And by the Diſpoſitions of this Man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raiſe a Name in the World: An old implacable Hatred to the *Dutch*, upon their Intelligence with his chief Town of *Munſter*: Their Uſurpation (as he pretends) of *Borkloe*, and ſome other ſmall Places in his Country: Their Protection of the Counteſs of *Bentheim*: and the Hopes of ſharing *Overyſſel* or *Friezland*, if ever their Spoils come to be divided, make him a certain Friend to what Prince ſoever is Enemy to them, and will furniſh him with Men or Money enough to appear in the Head of an Army againſt them.

The

The general Intereſt that the ſeveral Princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the Eſteem of His Majeſty's Power, and the Veneration of His Name; which is ſo great amongſt them, that moſt of them are reſolved in the preſent Conjuncture of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*, to underſtand perfectly His Language, before they ſpeak their own.

THE Government of *Sweden* is eſteemed ſteady and wiſe, as their People warlike and numerous. The Digeſtion of their Counſels is made in a Senate conſiſting of Forty Counſellors, who are generally the greateſt Men of the Kingdom, in Office, Eſtates, or Abilities; and who have moſt of them been Commanders in the *German* Wars, or are ſo in the preſent Militia; which makes their Counſels generally warlike and ambitious, tho' ſomething tempered by the Minority of their King. This has turned them, for ſome Years ſince their laſt King's Death, rather to make Advantages by the Name and Reputation of their Alliances, than by the Appearance of their Arms. But if their King grows a Man, and of Martial Thoughts, as may be preſaged from ſo great a Father, we may ſee great Actions and Revolutions grow again out of this Northern Climate. For the Names of *Goth* and *Vandal*, and their famous Succeſſes both in *Poland* and *Germany* this laſt Age, inſpire them with great Thoughts; and the Bodies and Courages of their common Men, as well as the Prudence and Conduct of their great Officers, ſeem to have framed them for great Undertakings. Beſides, their Application of late Years to Trade has much increas'd their Shipping and Seamen (which they found to be their weak Side in their laſt Attempt.) All theſe in time may make way for their great Deſign, which is, the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea by the Conqueſt of *Denmark*. This was, about the Year 59, wreſted out of their Hands by the *Dutch* Aſſiſtance, and can hardly eſcape them, if ever that Commonwealth ſhould be broken. And if they arrive once at this Point, there will grow a Power in that rough Climate which both at Land and Sea may equal moſt others that are now in *Chriſtendom*; by being Maſters of ſuch numbers of ſtrong and valiant Men, as well as of all the Naval Stores that furniſh the World.

They have a nearer Proſpect upon the City of *Bremen*; by the Addition whereof to the Biſhoprick already in their Poſſeſſion, they deſign to lay a great Foundation both of Trade and Strength in the nearer Parts of *Germany*.

Their next Intereſt ſeems to be a long knocking War in the Empire, or the *Low-Countries*; which will make them courted by all, till they think fit to declare: And then will bring them to a ſhare in the Game: And thoſe often go away with the greateſt, who brings in leaſt when the Stake begins. The Neglects of *France* ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, and the late Courtſhip of *Spain*, ſeem to have left them open for the faireſt Offer from either of thoſe Crowns: But rather inclin'd to *Spain*, which has ſtill the ſureſt Fonds of Treaſure (if they could fall into good Method or Direction) and to whom they are more neceſſary than to *France*, which has out-grown almoſt all Meaſures with their Neighbours. They have a peek to *Holland* ſomething in ſhew, but more at heart; as lying croſs to their three Deſigns; the Dominion of the *Baltick*, their Acquiſition of *Bremen*, and a War in the *Upper* or *Lower Germany*. And they are ſo wiſe a State as to be found commonly in their Intereſt; which for theſe Reaſons, is either an abſolute breaking, or a great weakening of that Commonwealth. Beſides, they eſteemed themſelves at leaſt neglected by them in the late Negotiation of the Triple Alliance, wherein they expected conſtant Subſidies in the Time of Peace, from *Spain* and *Holland*, to engage them in the Defence of all thoſe Provinces againſt the threatening Power of *France*.

An old friendſhip to our Nation, and Alliance, proceeding from a long Conjunction of Intereſts, beſides the Neceſſity of keeping well with one of the greateſt Maritime Powers, will (as may be conjectured) perſwade them to follow

follow his Majeſty's Meaſures the cloſeſt and furtheſt of any State in *Europe*. This gave them the firſt Deſign of entering into the Triple Alliance, and into the Commerce with *Spain* in the Year 68, and their Reſolution of keeping pace with his Majeſty in both theſe Points, as well as the Conſequences of them, which they will do, unleſs the preſent Scene ſhould wholly change, and open new Counſels and Intereſts not yet thought of in the World.

THE Kingdom of *Denmark* ſeems leſs conſiderable than their Neighbour-Crown, from a fainter Spirit which appears of late in their People; and in their Government it ſelf; as well as a great Inequality of Number in their Forces both at Sea and Land: For the laſt Change of their Government, from Elective to Hereditary, has made it ſeem hitherto of leſs Force, and unfitter for Action abroad. As all great Changes brought about by Force or Addreſs in an old Conſtitution of Government (rooted in the Hearts and Cuſtoms of the People, though they may in time prove an Encreaſe of Strength and Greatneſs (when fallen into Method, and grown eaſie by Uſe;) yet for many Years they muſt needs weaken it, by the Diviſions and Diſtractions of Men's Minds, and Diſcontents of their Humours; and ſo turn the Counſels upon Deſigns within, deſiſting from any without; and Advantages upon Enemies, muſt give Way to thoſe upon Subjects. So as the breaking down an old Frame of Government, and erecting a new, ſeems like cutting down an old Oak (becauſe the Fruit decays, and the Branches grow thin) and planting a young one in the Room. 'Tis true the Son or Grandſon (if it proſpers) may enjoy the Shade and the Maſte; but the Planter, beſides the Pleaſure of Imagination, has no other Benefit to recompenſe the Pains of Setting and Digging, the Care of Watering and Pruning, the Fears of every Storm and every Drought; and it is well, if he eſcapes a Blow from the Fall of the old Trees, or its Boughs, as they are lopt off.

The Change in *Denmark* was the ſafer, by having to deal with a ſoft eaſie People, and with Nobles grown to have ſmall Power or Intereſt amongſt them, and of whom many were gain'd by the Crown. Beſides, that nothing ſeemed to concern Property in the Change of Succeſſive for Elective. And the Example of all Chriſtian Crowns (beſides that of *Poland*) made way for it: And yet it is certain that *Denmark* has continued ever ſince weak and unſpirited, bent only upon Safety, and enjoying the Revenues of the *Sound* (which are the chief belonging to that Crown.) So as their great Intereſt is their Defence againſt *Sweden*: And for the reſt, a general Peace, by which Traffick encreaſing they may come in for a Share, and ſee their Cuſtoms grow in the *Sound* and *Norway*. They reckon'd chiefly upon their Support from *Holland*, till ſeeing them fall into cloſer Meaſures with Us and *Sweden*, upon the Triple Alliance, they have tacked ſome Points nearer *France*; and the rather, becauſe of the Unkindneſs grown in the laſt *Dutch* War, between us and them. Yet they have it at heart, that *Holland* has ever uſed them inſolently, if not ſcornfully, in the whole Courſe of their Treaties and Alliances, as well as the Differences between them about the Payments of the *Sound*; and will be ever ready and reſolute in the Defence of *Hamborough*, whenever the *Danes* ſhall have Strength and Heart enough to attack it; which ſeems the chief Ambition they have left them abroad.

THE Crown of *Spain* was in all *Philip* the Second's Time look'd upon as both the Terror and Defence of *Chriſtendom*: No Monarchy having ever graſped at ſo great an Empire there, and at the ſame time purſued an open War againſt ſo great a Power as the *Turks*. This Greatneſs was grown up by the Union of the Houſes of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, of that of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, with that of *Naples* and *Sicily*: By the Acceſſion or Conqueſt

queſt of *Portugal*: By that of the *Indies* (when their Mines bled freſh, as they did many Years after their firſt Opening:) By the Number of brave Troops and Leaders, which were raiſed and made by the various and continual Wars of *Charles* the Fifth: But chiefly by the uninterrupted Succeſſion of Three Great Princes, *Ferdinand*, *Charles*, and *Philip*; which can never fail of raiſing a ſmall Kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary of bringing down a great one to a ſmall. But whoever meaſures the Crown of *Spain* now, by the Scale of that Age, may fancy a Man of Fourſcore by a Picture drawn of him at Thirty; 'tis like a great old Tree, which has loſt its Branches and Leaves, *Et trunco non frondibus efficit umbram.* Though no Man knows, whether out of this old Root a Sucker may not ſpring, that with a little Shelter at firſt, and good Seaſons, may in time prove a mighty Tree; for there ſeems ſtill to remain Strength and Sap in the Root to furniſh a fair Growth, though not in proportion to the firſt. Theſe Decays have been occaſioned by ſo long a War with *Holland* (ſupported by all the Neighbours, who envied or fear'd the Greatneſs of *Spain*:) By the exhauſting in a great degree of their *Indian* Mines: By that of their Natives to furniſh the *Indian* Conqueſts, and ſecure all their Provinces both in *Italy* and *Flanders*: But moſt of all, by two Succeſſions (which we may at leaſt call) of unactive Princes, and the Want of any great Miniſtry to repair either them or the Minority of this King, in which they ended. Unleſs this Crown out-grow its preſent Weakneſs, by ſome great Spirits riſing up at the Head of the Monarchy, who ſhall digeſt their Counſels, reform the vaſt and impertinent Profuſions of their Treaſures, by ſuppreſſing all unneceſſary Penſions and Expences, and reſtore the Vigour of their Nation by Martial Deſigns and Examples; we may reckon the Intereſt of *Spain* to lie wholly in the Preſervation and Defence of *Flanders* from *France*, of *Sicily* from the *Turks*, and of their *Indies* from Us. That of *Sicily* ſeems more remote, becauſe both *Hungary* and *Poland* is a nearer Game for the *Turk*, and will not ſo generally alarm or unite the Chriſtian Princes, as the Invaſion of *Sicily*, wherein *France* as well as *Italy* is ſo near concerned. The Jealouſie of their *Indies* had been much nearer them ſince our Poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*; and akes at Heart upon every Fit which the deſperate Sallies of our Privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair Weather in thoſe Seas, by opening to us ſome Advantages of Trade there, and by a Conjunction of Intereſts in *Europe*, which they think the Greatneſs of *France* makes as neceſſary to us, as to them.

Their Quarrel to *France* by a Courſe of almoſt continual Wars ever ſince *Charles* the Fifth's Time, by the late Pretenſions to *France*, ſet on Foot by *France* ſince the Death of their laſt King, and purſued by the late Invaſion (which the *Spaniards* pretend to have been againſt all Faith, as well as Right) ſeems to be grown wholly incurable, though diſſembled by the Senſe of their own Weakneſs, which makes them rather willing to deceive themſelves with a Peace that they know muſt fail them, than break out into a War they fear muſt ruin them, without the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours. And this they hope ſome Breach of the Peace at *Aix* on the *French* Side, or other Accidents, may at one time or other engage for them. And though as they ſtand ſingle, their preſent Intereſt is but bare Defence, and wearing out their King's Minority without further Loſſes; yet a greater Intereſt, and far more at Heart, is a War with *France* in Conjunction with the Triple Alliance, or at leaſt with Us and *Holland*. For though the Peace holds yet while *France* continues ſo great Forces and Deſigns on Foot, the Preſervation of *Flanders* will coſt *Spain* 200 *m.* Pounds a Year, beſides the Revenues of the Country. And what is left them in thoſe Provinces, remains ſo lockt and interwoven with the laſt *French* Conqueſts, that upon the firſt Breach of a War it is all indangered; and indeed cannot be any ways ſecured, but by a ſtrong Diverſion, which may employ the greateſt Part of the *French* Forces in ſome other Places. Theſe Regards, and that of being hardly uſed (as they conceive) by Us and *Holland*, in the Peace of *Aix*, which forced them to quit ſo much of

their

their Country to *France*, and of their Money to *Sweden*, have raiſed up a Party in their Council, that would make and ſecure the beſt Peace they can with *France*, by a Ceſſion of *Flanders* to that Crown in exchange for other Provinces towards *Spain*, and of ſome other Pretenſions. But this will not be carried in a Minority of their King; at leaſt without greater Fears of a ſudden Invaſion from *France*, and greater Deſpairs of Help from Us. Becauſe whenever they quit *Flanders*, they muſt be content to ſhut themſelves up within their Mountains, and ſignifie nothing more in the Affairs of *Europe*. Nor could they perhaps long to be ſafe either in *Spain* or *Italy*, if they were there to ſuſtain all the Forces of *France*, without the great Diverſion they have always made by *Flanders*; out of which, whenever they are Maſters of the Field, they march in four or five Days up into the very Iſle of *France*.

To compaſs theſe two Intereſts either of Defence or a War in Confederacy, they would fain engage *Sweden*; but will endanger this Aim, by the fear of venturing their Money before the Game begins. They reckon themſelves ſure of *Holland* as far as their Defence, but know, they will never be brought to begin a War with *France*. And the old Rancours between *Spaniard* and *Dutch* are not yet enough worn out of the Diſpoſitions of the People or the Governments, to make room for ſuch an abſolute Turn. Their great Hope is in *England*, where their Inclination carries them as well as their Intereſt. Beſides, they think our old as well as freſh Quarrels with *France*, and the Jealouſie of their preſent Growth, will temper us for their Turn at one time or other, ſo that their Meaſures will ever be fair with Us; but no more towards preſerving their Peace, becauſe they think our Intereſt as well as our Treaties will be enough to engage us ſo far, without other Motives. Though to head a War againſt *France*, wherein both *Sweden* and *Holland* would (as they think) follow our Paces, there is no Advantage which the Crown of *Spain* could make in Trade, nor Money they could ſpare from their own Neceſſities (in the ſhare of the Quarrel) which they would not willingly furniſh us with, and truſt to the Events of a War how uncertain ſoever.

THE State of *Holland*, in point both of Riches and Strength, is the moſt prodigious Growth that has been ſeen in the World, if we reckon it from their Peace with *Spain*; before which Time, though their Forces were great both at Land and Sea, yet they were kept down by too violent Exerciſe; and that Government could not be ſaid to ſtand upon its own Legs, leaning always on their Neighbours, who were willing to ſupport them againſt *Spain*, and feared nothing from a State ſo narrow in Compaſs of Land, and ſo weak in Native Subjects, that the Strength of their Armies has ever been made up of Foreign Troops. But ſince that Time, what with the Benefit of their Situation, and Orders of their Government, the Conduct of their Miniſters (driving on ſteddy and publick Intereſt) the Art, Induſtry, and Parſimony of their People; all conſpiring to drive almoſt the Trade of the whole World into their Circle (while their Neighbours were taken up either in Civil or Foreign Wars;) they have grown ſo conſiderable in the World, that for many Years they have treated upon an equal Foot with all the great Princes of *Europe*, and concluded no Negotiation without Advantage: And in the laſt War with Us and *Munſter*, were able at the ſame time to bring above an hundred Men of War to Sea, and maintain threeſcore and ten thouſand Men at Land. Beſides, the Eſtabliſhment or Conqueſts of their Companies in the *Eaſt-Indies*, have in a manner erected another ſubordinate Commonwealth in thoſe Parts; where upon occaſion they have armed five and forty Men of War, and thirty thouſand Land-Men, by the modeſteſt Computations. Yet the Frame of this State (as of moſt great Machines made for Reſt and not for Motion) is abſolutely incapable of making any conſiderable Enlargements or Conqueſts upon their Neighbours: Which is evident to all that know their Conſtitutions: But needs no other

Argument besides their want of Native Subjects to manage any such Attempts; What Men they can spare being drawn so wholly into their Trade, and their *East-Indies*, that they cannot so much as furnish a Colony for *Surinam*, proportioned to the Safety and Plantation of that Place: And no Nation ever made and held a Conquest by Mercenary Arms. So that the Wounds and Fears they can give their Neighbours, consists in point of Trade; In Injuries or Insolences at Sea; In falling with great Weight into a Balance with other Princes; In protecting their Rebels or Fugitives; and in an arrogant way of treating with other Princes and States; a Quality natural to Men bred in popular Governments, and derived of late Years from the great Successes of theirs under the present Ministry.

It may be laid (I believe) for a Maxim, That no wise State will ever begin a War, unless it be upon Designs of Conquests, or Necessity of Defence; for all other Wars serve only to exhaust Forces and Treasure, and end in untoward Peace, patch'd up out of Weakness or Weariness of the Parties; therefore the *Hollanders*, unless invaded either at home or in *Flanders* (which they esteem now the same Case, if it comes from *France*) can have no Interest to offer at a War; but find their greatest in continuing their Course of Traffick uninterrupted, and enjoying the Advantages which in that Point their Industry and Address will gain them from all their Neighbours. And for these Ends they will endeavour to preserve the Peace now in Being, and bandy by Leagues and Negotiations against any from whom they shall fear a Breach of it.

They will ever seek to preserve themselves by an Alliance with *England* against *France*, and by that of *France* against *England*, as they did formerly by both against *Spain*. And they will fall into all Conjunctures which may serve to balance in some Measure the two lesser Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as the greater of *France* and *Spain*. But because they believe that good Arms are as necessary to keep Peace as to make War, they will always be Great in their Preparations of that kind, especially at Sea; by which they may, in all Cases, advance or secure their Trade, and upon a War with *France* make up that way the Weakness of their Land Forces, which a long Rust of Peace, and a Swarm of Officers, preferred by the Magistrates in favour of their Relations, has brought to be very disproportioned in Force to what they are in Number. They esteem themselves secure from *Spain* and their *German* Neighbours (upon what has been said of the present Condition of those Princes;) And from Us, not so much upon our late Treaties with them, as upon what they take to be the common Interest, which they think a Nation can never run over, and believe is the oppposing any farther Progress of the *French* Greatness. Their only Danger they apprehend is from *France*, and that not immediately to themselves, but to *Flanders*, where any Flame would soon seatch them, and consume them, if not quench'd in Time. But in regard of the Weakness of *Spain*, the slow Motions of the *Empire*, the different Paces among the Princes of it, and the Distance of *Sweden*; they esteem the Peace of *Christendom* to depend wholly upon his Majesty, as well as the Safety of *Flanders*, in case of a War. For they think *France* will be dared, and never take Wing, while they see such a Naval Power as ours and the *Dutch* hovering about all their Coasts; and so many other Princes ready to fall in, whenever His Majesty declares, united by the same Jealousies or Dangers. And if they should open a War, they foresee the Consumption which *France* must fall into by the stop of their Wine, Salts, and other Commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two Nations.) And the Head that may be made against their Forces in the Field it self, by a Body of *English* Infantry (so much renowned abroad.) So as though their first Interest be to continue the Peace, while it may be done with any Safety; yet when that fails, their next is to open a War in favour of *Spain*, and in Conjunction with us. And the greatest they have in the World, is to preserve and increase their Alliance with us; which will make them follow our Measures absolutely in all the present Conjunctures.

THE

THE Crown of *France*, conſider'd in the Extent of Country, in the Number of People, in the Riches of Commodities, in the Revenues of the King, the Greatneſs of the Land Forces now on Foot, and the Growth of thoſe at Sea (within theſe two Years paſt,) the Number and Bravery of their Officers, the Conduct of their Miniſters, and chiefly in the Genius of their preſent King; a Prince of great aſpiring Thoughts, unwearied Application to whatever is in purſuit, ſevere in the Inſtitution and Preſervation of Order and Diſcipline: In the main, a Manager of his Treaſure, and yet bounteful from his own Motions, where-ever he intends the Marks of Favour, and diſcerns particular Merit: To this in the Flower of his Age, at the Head of all his Armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his Attempts at home or abroad: I ſay, conſidered in all theſe Circumſtances, *France* may appear to be deſigned for greater Atchievements and Empires, than have been ſeen in *Chriſtendom* ſince that of *Charlemaign*.

The preſent Greatneſs of this Crown may be chiefly derived from the Fortune it has had of two great Miniſters (*Richlieu* and *Mazarine*) ſucceeding one another, between two great Kings, *Henry* the Fourth, and this preſent Prince; ſo as during the Courſe of one unactive Life, and of a long Minority, that Crown gain'd a great deal of Ground both at home and abroad, inſtead of loſing it, which is the common Fate of Kingdoms upon thoſe Occaſions.

The latter Greatneſs of this Crown began in the Time of *Lewis* the Eleventh, by the Spoils of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and the Diviſions of the Princes, which gave that King the Heart of attempting to bring the Government (as he call'd it) *hors de Page*; being before controuled by their Princes, and reſtrained by their States; and in point of Revenue, kept within the Bounds of the King's Demeſnes, and the Subjects voluntary Contributions.

'Tis not here neceſſary to obſerve, by what Difficulties and Dangers to the Crown, this Deſign of *Lewis* was purſued by many ſucceeding Kings, like a great Stone forced up a Hill, and upon every ſlacking of either Strength or Care, falling a great way back, often to the very Bottom of the Hill, and ſometimes with the Deſtruction of thoſe that forced it on, till the Time of Cardinal *Richlieu*. It was in this great Miniſter moſt to be admired, that finding the Regency ſhaken by the Factions of ſo many great ones within, and awed by the Terror of the *Spaniſh* Greatneſs without, he durſt reſolve to look them both in the Face, and begin a War, by the Courſe of which for ſo many Years (being purſued by *Mazarine* till the Year 60) the Crown of *France* grew to be powerfully armed: The Peaſants were accuſtomed to Payments (which could have ſeemed neceſſary only by a War, and which none but a ſucceſsful one could have help'd to digeſt) and grew heartleſs as they grew poor. The Princes were ſometimes ſatisfied with Commands of the Army, ſometimes mortified and ſuppreſs'd by the Abſoluteneſs or Addreſſes of the Miniſtry: The moſt boiling Blood of the Nobility and Gentry was let out in ſo long a War, or waſted with Age and Exerciſe: At laſt it ended at the *Pirenees* in a Peace, and a Match ſo advantageous to *France*, as the Reputation of them contributed much to the Authority of the young King, who was bred up in the Councils, and ſerved by the tired Inſtruments of the former Miniſtry: But moſt of all advantaged by his own Perſonal Qualities, fit to make him obey'd, grew abſolute Maſter of the Factions of the Great Men, as well as the Purſes of his People. In the Beginning of his Minority, the two Diſputes with the Pope about the Outrage of the *Corſi*, and with the King of *Spain*, about the Encounter at *London*, between the Count *D'Eſtrades*, and the Baron *de Batteville* (Embaſſadors from thoſe Crowns) both carried ſo high, and both ended ſo honourably, and to the very Will of *France*, were enough to give a young Prince the Humour and Appetite of trying yet further what there was that could oppoſe him. The Invaſion and eaſie Succeſs

ceſs in *Flanders*, fed his Glory, and increas'd the Reputation of his Power; till this Career was interrupted by the Peace at firſt, then the Alliances between us and *Holland*, and afterwards the Peace at *Aix*, and the Triple Alliance (contracted purpoſely to ſecure it;) ſince which Time the Counſels of that Court have turned wholly from Action to Negotiation; of which no Man can yet ſee the Succeſs, nor judge whether it may not be more proſperous to them, than that of their Arms.

If there were any certain Height where the Flights of Power and Ambition uſe to end, one might imagine, that the Intereſt of *France* were but to conſerve its preſent Greatneſs, ſo feared by its Neighbours, and ſo glorious in the World: But beſides that the Motions and Deſires of human Minds are endleſs, it may perhaps be neceſſary for *France* (from Reſpects within) to have ſome War or other in Purſuit abroad, which may amuſe the Nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their Condition at home, hard and uneaſe to all but ſuch as are in Charge, or in Pay from the Court. I do not ſay miſerable (the Term uſually given it) becauſe no Condition is ſo, but to him that eſteems it ſo; and if a *Paiſan* of *France* thinks of no more than his coarſe Bread and his Onions, his Canvas Cloaths and Wooden Shoos; labours contentedly on Working-days, and dances or plays merrily on Holy-days: He may, for ought I know, live as well as a Boor of *Holland*, who is either weary of his very Eaſe, or whoſe Cares of growing ſtill richer and richer, waſte his Life in Toils at Land, or Dangers at Sea; and perhaps foot him ſo far, as to make him enjoy leſs in all kind in his Riches, than t'other in his Poverty.

But to leave Strains of Philoſophy, which are ill managed with Diſcourſes of Intereſt: The common People of *France* are as little conſiderable in the Government, as the Children; ſo that the Nobles and the Soldiers may in a manner be eſteemed the Nation; whoſe Intereſt and Hopes carry them all to War: And whatever is the general Humour and Bent of a Nation, ought ever to be much conſidered by a State, which can hardly miſcarry in the Purſuit of it. Beſides, the perſonal Diſpoſitions of the King, active and aſpiring, and many Circumſtances in the Government (fitter for Perſons of that Court, than Strangers to pretend the Knowledge of;) the continual Increaſe of their Forces in Time of Peace, and their freſh Invaſion of *Lorrain*, are enough to perſuade moſt Men, that the Deſign of this Crown is a War, whenever they can open it with a Proſpect of ſucceeding to Purpoſe; for their Counſels are too wiſe to venture much upon the Hopes of little Gains. What the Aims of *France* are in this kind, I will not pretend to judge by common Fears or the Schemes of Men too ingeniouſly Politick; nor perhaps can any one tell any more, than a Man, that leaps into the Water in Strength and Vigour, and with Pleaſure, can ſay how far he will ſwim; which will be, till he is ſtopt by Currents or Accidents, or grows weary, or has a mind to do ſomething elſe. One may judge, that if *France* will begin a War, it would be naturally upon *Flanders*, unleſs diſcouraged by the ſame Alliances which prevailed with them to end the laſt; ſo as the plain preſent Intereſt of *France*, is one way or other to break the Confidence or the Force of that Triple Alliance, which alone ſeems to bound their Proſpect, which way ſoever they look: And if once laid open, they have the World and their Fortunes before them; which is enough for a Crown that has ſo much Force, and ſo much Conduct to manage them. Having little Hopes of breaking this on the *Dutch* Side, and knowing the *Swede* will follow our Meaſures in it, we may be ſure of all Addreſs, and all the Courtſhip that can any way be infuſed. And in ſhort, all ſorts of Endeavours and Applications that can be uſed, to break in on ours. Which ſeems to be the preſent Game of that Crown, and that they will begin no other till they ſee an End of this.

London cannot be considered distinct from *Paris* in the Government, nor may in the Inclinations of the People, which must ever have a great influence upon it. They are the best Subjects in the World, but may have some reason to be weary of being the Theatre of domestick Wars; and where those two mighty Crowns have fought so many Battles, and seem to have still so many more to fight, if the Neighbour Balances fall in to balance their Powers, now so unequally matched. Therefore the Interest of the Inhabitants of those *Spanish* Provinces seems to be, either that the present Peace should be kept inviolate by the Strength and Reputation of the present Alliances; or else, that a War when it opens should have a sudden Issue, which might be expected, either from the Fear of Conquest, or a Proposition of Exchange. They are naturally averse from the *French* Government, as they are inclined to the *Spanish*; but have so little Kindness for the *Hollanders*, or Esteem of their Land Forces, that they hardly either hope to be saved by their Alliances. So as the Reputation of his Majesty's Protection and Alliance, is all that can inspire them with the Hopes of a lasting Peace, or the Courage to defend themselves by a War.

GOVERNMENT.

FROM the Survey of all these several Interests, and Forces, and Dispositions that compose the present State of all our Neighbours, it may be naturally and unquestionably concluded; That a Continuance of the present Measures, the Opening of new ones, or an absolute Revolution of all, depends wholly upon those His Majesty shall take or pursue in this great Conjuncture; wherein he seems to be generally allowed for the sole Arbiter of the Affairs of *Christendom*.

OUR Interest abroad must lye in one of these Points.

Either to preserve our present Alliances, and thereby the Peace of *Christendom* as it now stands.

Or to encourage *France* to an Invasion of *Holland*, with an Assurance of our Neutrality.

Or else to join with *France* upon the Advantages they can offer us, for the Ruin of the *Dutch*.

Upon the first is to be considered, Whether upon a longer Peace, the Power of *France* and *Holland*, with so great Revenues, and such Application as is seen in their Governments, will not increase every Year out of Proportion to what ours will do; the Revenues of *France*, arising originally from the Vent of their Native Commodities, and those of *Holland* growing wholly out of Trade, and that out of Peace.

Upon the second, Whether *France* will ever resolve upon the Invasion of *Holland*, or *Holland* upon its own resolute Defence, without our share in the War; which would otherwise leave us to enjoy the Trade of the World, and thereby to grow vastly both in Strength and Treasures, whilst both these Powers were breaking one another. Or whether the Jealousie of such a Design in Us, would not induce *France* and *Holland*, either before a War, or soon after it begins, to close up some Measures between them to our Disadvantage, as We and *Holland* did after the last War, to the Disadvantage of *France*.

Upon the last, Whether by the Ruin of *Holland*, we can reap as great Advantages as *France* (though perhaps greater were necessary to make some Equality in our Power.) And to gain a fair Prospect of this, it must be considered, Whether *Holland*, upon its Fall, would grow an Accession to the *French* or to Us; or live under the Prince of *Orange* as a Soveraign Prince, with our Support or Protection. Whether *France* would be content with either of these last; or to see us grow absolute Masters of the Sea, by the Fall or Subjection of *Holland*, any more than by their Conjunction and Alliance. Whether

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we could be able to defend the Maritime Provinces, either in our own Subjection, or in that of the Prince, whilſt *France* remained poſſeſs'd of all the Outworks of that State (which are their Inland Provinces, their Towns in *Brabant* and upon the *Rhine*.) Whether we could on the other ſide hinder the Acceſſion of *Holland* to *France*, either as Subjects in a Maritime Province (with great Privileges and Immunities for Continuance and Encouragement of Trade) or as an Inferiour and Dependant Ally under their Protection. Whether in either of theſe Caſes our Government would have Credit enough in *Holland* to invite their Shipping and Traders to come over and ſettle in *England*, and ſo leave thoſe Provinces deſtitute of both. Whether it be poſſible to preſerve *Flanders* after the Loſs of *Holland*; or upon the Conqueſt of thoſe Countries by *France*, for us to preſerve our Peace or good Intelligence with that King; or upon a War to defend our ſelves, either by our own Forces, or the Alliances of our Neighbours.

But though theſe Arguments may deſerve the moſt ſerious Deliberations of Miniſters at Home; yet I know they lie out of the Compaſs of my Duty, and are improper for the Repreſentations of a Man, the Courſe of whoſe Employments and Thoughts for ſo long a Time has lain wholly Abroad.

AN

AN ESSAY UPON THE ORIGINAL and NATURE OF GOVERNMENT.

Written in the YEAR 1672.

THE Nature of Man seems to be the same in all Times and Places, but varied like their Statures, Complexions and Features, by the Force and Influence of the several Climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them, by a different Mixture of the Humours and Operation of the Air, a different and unequal Course of Imaginations and Passions, and consequently of Discourses and Actions.

These Differences incline Men to several Customs, Educations, Opinions, and Laws, which form and govern the several Nations of the World, where they are not interrupted by the Violence of some Force from without, or some Faction within, which like a great Blow, or a great Disease, may either change or destroy the Frame of a Body; though if it lives to recover Strength and Vigour, it commonly returns in time to its natural Constitution, or something near it.

(I speak not of those Changes and Revolutions of State, of Institutions of Government that are made by the more immediate and evident Operation of Divine Will and Providence, being the Themes of Divines, and not of Common Men; and the Subjects of our Faith, not of Reason.)

This may be the Cause that the same Countries have generally in all times been used to Forms of Government much of a sort; the same Nature ever continuing under the same Climate, and making Returns into its old Channel, though sometimes led out of it by Persuasions, and sometimes beaten out by Force.

Thus the more Northern and Southern Nations (Extremes, as they say, still agreeing) have ever lived under single and arbitrary Dominions; as all the Regions of *Tartary* and *Muscovy* on the one Side, and of *Africk* and *India* on the other: While those under the more temperate Climates, especially in *Europe*, have ever been used to more moderate Governments, running anciently much into Common-wealths, and of later Ages into Principalities bounded by Laws, which differ less in Nature than in Name.

For though the old Distinctions run otherwise, there seem to be but two general kinds of Government in the World; the one exercised according to the Arbitrary Commands and Will of some single Person; and the other according

cording to certain Orders or Laws introduced by Agreement or Cuſtom, and not to be changed without the Conſent of many.

But under each of theſe may fall many more particular kinds, than can be reduced to the common Heads of Government received in the Schools. For thoſe of the firſt ſort differ according to the Diſpoſitions and Humours of him that Rules, and of them that Obey: As Fevers do according to the Temper of the Perſons, and Accidents of the Seaſons. And thoſe of the other ſort differ according to the Quality or Number of the Perſons upon whom is devolved the Authority of Making, or Power of Executing Laws.

Nor will any Man, that underſtands the State of *Poland*, and the *United Provinces*, be well able to range them under any particular Names of Government that have been yet invented.

The great Scenes of Action, and Subjects of Ancient Story, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, were all divided into ſmall Common-wealths, till ſwallowed up and made Provinces by that mighty one of *Rome*, together with *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Germany*. Theſe were before compoſed of many ſmall Governments, among which the Cities were generally under Common-wealths, and the Countries under ſeveral Princes, who were Generals in their Wars, but in Peace lived without Armies or Guards, or any Inſtruments of Arbitrary Power; and were only chiefs of their Councils, and of thoſe Aſſemblies by whoſe Conſultations and Authority the great Affairs and Actions among them were reſolved and enterprized.

Through all theſe Regions, ſome of the ſmaller States, but eſpecially thoſe of the Cities, fell often under Tyrannies, which ſpring naturally out of Popular Governments. While the meaner ſort of the People, oppreſs'd or ill protected by the Richer, and Greater, give themſelves up to the Conduct of ſome one Man in chief Credit among them; and ſubmit all to his Will and Diſcretion; either running eaſily from one Extreme to another, or contented to ſee thoſe they hated and feared before, now in equal Condition with themſelves: Or becauſe a Multitude is incapable of framing Orders, though capable of obſerving them: Or that every Man comes to find by Experience, that Confuſion and popular Tumults have worſe Effects upon common Safety than the rankeſt Tyranny. For it is eaſier to pleaſe the Humour, and either appeaſe or reſiſt the Fury of one ſingle Man, than of a Multitude. And taking each of them in their Extreams, the Rage of a Tyrant may be like that of Fire, which conſumes what it reaches but by degrees, and devouring one Houſe after another; whereas the Rage of People is like that of the Sea, which once breaking Bounds, overflows a Country with that Suddenneſs and Violence, as leaves no Hopes either of flying or reſiſting, till with the Change of Tides or Winds it returns of it ſelf.

The Force and Variety of Accidents is ſo great, that it will not perhaps bear Reaſoning, or Enquiry how it comes about, that ſingle Arbitrary Dominion ſeems to have been natural to *Aſia* and *Africk*, and the other ſort to *Europe*. For though *Carthage* was indeed a Common-wealth in *Africk*, and *Macedon* a Kingdom in *Europe*; yet the firſt was not Native of that Soil (being a Colony of the *Tyrians*, as there were ſome other ſmall ones of the *Grecians* upon the ſame Coaſts) and the King of *Macedon* governed by Laws, and the Conſent as well as Councils of the Nobles. Not like the Kings of *Perſia*, by Humour and Will; as appears by the Event of their Quarrel, while ſo few Subjects conquered ſo many Slaves.

Yet one Reaſon may be, That *Sicily*, *Greece* and *Italy* (which were the Regions of Common-wealths) were planted thick with rich and populous Cities (occaſioned by their being ſo far encompaſſed with the Sea.) And the Vein of all rich Cities ever inclines to that kind of Government. Whether it be, that where many grow rich, many grow to Power, and are harder to be ſubjected: Or where Men grow to great Poſſeſſions, they grow more intent upon Safety, and therefore deſire to be governed by Laws and Magiſtrates of their own Choice, fearing all Armed and Arbitrary Power: Or that the ſmall Compaſs of Cities makes the Eaſe and Convenience of Aſſemblies

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and Councils: Or that Converſation ſharpens Mens Wits, and makes too many Reaſoners in Matters of Government.

The contrary of all this happens in Countries thin inhabited, and eſpecially in vaſt *Campania's*, ſuch as are extended through *Aſia* and *Africk*, where there are few Cities beſides what grow by the Reſidence of the Kings or their Governours. The People are poorer, and having little to loſe, have little to care for, and are leſs expoſed to the Deſigns of Power or Violence. The aſſembling of Perſons deputed from People at great diſtances one from another, is Trouble to them that are ſent, and Charge to them that ſend. And where Ambition and Avarice have made no Entrance, the Deſire of Leiſure is much more Natural, than of Buſineſs and Care: Beſides, Men converſing all their Lives with the Woods and the Fields, and the Herds, more than with one another, come to know as little as they deſire; uſe their Senſes a great deal more than their Reaſons; examine not the Nature or the Tenure of Power and Authority; find only they are fit to Obey, becauſe they are not fit to Govern: And ſo come to ſubmit to the Will of him they found in Power, as they do to the Will of Heaven; and conſider all Changes of Conditions that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill Seaſons that happen in the Weather and the Air.

It may be ſaid further, That in the more intemperate Climates, the Spirits, either exhal'd by Heat, or compreſs'd by Cold, are render'd faint and ſluggiſh; and by that reaſon the Men grow tamer, and fitter for Servitude. That in more temperate Regions the Spirits are ſtronger, and more active, whereby Men become bolder in the Defence or Recovery of their Liberties.

But all Government is a Reſtraint upon Liberty; and under all, the Dominion is equally Abſolute, where it is in the laſt Reſort.

So that when Men ſeem to contend for Liberty, it is indeed but for the Change of thoſe that Rule, or for the Forms of Government they have formerly been uſed to; and (being grown weary of the preſent) now begin to regret; though when they enjoyed them it was not without ſome Preſſure and Complaint. Nor can it be in the other Caſe, that when vaſt Numbers of Men ſubmit their Lives and Fortunes abſolutely to the Will of one, it ſhould be want of Heart, but muſt be Force of Cuſtom, or Opinion, the true Ground and Foundation of all Government, and that which ſubjects Power to Authority. *For Power ariſing from Strength, is always in thoſe that are governed, who are many: But Authority ariſing from Opinion, is in thoſe that govern, who are few.*

This Diſtinction is plain in the Forms of the old *Roman* State, where Laws were made, and Reſolutions taken, *Authoritate Senatus*, and *Juſſu Populi*. The Senate were Authors of all Counſels in the State; and what was by them conſulted and agreed, was propoſed to the People: By whom it was enacted, or commanded, becauſe in them was the Power to make it be obeyed. But the great Opinion which the People had at firſt of the Perſons of the Senators, and afterwards of their Families (which were called *Patricians*) gained eaſie Aſſent to what was thus propoſed; the Authority of Perſons adding great Weight to the Reaſon of the Things. And this went ſo far, that tho' the Choice of all Magiſtrates was wholly in the People, yet for a long Courſe of Years they choſe none but *Patricians* into the great Offices of State, either Civil or Military. But when the People began to loſe the general Opinion they had of the *Patricians*, or at leaſt ſo far as to believe ſome among themſelves were as able, and fit as theſe, to adviſe the State, and lead their Armies; they then pretended to ſhare with the Senate in the Magiſtracy, and bring in *Plebeians* to the Offices of chiefeſt Power and Dignity. And hereupon began thoſe Seditions which ſo long diſtempered, and at length ruined that State.

AUthority ariſes from the Opinion of Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Valour in the Perſons who poſſeſs it.

Wiſdom, as that which makes Men judge what are the beſt Ends, and what the beſt Means to attain them; and gives a Man Advantage among the Weak and the Ignorant; as Sight among the Blind, which is that of Counſel and Direction: This gives Authority to Age among the Younger, till theſe begin at certain Years to change their Opinion of the Old, and of themſelves. This gives it more abſolute to a Pilot at Sea, whom all the Paſſengers ſuffer to ſteer them as he pleaſes.

Goodneſs, is that which makes Men prefer their Duty and their Promiſe, before their Paſſions, or their Intereſt; and is properly the Object of Truſt: In our Language, it goes rather by the Name of Honeſty; though what we call an Honeſt Man, the *Romans* called a Good Man: And Honeſty in their Language, as well as in *French*, rather ſignifies a Compoſition of thoſe Qualities which generally acquire Honour and Eſteem to thoſe who poſſeſs them.

Valour, as it gives Awe, and promiſes Protection to thoſe who want either Heart or Strength to defend themſelves: This makes the Authority of Men among Women; and that of a Maſter-Buck in a numerout Herd, though perhaps not ſtrong enough for any two of them; but the Impreſſion of ſingle Fear holds when they are all together, by the Ignorance of Uniting.

Eloquence, as it paſſes for a Mark of Wiſdom; Beauty of Goodneſs, and Nobility of Valour (which was its Original) have likewiſe ever ſome Effect upon the Opinion of the People; but a very great one when they are really joined with the Qualities they promiſe or reſemble.

There is yet another Source from which uſually ſprings greater Authority than from all the reſt; which is the Opinion of Divine Favour, or Deſignation of the Perſons, or of the Races that Govern. This made the Kings among the Heathens ever derive themſelves, or their Anceſtors, from ſome God; paſſing thereby for Heroes, that is, Perſons iſſued from the Mixture of Divine and Humane Race, and of a middle Nature between Gods and Men: Others joined the Mitre to the Crown, and thereby the Reverence of Divine, to the Reſpect of Civil Power.

This made the *Caliphs* of *Perſia* and *Egypt*, and the great Emperors of *Arabia*, derive themſelves by ſeveral Branches from their great Prophet *Mahomet*: The *Incas* in *Peru* from the Sun: And the *Ottoman* Race to be adored among the *Turks*, as deſigned by Heaven for perpetual Empire. And the Sacring of the Kings of *France* (as *Loyſel* ſays) is the Sign of their Soveraign Prieſthood, as well as Kingdom; and in the Right thereof they are capable of holding all vacant Benefices of the Church.

Piety, as it is thought a Way to the Favour of GOD; and Fortune, as it looks like the Effect either of that, or at leaſt of Prudence and Courage, beget Authority. As likewiſe Splendor of living in great Palaces, with numerous Attendance, much Obſervance, and rich Habits differing from common Men: Both as it ſeems to be the Reward of thoſe Virtues already named, or the Effect of Fortune; or as it is a Mark of being obeyed by many.

From all theſe Authority ariſes, but is by nothing ſo much ſtrengthened and confirmed as by Cuſtom. For no Man eaſily diſtruſts the Perſons, or diſputes the Things which he, and all Men that he knows of, have been always bred up to obſerve and believe; or if he does, he will hardly hope or venture to introduce Opinions wherein he knows none or few of his Mind, and thinks all others will defend thoſe already received: So as no Man nor Party can offer at the Change of a Government eſtabliſhed, without firſt gaining new Authority by the Steps already traced out; and in ſome degree debaſing the old, by Appearance or Impreſſions of contrary Qualities in thoſe who before enjoyed it. This induces a general Change of Opinion concerning the Perſon or Party like to be obeyed or followed by the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of the People: According to which, the Power or Weakneſs of each

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is to be measured. So as in effect all Government may be esteemed to grow strong or weak, as the general Opinion of these Qualities in those that govern is seen to lessen or increase.

And Power must be allow'd to follow Authority in all Civil Bodies; as in Natural, the Motion of the Body follow those of the Mind; great Numbers ever acting and pursuing what the few (whom they trust) begin or advise.

FROM this Principle, and from the Discovery of some natural Authority, may perhaps be deduced a truer Original of all Governments among Men, than from any Contracts: Tho' these be given us by the great Writers concerning Politicks and Laws. Some of them lay for their Foundation, That Men are sociable Creatures, and naturally disposed to live in Numbers and Troops together. Others, that they are naturally Creatures of Prey, and in a State of War one upon another; so as to avoid Confusion in the first Case, and Violence in the other, they found out the Necessity of agreeing upon some Orders and Rules, by which every Man gives up his common Right for some particular Possession, and his Power to hurt and spoil others for the Privilege of not being hurt or spoiled himself. And the Agreement upon such Orders, by mutual Contract, with the Consent to execute them by common Strength and Endeavours, they make to be the Rise of all Civil Governments.

I know not whether they consider what it is that makes some Creatures sociable, and others live and range more alone, or in smaller Companies; but I suppose those Creatures, whose natural and necessary Food is easie and plentiful, as Grass, or Plants, or Fruits (the common Product of the Earth) are the Sociable Creatures, because wherever they go, they usually find what they want, and enough for them all, without Industry or Contention. And those live more alone, whose Food (and therefore Prey) is upon other sensitive Creatures, and so not attained without Pursuit and Violence, and seldom in such Quanties at once, as to satisfie the Hunger of great Numbers together. Yet this does not hold so far, but that Ravens are seen in Flocks where a Carrion lies, and Wolves in Herds to run down a Deer. Nay, they feed quietly together while there is enough for them all; quarrel only when it begins to fail; and when 'tis ended, they scatter to seek out new Encounters. Besides, those called Sociable quarrel in Hunger and in Lust, as well as the others; and the Bull and the Ram appear then as much in Fury and War, as the Lion and the Bear. So that if Mankind must be ranged to one of these sorts, I know not well to which it will be: And considering the great Differences of Customs and Dispositions in several Men, and even in the same Men at several Times, I very much doubt they must be divided into several Forms. Nor do I know, if Men are like Sheep, why they need any Government: Or, if they are like Wolves, how they can suffer it. Nor have I read where the Orders of any State have been agreed on by mutual Contract among great Numbers of Men, meeting together in that natural State of War, where every Man takes himself to have equal right to every Thing. But often, where such Orders have been invented by the Wisdom, and received by the Authority of some one Man, under the Name of a Law-giver; and where this has not happened, the Original of Government lies as undiscovered in Story, as that of Time: All Nations appearing, upon the first Records that are left us, under the Authority of Kings, or Princes, or some other Magistrates.

Besides, this Principle of Contract as the Original of Government, seems calculated for the Account given by some of the old Poets, of the Original of Man; whom they raise out of the Ground by great Numbers at a Time, in perfect Stature and Strength. Whereas if we deduce the several Races of Mankind in the several Parts of the World from Generation, we must imagine the first Numbers of them who in any Place agree upon any Civil Con-

ſtitutions, to aſſemble not as ſo many ſingle Heads, but as ſo many Heads of Families, whom they repreſent, in the framing any Compact or common Accord; and conſequently, as Perſons who have already an Authority over ſuch Numbers as their Families are compoſed of.

For if we conſider a Man multiplying his Kind by the Birth of many Children, and his Cares by providing even neceſſary Food for them, till they are able to do it for themſelves (which happens much later to the Generations of Men, and makes a much longer Dependence of Children upon Parents, than we can obſerve among any other Creatures:) If we conſider not only the Cares, but the Induſtry he is forced to, for the neceſſary Suſtenance of his helpleſs Brood, either in gathering the Natural Fruits, or raiſing thoſe which are purchaſed with Labour and Toil: If he be forced for Supply of this Stock to catch the tamer Creatures, and hunt the wilder, ſometimes to exerciſe his Courage in defending his little Family, and fighting with the ſtrong and ſavage Beaſt (that would prey upon him, as he does upon the weak and the mild:) If we ſuppoſe him diſpoſing with Diſcretion and Order whatever he gets among his Children, according to each of their Hunger or Need, ſometimes laying up for To-morrow, what was more than enough for To-day; at other times pinching himſelf, rather than ſuffering any of them ſhould want: And as each of them grows up, and able to ſhare in the common Support, teaching him both by Leſſon and Example, what he is now to do as the Son of this Family, and what hereafter as the Father of another; inſtructing them all, what Qualities are good, and what are ill, for their Health and Life, or common Society (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally eſteemed Virtue or Vice among Men) cheriſhing and encouraging Diſpoſitions to the good; diſavouring and puniſhing thoſe to the ill. And laſtly, Among the various Accidents of Life, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, when the Earth affords him no Relief; and having Recourſe to a higher and a greater Nature, whenever he finds the Frailty of his own: We muſt needs conclude, that the Children of this Man cannot fail of being bred up with a great Opinion of his Wiſdom, his Goodneſs, his Valour, and his Piety. And if they ſee conſtant Plenty in the Family, they believe well of his Fortune too.

And from all this muſt naturally ariſe a great paternal Authority, which diſpoſes his Children (at leaſt till the Age when they grow Fathers themſelves) to believe what he teaches, to follow what he adviſes, and obey what he commands.

Thus the Father, by a natural Right as well as Authority, becomes a Governour in this little State; and if his Life be long, and his Generations many (as well as thoſe of his Children) he grows the Governour or King of a Nation, and is indeed a *Pater Patriæ*, as the beſt Kings are, and as all ſhould be; and as thoſe which are not, are yet content to be called. Thus the peculiar Compellation of the King in *France*, is by the Name of *Sire*, which in their ancient Language is nothing elſe but Father, and denotes the Prince to be the Father of the Nation. For a Nation properly ſignifies a great Number of Families, derived from the ſame Blood, born in the ſame Country, and living under the ſame Government and Civil Conſtitutions: As *Patria* does the Land of our Father; and ſo the *Dutch* by Expreſſions of Dearneſs, inſtead of our Country, ſay our *Father-land*. With ſuch Nations we find in Scripture all the Lands of *Judea*, and the adjacent Territories, were planted of old. With ſuch the many ſeveral Provinces of *Greece* and *Italy* when they began firſt to appear upon the Records of Ancient Story or Tradition. And with ſuch was the main Land of *Gaul* inhabited in the Time of *Cæſar*; and *Germany* in that of *Tacitus*. Such were the many Branches of the old *Britiſh* Nation; the *Scepts* among the *Iriſh*: And ſuch the infinite Variety and Numbers of Nations in *Africk* and *America* upon the firſt Diſcoveries, diſtinguiſh'd by their ſeveral Names, and living under their ſeveral Kings or Princes, till they came to be ſwallowed up by greater Empires.

These ſeem to have been the Natural and Original Governments of the World, ſpringing from a tacit Deference of many to the Authority of one ſingle Perſon. Under him (if the Father of the Family or Nation) the Elder of his Children comes to acquire a Degree of Authority among the younger by the ſame Means the Father did among them; and to ſhare with him in the Conſultation and Conduct of their common Affairs. And this, together with an Opinion of Wiſdom from Experience, may have brought in the Authority of the Elders, ſo often mentioned among the *Jews*; and in general of aged Men, not only in *Sparta* and *Rome*, but all other Places, in ſome degree, both civil and barbarous. For the Names of Lord, *Seignior*, *Signeur*, *Sennor*, in the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spaniſh* Languages, ſeem to have at firſt imported only elder Men, who thereby were grown into Authority among the ſeveral Governments and Nations, which ſeated themſelves in thoſe Countries upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire.

This perhaps brought in Vogue that which is called the Authority of the Ancients in Matters of Opinion, though by a miſtaken Senſe: For I ſuppoſe Authority may be reaſonably allowed to the Opinion of Ancient Men in the preſent Age; but I know not why it ſhould be ſo to thoſe of Men in general that lived in Ages long ſince paſt; nor why one Age of the World ſhould be wiſer than another; or if it be, why it ſhould not be rather the latter than the former; as having the ſame Advantage of the general Experience of the World, that an old Man has of the more particular Experiments of Life.

THUS a Family ſeems to become a little Kingdom, and a Kingdom to be but a great Family.

Nor is it unlikely that this Paternal Juriſdiction in its Succeſſions, and with the Help of Accidents, may have branched out into the ſeveral Heads of Government commonly received in the Schools. For a Family governed with Order, will fall naturally to the ſeveral Trades of Husbandry, which are Tillage, Gardening and Paſturage (the Product whereof was the Original Riches.) For the managing of theſe and their Increaſe, and the Aſſiſtance of one Man, who perhaps is to feed twenty, it may be a hundred Children (ſince it is not eaſily told how far Generations may extend, with the Arbitrary Choice and Numbers of Women, practiſed anciently in moſt Countries) the Uſe of Servants comes to be neceſſary. Theſe are gained by Victory and Captives, or by Fugitives out of ſome worſe governed Family, where either they cannot or like not to live, and ſo ſell their Liberty to be aſſured of what is neceſſary to Life. Or elſe by the debaſed Nature of ſome of the Children who ſeem born to Drudgery, or who are content to encreaſe their Pains that they may leſſen their Cares; and upon ſuch Terms become Servants to ſome of their Brothers, whom they moſt eſteem or chooſe ſooneſt to live with.

The Family thus encreaſed, is ſtill under the Father's common, though not equal Care; that what is due to the Servants by Contract, or what is fit for them to enjoy, may be provided, as well as the Portions of the Children; and that whatever they acquire by their Induſtry or Integrity (beyond what the Maſters expect, or exact from them by the Conditions of their Servitude) ſhould be as much their Property, as any Diviſions of Land or of Stock that are made to the Sons; and the Poſſeſſion as ſecure, unleſs forfeited by any Demerit or Offence againſt the Cuſtoms of the Family, which grow with Time to be the Orders of this little State.

Now the Father of a Family or Nation, that uſes his Servants like Children in point of Juſtice and Care; and adviſes with his Children in what concerns the Commonwealth, and thereby is willingly followed and obeyed by them all, is what I ſuppoſe the Schools mean by a Monarch. And he that by Harſhneſs of Nature, Wilfulneſs of Humour, Intemperance of Paſſions, and Arbitrarineſs of Commands, uſes his Children like Servants, is what they mean

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by a Tyrant. And whereas the firſt thought himſelf ſafe in the Love and Obedience of his Children; the other knowing that he is feared and hated by them, thinks he cannot be ſafe among his Children, but by putting Arms into the Hands of ſuch of his Servants as he thinks moſt at his Will; which is the Original of Guards. For againſt a Foreign Enemy, and for Defence of evident Intereſt, all that can bear Arms in a Nation are Soldiers. Their Cauſe is common Safety; their Pay is Honour; and when they have purchaſed theſe, they return to their Homes, and former Conditions of peaceable Lives. Such were all the Armies of *Greece* and of *Rome*, in the firſt Ages of their States. Such were their *Gens d'Ordonnance* in *France*, and the Trainbands in *England*; but ſtanding Troops, and in conſtant Pay, are properly Servants armed, who uſe the Lance and the Sword, as other Servants do the Sickle or the Biſſ, at the Command and Will of thoſe who entertain them. And therefore Martial Law is of all other the moſt abſolute, and not like the Government of a Father, but a Maſter.

And this brings in another ſort of Power, diſtinct from that already deſcribed, which follows Authority, and conſiſts in the willing Obedience of the People: But this in the Command of Soldiers, who as Servants are bound to execute the Will and Orders of thoſe that lead them. And as Authority follows the Qualities before-mentioned, ſo this Power follows Riches, or the Opinion of it; a Multitude of Servants being his that is able to maintain them. And theſe kind of Forces come to be uſed by good Princes only upon Neceſſity of providing for their Defence againſt great and armed Neighbours or Enemies; but by ill ones, as a Support of decayed Authority, or as they loſe the Force of that which is Natural and Paternal, and ſo grow to ſet up an Intereſt of thoſe that Govern, different from that of thoſe that are Governed, which ought ever to be the ſame.

Yet this ſeems a much weaker Principle of Government than the other; for the Number of Soldiers can never be great in Proportion to that of People, no more than the Number of thoſe that are idle in a Country, to that of thoſe that live by Labour or Induſtry: So as if the People come to unite by any ſtrong Paſſion, or general Intereſt, or under the wiſe Conduct of any Authority well rooted in their Minds, they are Maſters of Armies. Beſides, the Humour of the People runs inſenſibly among the very Soldiers, ſo as it ſeems much alike to keep off by Guards, a general Infection, or an univerſal Sedition: For the Diſtemper in both kinds is contagious, and ſeizes upon the Defenders themſelves. Beſides, common Pay is a faint Principle of Courage and Action, in compariſon of Religion, Liberty, Honour, Revenge, or Neceſſity; which make every Soldier have the Quarrel as much at Heart as their Leaders, and ſeem to have ſpirited all the great Actions and Revolutions of the World. And laſtly, without the Force of Authority, this Power of Soldiers grows pernicious to their Maſter, who becomes their Servant, and is in danger of their Mutinies, as much as any Government can be of the Seditions of a People.

If the Father of our Family govern it with Prudence, Goodneſs, and Succeſs; and his eldeſt Son appear Heir to the Virtues and Worth of his Father; he ſucceeds in the Government by a Natural Right, and by the Strength of an Authority both derived from his Father, and acquired by his own perſonal Qualities; but if either the eldeſt Son, by Qualities degenerate and ill, happen to loſe all Truſt and Opinion (and thereby Authority) in the Family; or elſe to die before his Time, and leave a Child in his Room; when the Father comes to fail, then the Children fall into Councils of Election, and either prefer the eldeſt of the Sons then living, or perhaps one later, and ſo remoter in Birth, according as He may have acquired Authority by thoſe Qualities which naturally produce it, and promiſe the beſt Conduct and Protection to the common Affairs of the Family.

Where the Father comes to loſe his Authority, many of the elder, or wiſer, or braver of the Sons increaſe in theirs by the ſame degree; and when both theſe arrive at a certain Height, the Nature of the Government is ready for a Change; and

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upon the Father's Death, or general Defection of the Family, they ſucceed in his Authority, whilſt the Humour of the whole Body runs againſt the Succeſſion or Election of any ſingle Perſon, which they are grown weary of by ſo late an Example, and thus comes in what they call an *Ariſtocracy*. But Authority contracting it ſelf (as it ſeems naturally to do till it ends in a Point or ſingle Perſon) this Government falls ſometimes into the Hands of a Few, who eſtabliſh it in their Families; and that is called an *Oligarchy*. If the Authority come to be loſt in either of theſe Forms, while the Children of the Family grow into the Manners and Qualities, and perhaps into the Condition and Poverty of Servants; and while many of the Servants by Induſtry and Virtue arrive at Riches and Eſteem, then the Nature of the Government inclines to a *Democracy* or popular State, which is neareſt Confuſion, or *Anarchy*; and often runs into it, unleſs upheld or directed by the Authority of one, or of ſome few in the State; though perhaps without Titles or Marks of any extraordinary Office or Dignity.

GOvernments founded upon Contract, may have ſucceeded thoſe founded upon Authority: But the firſt of them ſhould rather ſeem to have been agreed between Princes and Subjects, than between Men of equal Rank and Power. For the Original of Subjection was, I ſuppoſe, when one Nation warring againſt another (for Things neceſſary to Life, or for Women, or for Extent of Land) overcame their Enemies; if they only won a Battle, and put their Enemies to Flight, thoſe they took Priſoners became their Slaves, and continued ſo in their Generations, unleſs infranchized by their Maſters: But if by great Slaughter or frequent Victories they ſubdued the very Courages of their Enemies, while great Numbers of them remained alive; then the vanquiſh'd Nation became ſubject to the Conquerors by Agreement, and upon certain Conditions of Safety and Protection; and perhaps equal Enjoyment of Liberties and Cuſtoms, with the common Natives under the other Government: If by ſuch frequent Succeſſes and Additions, a Nation extended it ſelf over vaſt Tracts of Land and Numbers of People, it thereby arrived in time at the ancient Name of Kingdom, or modern of Empire.

After ſuch a Victory, the chiefeſt of the conquering Nations become Rich and Great upon the Diviſions of Lands, Spoils, and of Slaves: By all which they grow into Power, are Lords in their own Lands, and over thoſe that inhabit them, with certain Rights or Juriſdictions, and upon certain Homages reſerved to the Prince: The Cuſtom of employing theſe great Perſons in all great Offices and Councils grows to paſs for a Right; as all Cuſtom does with Length and Force of Time.

The Prince that governs according to the Conditions of Subjection at firſt agreed upon (of which Uſe is the Authentick Record) and according to the Ancient Cuſtoms, which are the Original Laws (and by which the Right of Succeſſion in the Crown, as well as private Inheritance and common Juſtice, is directed and eſtabliſh'd) is called a Lawful Soveraign: He that breaks and violates theſe ancient Conſtitutions (eſpecially that of Succeſſion) is termed an Uſurper.

A Free Nation is that which has never been conquered, or thereby enter'd into any Conditions of Subjection; as the *Romans* were, before they were ſubdued by the *Goths* and *Vandals*; and as the *Turks* ſeem to be at this Time; who having been called from *Scythia* to aſſiſt the *Grecian* Empire againſt that of the *Saracens*, made themſelves Maſters of both.

In Countries ſafer from Foreign Invaſions either by Seas or Rivers, by Mountains and Paſſes, or great Tracts of rough, barren, and uninhabited Lands, People lived generally in ſcattered Dwellings, or ſmall Villages: But, where Invaſion is eaſie, and Paſſage open, and bordering Nations are Great and Valiant; Men croud together, and ſeek their Safety from Number better united, and from Walls and other Fortifications, the Uſe whereof is to make the Few a Match for the Many, ſo as they may fight or treat on equal Terms.

Terms. And this is the Original of Cities; but the Greatneſs and Riches of them encreaſe according to the Commodiouſneſs of their Situation, in fertile Countries, or upon Rivers and Havens; which ſurpaſs the greateſt Fertility of any Soil, in furniſhing plenty of all Things neceſſary to Life or Luxury.

When Families meet together, ſurround themſelves by Walls, fall into Order and Laws (either invented by the Wiſdom of ſome one, or ſome few Men; and from the Evidence of their publick Utility received by all; or elſe introduced by Experience and Time) and theſe Cities preſerve themſelves in the Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions, and Obſervance of their Inſtitutions, againſt all Invaſions; and never are forced to ſubmit to the Will of any Conqueror, or Condition of any abſolute Subjection; they are called free Cities; and of ſuch there were many of old, in *Greece* and *Sicily*, deducing their Original from ſome one Founder or Law-giver: And are many now in *Germany* ſubject to no Laws but their own, and thoſe of the Empire, which is an Union of many Soveraign Powers, by whoſe general Conſent in their Diets all its Conſtitutions are framed and eſtabliſhed.

Commonwealths were nothing more in their Original, but free Cities, though ſometimes by Force of Orders and Diſcipline, or of a numerous and valiant People, they have extended themſelves into mighty Dominions: And often by Situation and Trade grow to vaſt Riches, and thereby to great Power by Force of Mercenary Arms. And theſe ſeem to be the more Artificial, as thoſe of a ſingle Perſon the more Natural Governments; being forced to ſupply the Want of Authority by wiſe Inventions, Orders and Inſtitutions.

For Authority can never be ſo great in Many as in One, becauſe the Opinion of thoſe Qualities which acquire it, cannot be equal in ſeveral Perſons.

Theſe Governments ſeem to be introduced either by the Wiſdom and Moderation of ſome one Law-giver, who has Authority enough with the People to be followed and obſerved in all his Orders and Advices; and yet prefers that which he eſteems publick Utility, before any Intereſt or Greatneſs of his own (ſuch were *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*, and *Solon* in *Athens*, and *Timoleon* in *Syracuſe*;) or elſe by the Confluence of many Families out of ſome Countries expoſed to ſome fierce or barbarous Invaſions, into Places fortified by Nature, and ſecure from the Fury and Miſery of ſuch Conqueſts. Such were *Rhodes* of old, and ſeveral ſmall Iſlands upon the Coaſts of *Ionia*; and ſuch was *Venice*, founded upon the Inundation of the barbarous Nations over *Italy*: Or laſtly, by the Suppreſſion and Extinction of ſome Tyranny, which being thrown off by the violent Indignation of an oppreſſed People, makes way for a Popular Government, or at leaſt ſome Form very contrary to that which they lately execrated and deteſted: Such were *Rome* upon the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*; and the *United Provinces* upon their Revolt from *Spain*. Yet are none of theſe Forms to be raiſed or upheld without the Influence of Authority, acquired by the Force of Opinion of thoſe Virtues above mentioned, which concurr'd in *Brutus* among the *Romans*, and in Prince *William* of *Orange* among thoſe of the *Netherlands*.

I will not enter into the Arguments or Compariſons of the ſeveral Forms of Government that have been, or are in the World; wherein that Cauſe ſeems commonly the better, that has the better Advocate, or is advantaged by freſher Experience, and Impreſſions of Good and Evil from any of the Forms among thoſe that judge: They have all their Heights and their Falls, their ſtrong and weak Sides; are capable of great Perfections, and ſubject to great Corruptions; and though the Preference ſeems already decided in what has been ſaid of a ſingle Perſon being the original and natural Government; and that it is capable of the greateſt Authority (which is the Foundation of all Eaſe, Safety, and Order in the Governments of the World) yet it may perhaps be the moſt reaſonably concluded, That thoſe Forms are beſt, which have been longeſt receiv'd and authorized in a Nation by Cuſtom and Uſe; and into which the

the Humours and Manners of the People run with the moſt general and ſtrongeſt Current.

Or elſe, that thoſe are the beſt Governments, where the beſt Men govern; and that the Difference is not ſo great in the Forms of Magiſtracy, as in the Perſons of Magiſtrates; which may be the Senſe of what was ſaid of old (taking wiſe and good Men to be meant by Philoſophers) that the beſt Governments were thoſe, where Kings where Philoſophers, or Philoſophers Kings.

THE Safety and Firmneſs of any Frame of Government, may be beſt judged by the Rules of *Architecture*, which teach us that the *Pyramid* is of all Figures the firmeſt, and leaſt ſubject to be ſhaken or overthrown by any Concuſſions or Accidents from the Earth or Air; and it grows ſtill ſo much the firmer, by how much broader the bottom and ſharper the top.

The Ground upon which all Government ſtands, is the Conſent of the People, or the greateſt or ſtrongeſt Part of them; whether this proceed from Reflections upon what is paſt, by the Reverence of an Authority under which they and their Anceſtors have for many Ages been born and bred; or from Senſe of what is preſent, by the Eaſe, Plenty, and Safety they enjoy; or from Opinions of what is to come, by the Fear they have from the preſent Government, or Hopes from another. Now that Government which by any of theſe, or all theſe Ways, takes in the Conſent of the greateſt Number of the People; and conſequently their Deſires and Reſolutions to ſupport it, may juſtly be ſaid to have the broadeſt Bottom, and to ſtand upon the largeſt Compaſs of Ground; and if it terminate in the Authority of one ſingle Perſon, it may likewiſe be ſaid to have the narroweſt Top, and ſo to make the Figure of the firmeſt ſort of *Pyramid*.

On the contrary, a Government which by alienating the Affections, loſing the Opinions, and croſſing the Intereſts of the People, leaves out of its Compaſs the greateſt Part of their Conſent; may juſtly be ſaid in the ſame degrees it thus loſes Ground, to narrow its Bottom; and if this be done to ſerve the Ambition, humour the Paſſion, ſatisfie the Appetites, or advance the Power and Intereſts not only of one Man, but of two, or more, or many that come to ſhare in the Government: By this means the Top may be juſtly ſaid to grow broader, as the Bottom narrower by the other. Now by the ſame degrees that either of theſe happen, the Stability of the Figure is by the ſame leſſened and impaired; ſo as at certain degrees it begins to grow ſubject to Accidents of Wind, and of Weather; and at certain others, it is ſure to fall of it ſelf, or by the leaſt Shake that happens, to the Ground.

By theſe Meaſures it will appear, That a Monarchy where the Prince governs by the Affections, and according to the Opinions and Intereſts of his People, or the Bulk of them (that is, by many degrees the greateſt or ſtrongeſt Part of them) makes of all others the ſafeſt and firmeſt Government: And on the contrary, a Popular State which is not founded in the general Humours and Intereſt of the People, but only of the Perſons who ſhare in the Government, or depend upon it, is of all others the moſt uncertain, unſtable and ſubject to the moſt frequent and eaſie Changes.

That a Monarchy the leſs it takes in of the People's Opinions and Intereſts, and the more it takes in of the Paſſions and Intereſt of particular Men (beſides thoſe of the Prince, and contrary to thoſe of the People) the more unſtable it grows, and the more endangered by every Storm in the Air, or every Shake of the Earth: And a Common-wealth, the more it takes in of the general Humour and Bent of the People, and the more it ſpires up to a Head by the Authority of ſome one Perſon founded upon the Love and Eſteem of the People; the firmer it ſtands, and leſs ſubject to Danger or Change by any Concuſſions of Earth or of Air.

'Tis true that a *Pyramid* reverſed may ſtand for a while upon its Point, if balanced by admirable Skill, and held up by perpetual Care, and there be a

Calm in the Air about it: Nay, if the Point be very hard and ſtrong, and the Calm very yielding and ſoft; it may pierce into the Ground with time, ſo as to grow the firmer the longer it ſtands: But this laſt can never happen, if either the Top of the Figure be weak or ſoft, or if the Soil be hard and rough; and at the beſt it is ſubject to be overthrown; if not by its own Weight, yet whenever any Foreign Weight ſhall chance to fall upon any Part of it; and the firſt muſt overturn whenever there happens any Unequality in the Balance, or any Negligence in the Hands that ſet it up; and even without either of thoſe, whenever there arrives any Violence to ſhake it, either from the Winds abroad, or thoſe in the Bowels of the Earth where it ſtands.

I will not pretend from this Scheme to preſage, or judge of the future Events that may attend any Governments; which is the Buſineſs of thoſe that are more concerned in them than I am, and write with other Deſigns than that alone of diſcovering and clearing Truth: But I think any Man may deduce from it the Cauſes of the ſeveral Revolutions that we find upon Record to have happened in the Governments of the World. Except ſuch as have been brought about by the unreſiſtible Force and Conqueſts of ſome Nations over others whom they very much ſurmounted in Strength, Courage, and Numbers: Yet the brave, long, and almoſt incredible Defences that have ſtill been made by thoſe Governments, which were rooted in the general Affections, Eſteem, and Intereſts of the Nation; make it ſeem probable, that almoſt all the Conqueſts we read of have been made way for, or in ſome meaſure facilitated, if not aſſiſted, by the Weakneſs of the conquered Governments, grown from the Diſeſteem, Diſſatisfaction, or Indifferency of the People; or from thoſe vicious and effeminate Conſtitutions of Body and Mind among them, which ever grow up in the corrupt Air of a weak or looſe, a vicious or a factious State: And ſuch can never be ſtrong in the Hearts of the People; nor conſequently firm upon that which is the true Bottom of all Governments in the World.

Thus the ſmall *Athenian* State reſiſted with Succeſs the vaſt Power and Forces of the *Perſians* in the Time of *Miltiades* and *Themiſtocles*: *Rome*, thoſe of the *Gauls* in the Time of *Camillus*; and the vaſt Armies collected from *Africk*, *Spain*, and the greateſt Part of *Italy* in the *Carthaginian* Wars (under the Conduct of ſeveral great Captains; but chiefly *Fabius* and *Scipio*:) The little Principality of *Epire* was invincible by the whole Power of the *Turks* in three ſeveral Invaſions under their Prince *Caſtriot* (commonly called *Scanderbeg*:) The Kingdom of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, by all the Wars of the *Moors* or *Saracens* for many Ages: The State of *Venice*, by thoſe of the *Turks*: The *Switzers*, by the Powers of the Emperors; and the *Hollanders* by that of *Spain*: Becauſe in all theſe Wars the People were both united and ſpirited by the common Love of their Country, their Liberty or Religion; or by the more particular Eſteem and Love of their Princes and Leaders.

In the Conqueſt of the *Lydians* by *Cyrus*, and the *Perſians* by *Alexander*; or the great *Aſian* and *Egyptian* Kings by the *Roman* State, and of all the *Roman* Provinces by the ſeveral Northern (or, as they were uſually called, barbarous) Nations; of the *Spaniards* by the *Moors*; the *Gauls* by the *Franks*; and of our ancient *Britains* by the *Saxons*: It is eaſy and obvious to obſerve that the Reſiſtances were rendered faint and weak; either by the ſoft and effeminate Diſpoſitions of the People grown up under the Eaſineſs or Examples of vicious or luxurious Princes, whom they neither honour nor willingly obey; or elſe by the common Hatred and Diſdain of their preſent Servitude, which they were content to change for any other that came in their Way; or laſtly, by the diſtracted Factions of a diſcontented Nation, who agreed in no one common Deſign or Defence; nor under any Authority grounded upon the general Love or Eſteem of the People.

Of Inſtability and Changes of Government arrived by narrowing their Bottoms, which are the Conſent or Concurrence of the People's Affections and Intereſts, all Stories and Ages afford continual Example. From hence proceed-

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ed the frequent Tumults, Seditions, and Alterations in the Commonwealths of *Athens* and *Rome*, as often as either by the Charms of Orators, or the Sway of Men grown to unuſual Power and Riches, the Governments were engaged in Councils or Actions contrary to the general Intereſts of the People. Hence the ſeveral violent Changes that have arrived in the Races or Perſons of the Princes of *England*, *France*, or *Spain*: Nor has the Force hereof appeared any where more viſible than in *France*, during the Reign of *Henry* the Third, and a conſtant Succeſſion of Minions (as they were then called) where all was conducted by the private Paſſions, Humours, and Intereſts of a few Perſons in ſole Confidence with the King, contrary to thoſe more publick and current of the People; till he came to loſe at firſt all Eſteem, afterwards Obedience, and at laſt his Life in the Troubles given him by the League.

That Government was in the ſame manner expoſed to the Dominion of ſucceeding Favourites, during the Regency of the Queen-Mother in the Minority of *Lewis* the Thirteenth, which occaſioned perpetual Commotions in that State, and Changes of the Miniſtry; and would certainly have produced thoſe in the Government too; if *Richlieu*, having gained the abſolute Aſcendant in that *Court*, had not engaged in the Deſigns at firſt of a War upon the *Hugonots*, and, after that was ended, upon *Spain*; in both which he fell in with the current Humour and Diſpoſitions of the People; which with the proſperous Succeſſes of both thoſe Enterprizes, helped to bear up him and the Government, againſt all the Hatred and continual Practices of the great Ones in the Kingdom.

But the two freſheſt Examples may be drawn from the Revolutions of *England* in the Year Sixty, and of *Holland* in Seventy Two. In the firſt, The uſurped Powers that had either deſigned no Root, or at leaſt drawn none but only in the Affections and Intereſts of thoſe that were engaged with the Government; thought themſelves ſecure in the Strength of an unfoiled Army of above Sixty Thouſand Men, and in a Revenue proportionable, raiſed by the Awe of their Forces, though with the Mock-Forms of Legal Supplies by pretended Parliaments: Yet we ſaw them forced to give way to the Bent and current Humour of the People, in favour of their Ancient and Lawful Government; and this mighty Army of a ſudden loſe their Heart and their Strength, abandon what they had ſo long called their Cauſe and their Intereſt, and content themſelves to be moulded again in the Maſs of the People; and by conſpiring with the general Humour of the Nation, make way for the King's Glorious Reſtauration without a Drop of Blood drawn in the End of a Quarrel, the Beginning and Courſe whereof had been ſo fatal to the Kingdom.

For the other in *Holland*, the Conſtitution of their Government had continued Twenty Years in the Hands of their Popular Magiſtrates, after the Excluſion or Intermiſſion of the Authority of the Houſe of *Orange*, upon the Death of the laſt Prince, and Infancy of this. The chief Direction of their Affairs had for Eighteen Years lain conſtantly in the Hands of their Penſioner *de Witt*, a Miniſter of the greateſt Authority and Sufficiency, the greateſt Application and Induſtry that was ever known in their State. In the Courſe of his Miniſtry, He and his Party had reduced not only all the Civil Charges of the Government in his Province, but in a manner all the Military Commands in the Army, out of the Hands of Perſons affectionate to the Houſe of *Orange*, into thoſe eſteemed ſure and faſt to the Intereſts of their more Popular State. And all this had been attended for ſo long a Courſe of Years with the perpetual Succeſs of their Affairs, by the Growth of their Trade, Riches and Power at Home, and the Conſiderations of their Neighbours Abroad: Yet the general Humour of Kindneſs in the People to their old Form of Government under the Princes of *Orange*, grew up with the Age and Virtues of the young Prince, ſo as to raiſe the Proſpect of ſome unavoidable Revolutions among them for ſeveral Years before it arrived. And we have ſeen it grow to that Height

in this preſent Year, upon the Prince's coming to the Two and Twentieth of his Age (the Time aſſigned him by their Conſtitutions for his entering upon the publick Charges of their *Milice*) that though it had found them in Peace, it muſt have occaſioned ſome violent Sedition in their State: But meeting with the Conjuncture of a Foreign Invaſion, it broke out into ſo furious a Rage of the People, and ſuch general Tumults through the whole Country, as ended in the Blood of their chief Miniſters; in the diſplacing all that were ſuſpected to be of their Party throughout the Government; in the full Reſtitution of the Prince's Authority, to the higheſt Point any of his Anceſtors ever enjoyed: But withal, in ſuch a Diſtraction of their Councils and their Actions, as made way for the eaſie Succeſſes of the *French* Invaſion; for the Loſs of almoſt Five of their Provinces in Two Month's Time, and for the general Preſages of utter Ruin to their State.

AN

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ESSAY

UPON THE

Advancement of TRADE

IN

IRELAND.

Written to the Earl of ESSEX, *Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom.*

Dublin, July 22, 1673.

MY LORD,

I Know not what it was that fell into Diſcourſe t'other Day, and gave your Excellency the Occaſion of deſiring me to digeſt into ſome Method, and upon Paper, the Means and Ways I eſteemed moſt proper for the advancing of Trade in *Ireland*: This I know very well, that you did it in a manner and with Expreſſions too obliging to be refuſed, and out of a Deſign ſo publick and generous, as ought not to be diſcouraged. I had therefore much rather obey your Lordſhip in this Point, how ill ſoever I do it, than excuſe my ſelf, tho' never ſo well; which were much eaſier than the other. For I might alledge, that neither my Birth nor my Breeding has been at all in this Country. That I have paſſed only one ſhort Period of my Life here, and the greateſt Part thereof wholly out of Buſineſs and publick Thoughts: That I have ſince been Ten Years abſent from it; and am now here upon no other Occaſion than of a ſhort Viſit to ſome of my Friends: Which are all Circumſtances that make me a very improper Subject for ſuch a Command. But I ſuppoſe the Vein I have had of running into Speculations of this kind upon a greater Scene of Trade, and in a Country where I was more a Stranger; and the too partial Favour your Lordſhip has expreſs'd to another Diſcourſe of this Nature, have coſt me this preſent Service; and you have thought fit to puniſh me for one Folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the Confeſſor, that preſcribed a Drunkard the Penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordſhip ſhall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excuſed; which is all I pretend to upon this Occaſion.

Before I enter upon the Conſiderations of Trade, which are more general, and may be more laſting in this Kingdom, I will obſerve to your Lordſhip ſome particular Circumſtances in the Conſtitution and Government, which have

have been hitherto, and may be long the great Diſcouragements of Trade and Riches here; and ſome others in the preſent Conjunction, which are abſolutely mortal to it; that ſo you may not expect to find Remedies where indeed there are none; nor ſuffer Men, like buſie ignorant Phyſicians, to apply ſuch as are contrary to the Diſeaſe, becauſe they cannot find ſuch as are proper for it.

The true and natural Ground of Trade and Riches, is Number of People, in proportion to the Compaſs of Ground they inhabit. This makes all Things neceſſary to Life dear, and that forces Men to Induſtry and Parſimony. Theſe Cuſtoms which grow firſt from Neceſſity, come with Time to be habitual in a Country. And where-ever they are ſo, that Place muſt grow great in Traffick and Riches, if not diſturbed by ſome Accidents or Revolutions, as of Wars, of Plagues, or Famines, by which the People come to be either ſcattered or deſtroyed.

People are multiplied in a Country by the Temper of the Climate, favourable to Generation, to Health, and long Life. Or elſe by the Circumſtances of Safety and Eaſe under the Government, the Credit whereof invites Men over to it, when they cannot be either ſafe or eaſie at Home. When Things are once in Motion, Trade begets Trade, as Fire does Fire; and People go much, where much People are already gone. So Men run ſtill to a Crowd where they ſee it in the Streets, or the Fields, though it be only to do as others do, to ſee or to be entertained.

The Want of Trade in *Ireland* proceeds from the Want of People; and this is not grown from any ill Qualities of the Climate or Air, but chiefly from the frequent Revolutions of ſo many Wars and Rebellions, ſo great Slaughters and Calamities of Mankind as have at ſeveral Intervals of Time ſucceeded the firſt Conqueſt of this Kingdom in *Henry* the Second's Time, until the Year 1653. Two very great Plagues followed the two great Wars, thoſe of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and the laſt; which helped to drain the current Stream of Generation in the Country.

The Diſcredit which is grown upon the Conſtitutions or Settlements of this Kingdom, by ſo frequent and unhappy Revolutions that for many Ages have inveſted it, has been the great Diſcouragement to other Nations to tranſplant themſelves hither, and prevailed further than all the Invitations which the Cheapneſs and Plenty of the Country has made them. So that had it not been for the Numbers of the *Britiſh*, which the Neceſſity of the late Wars at firſt drew over, and of ſuch who either as Adventures or Soldiers ſeated themſelves here upon Account of the Satisfaction made to them in Land, the Country had by the laſt War and Plague been left in a manner deſolate.

Beſides, the Subordinacy of the Government changing Hands ſo often, makes an Unſteadineſs in the Purſuit of the publick Intereſts of the Kingdom, gives way to the Emulations of the different Factions, and draws the Favour or Countenance of the Government ſometimes to one Party or Intereſt, ſometimes to another: This makes different Motions in Men's Minds, raiſing Hopes and Fears, and Opinions of Uncertainty in their Poſſeſſions; and thereby in the Peace of the Country.

This Subordinacy in the Government, and Emulation of Parties, with the Want ſometimes of Authority in the Governour (by the Weakneſs of his Credit and Support at Court) occaſions the perpetual Agencies or Journies into *England* of all Perſons that have any conſiderable Pretences in *Ireland*, and Money to purſue them; which end many times in long Abodes, and frequent habituating of Families there, though they have no Money to ſupport them, but what is drawn out of *Ireland*. Beſides, the young Gentlemen go of courſe for their Breeding there; ſome ſeek their Health, and others their Entertainment in a better Climate or Scene: By theſe means the Country loſes the Expence of many of the richeſt Perſons or Families at Home, and mighty Sums of Money muſt needs go over from hence into *England*, which the great Stock of rich Native Commodities here can make the only amends for.

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These Circumſtances ſo prejudicial to the Encreaſe of Trade and Riches in a Country, ſeem Natural, or at leaſt have ever been incident to the Government here; and without them, the Native Fertility of the Soil and Seas in ſo many rich Commodities improved by Multitude of People and Induſtry, with the Advantage of ſo many excellent Havens, and a Situation ſo commodious for all ſorts of Foreign Trade, muſt needs have render'd this Kingdom one of the richeſt in *Europe*, and made a mighty Encreaſe both of Strength and Revenue to the Crown of *England*; whereas it has hitherto been rather eſteemed and found to be our weak Side, and to have coſt us more Blood and Treaſure than 'tis worth.

Since my late Arrival in *Ireland*, I have found a very unuſual, but I doubt very juſt Complaint concerning the Scarcity of Money; which occaſioned many airy Propoſitions for the Remedy of it, and among the reſt that of raiſing ſome, or all of the Coins here. This was chiefly grounded upon the Experience made, as they ſay, about the Duke of *Ormond*'s coming firſt over hither in 1663, when the Plate-pieces of Eight were raiſed three Pence in the Piece, and a mighty Plenty of Money was obſerved to grow in *Ireland* for a Year or two after. But this ſeems to me a very miſtaken Account, and to have depended wholly upon other Circumſtances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raiſing of the Money to which it is by ſome great Men attributed. For firſt, there was about that Time a general Peace and Serenity, which had newly ſucceeded a general Trouble and Cloud throughout all His Majeſty's Kingdoms; then after two Years Attendance in *England*, upon the Settlement of *Ireland* (there on the Forge) by all Perſons and Parties here that were conſiderably intereſted in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main Settlement of *Ireland* wound up in *England*, and put into the Duke of *Ormond*'s Hands to paſs here into an Act; all Perſons came over in a Shoal, either to attend their own Concernments in the Main, or more particularly to make their Court to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom His Majeſty had at that Time in a manner wholly devolved the Care and Diſpoſition of all Affairs in this Kingdom. This made a ſudden and mighty Stop of that Iſſue of Money which had for two Years run perpetually out of *Ireland* into *England*, and kept it all at Home. Nor is the very Expence of the Duke of *Ormond*'s own great Patrimonial Eſtate, with that of ſeveral other Families that came over at that Time, of ſmall Conſideration in the Stock of this Kingdom. Beſides, there was a great Sum of Money in ready Coin brought over out of *England* at the ſame Time, towards the Arrears of the Army; which are all Circumſtances that muſt needs have made a mighty Change in the Courſe of ready Money here. All the Effect that I conceive was made by crying up the Pieces of Eight, was to bring in much more of that Species inſtead of other current here (as indeed all the Money brought from *England* was of that Sort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worſe Allay) and to carry away much *Engliſh* Money in exchange for Plate-pieces; by which a Trade was driven very beneficial to the Traders, but of mighty Loſs to the Kingdom in the intrinſick Value of their Money.

The Circumſtances at this Time ſeem to be juſt the Reverſe of what they were then: The Nation's engaged in a War the moſt Fatal to Trade of any that could ariſe: The Settlement of *Ireland* ſhaken at the Court, and falling into new Diſquiſitions (whether in Truth, or in common Opinion, is all a Caſe:) This draws continual Agencies, and Journies of People concerned, into *England*, to watch the Motions of the main Wheel there. Beſides, the Lieutenants of *Ireland* ſince the Duke of *Ormond*'s Time have had little in their Diſpoſition here, and only executed the Reſolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general Affairs; which has drawn thither the Attendance of all private Pretenders. The great Eſtates of this Kingdom have been four or five Years conſtantly ſpent in *England*. Money, inſtead of coming over hither for Pay of the Army, has, ſince the War began, been tranſmitted thither for Pay of thoſe Forces that were called from hence. And laſtly,

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This War has had a more particular and mortal Influence upon the Trade of this Country, than upon any other of his Majeſty's Kingdoms.

For by the Act againſt Tranſportation of Cattle into *England*, the Trade of this Country, which ran wholly thither before, was turned very much into Foreign Parts; but by this War the laſt is ſtopped, and the other not being opened, there is in a manner no Vent for any Commodity but of Wool. This Neceſſity has forced the Kingdom to go on ſtill with their Foreign Trade; but that has been with ſuch mighty Loſſes by the great number of *Dutch* Privateers plying about the Coaſts, and the want of *Engliſh* Frigates to ſecure them, that the Stock of the Kingdom muſt be extreamly diminiſhed. Yet by the Continuance of the ſame Expence and Luxury in point of Living, Money goe over into *England* to fetch what muſt ſupply it, though little Commodities go either there or Abroad to make any conſiderable Balance: By all which it muſt happen, that with another Year's Continuance of the War there will hardly be Money left in this Kingdom to turn the common Markets, or pay any Rents, or leave any Circulation further than the Receipts of the Cuſtoms of Quit-rents, and the Pays of the Army, which in both kinds muſt be the laſt that fail.

In ſuch a Conjuncture, the Crying up of any Species of Money will but encreaſe the want of it in general; for while there goes not out Commodity to balance that which is brought in, and no Degree of Gains by Exportation will make amends for the Venture; what ſhould Money come in for, unleſs it be to carry out other Money as it did before, and leave the Stock that remains equal indeed in Denomination, but lower in the intrinſick Value than it was before? In ſhort, while this War laſts, and our Seas are ill guarded, all that can be done towards preſerving the ſmall Remainder of Money in this Kingdom, is, Firſt, to introduce, as far as can be, a View of Parſimony throughout the Country in all Things that are not perfectly the Native Growths and Manufactures: Then by Severity and Steadineſs of the Government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in ſome Credit the preſent Peace and Settlement: And laſtly, to force Men to a Degree of Induſtry, by ſuffering none to hope that they ſhall be able to live by Rapine or Fraud. For in ſome Diſeaſes of a Civil as well as a Natural Body, all that can be done is to faſt and to reſt, to watch and to prevent Accidents, to truſt to Methods rather than Medicines or Remedies; and with Patience to expect till the Humours being ſpent, and the *Criſis* paſt, Way may be made for the Natural Returns of Health and of Strength.

This being premiſed as peculiar either to the Government in general, or to the preſent Conjuncture; I ſhall proceed to ſuch Obſervations as occur concerning the Ways of advancing the common and ſtanding Trade of this Kingdom.

The Trade of a County ariſes from the native Growths of the Soil or Seas; the Manufactures, the Commodiouſneſs of Ports, and the Store of Shipping which belong to it. The Improvement therefore of Trade in *Ireland*, muſt be conſidered in the Survey of all theſe Particulars, the Defects to which at preſent they are ſubject, and the Encreaſes they are capable of receiving either from the Courſe of Time, the Change of Cuſtoms, or the Conduct and Application of the Government.

The Native Commodities or common eaſie Manufactures, which make up the Exportation of this Kingdom, and conſequently furniſh both the Stock of Foreign Commodities conſumed in the Country, and that likewiſe of current Money, by which all Trade is turned, are Wool, Butter, Beef, Cattle, Fiſh, Iron; and by the Improvement of theſe, either in the Quantity, the Credit, or the further Manufacture, the Trade of *Ireland* ſeems chiefly to be advanced.

In this Survey one Thing muſt be taken notice of as peculiar to this Country, which is, That as in the Nature of its Government, ſo in the very Improvement of its Trade and Riches, it ought to be conſidered not only in its own proper Intereſt, but likewiſe in its Relation to *England*; to which it is ſubordinate, and upon whoſe Weal in the main that of this Kingdom depends,

pends, and therefore a Regard muſt be had of thoſe Points wherein the Trade of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main Branches of the Trade of *England*; in which Caſes the Encouragement of ſuch Trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and ſo give way to the Intereſt of Trade in *England*, upon the Health and Vigour whereof the Strength, Riches and Glory of his Majeſty's Crowns ſeem chiefly to depend. But on the other ſide, ſome ſuch Branches of Trade ought not wholly to be ſuppreſs'd, but rather ſo far admitted as may ſerve the general Conſumption of this Kingdom, leſt by too great an Importation of Commodities, though out of *England* it ſelf, the Money of this Kingdom happen to be drawn away in ſuch a degree, as not to leave a Stock ſufficient for turning the Trade at Home; The Effect hereof would be general Diſcontents among the People, Complaints, or at leaſt ill Impreſſions of the Government; which in a Country compoſed of three ſeveral Nations different to a great degree in Language, Cuſtoms and Religion, as well as Intereſts (both of Property and Dependances) may prove not only dangerous to this Kingdom, but to *England* it ſelf. Since a Sore in the Leg may affect the whole Body, and in time grow as difficult to cure as if it were in the Head; eſpecially where Humours abound.

The Wool of *Ireland* ſeems not to be capable of any Encreaſe, nor to ſuffer under any Defect, the Country being generally full ſtockt with Sheep, cleared of Wolves, the Soil little ſubject to other Rots than of Hunger; and all the conſiderable Flocks being of *Engliſh* Breed, and the Staple of Wool generally equal with that of *Northampton* or *Leiceſterſhire*, the Improvement of this Commodity by Manufactures in this Kingdom would give ſo great a Damp to the Trade of *England* (of which Cloths, Stuffs and Stockings make ſo mighty a Part) that it ſeems not fit to be incouraged here, at leaſt no further than to ſuch a Quantity of one or two Summer-ſtuffs, *Iriſh* Freeze, and Cloth from Six Shillings to fourteen, as may ſupply in ſome meaſure the ordinary Conſumption of the Kindgdom. That which ſeems moſt neceſſary in this Branch, is the careful and ſevere Execution of the Statutes provided to forbid the Exportation of Wool to any ovher Parts but to *England*; which is the more to be watched and feared, ſince thereby the preſent Riches of this Kingdom would be mightily increaſed, and great Advantages might be made by the Connivance of Governours; whereas on the other ſide, this would prove a moſt ſenſible Decay, if not Deſtruction of Manufactures both here and in *England* it ſelf.

Yarn is a Commodity very proper to this Country, but made in no great Quantities in any Parts beſides the North, nor any where into Linen to any great degree, or of Sorts fit for the better Uſes at home, or Exportation abroad; though of all others, this ought moſt to be encouraged, and was therefore chiefly deſigned by the Earl of *Strafford*. The Soil produces Flax kindly and well, and fine too, anſwerable to the Care uſed in Choice of Seed and Exerciſe of Husbandry; and much Land is fit for it here, which is not ſo for Corn. The Manufacture of it in gathering or beating, is of little Toil or Application, and ſo the fitter for the Natives of the Country. Beſides, no Women are apter to ſpin it well than the *Iriſh*, who labouring little in any kind with their Hands, have their Fingers more ſupple and ſoft than other Women of the poorer Condition among Us; and this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great Manufacture of Linen, ſo as to beat down the Trade both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the Money which goes from *England* to thoſe Parts upon this Occaſion, into the Hands of His Majeſty's Subjects of *Ireland*, without croſſing any Intereſt of Trade in *England*. For beſides what has been ſaid of Flax and Spinning, the Soil and Climate are proper for whitening, both by the Frequency of Brooks, and alſo of Winds in the Country.

Much Care was ſpent upon this Deſign in an Act of Parliament paſs'd the laſt Seſſion, and ſomething may have been advanced by it; but the too great Rigour impoſed upon the ſowing of certain Quantities of Flax, has cauſed (and perhaps juſtly) a general Neglect in the Execution, and common Guilt

has made the Penalties impracticable; ſo as the main Effect has been ſpoiled by too much Diligence, and the Child killed with Kindneſs. For the Money applied by that Act to the Encouragement of making fine Linen, and broad (which I think is twenty Pounds every Year in each County) though the Inſtitution was good, yet it has not reached the End, by encouraging any conſiderable Application that Way; ſo that ſometimes one Share of that Money is paid to a ſingle Pretender at the Sizes or Seſſions, and ſometimes a Share is ſaved, for want of any Pretender at all.

This Trade may be advanced by ſome Amendments to the laſt Act in another Seſſion, whereby the Neceſſity of ſowing Flax may be ſo limited, as to be made eaſily practicable, and ſo may be forced by the Severity of levying the Penalties enacted. And for the Money allotted in the Counties, no Perſon ought to carry the firſt, ſecond, or third Prize, without producing two Pieces of Linen of each ſort (whereas one only now is neceſſary.) And ſevere Defences may be made againſt weaving any Linen under a certain Breadth, ſuch as may be of better Uſe to the pooreſt People, and in the courſeſt Linen, than the narrow *Iriſh* Cloth, and may bear ſome Price Abroad, when ever more comes to be made than is conſumed at Home. But after all theſe or ſuch like Proviſions, there are but two Things which can make any extraordinary Advance in this Branch of Trade, and thoſe are: Firſt, An increaſe of People in the Country to ſuch a degree, as may make things neceſſary to Life dear, and thereby force general Induſtry from each Member of a Family (Women as well as Men) and in as many ſorts as they can well turn to, which among others may in time come to turn the Vein this Way. The ſecond is a particular Application in the Government. And this muſt be made either by ſome Governour upon his own private Account, who has a great Stock that he is content to turn that Way, and is invited by the Gain, or elſe by the Honour of bringing to paſs a Work of ſo much publick Utility both to *England* and *Ireland* (which Circumſtances I ſuppoſe concurr'd both in the Earl of *Straffford*'s Deſign;) and whenever they meet again, can have no better Copy to follow in all Particulars, than that begun at the *Naas* in his Time. Or elſe by a conſiderable Sum of Money being laid aſide, either out of His Majeſty's preſent Revenue, or ſome future Subſidy to be granted for this Occaſion: And this either to be imployed in ſetting up of ſome great Linen Manufacture in ſome certain Place, and to be managed by ſome certain Hands both for making all ſorts of fine Cloths, and of thoſe for Sails too. The Benefit or Loſs of ſuch a Trade accruing to the Government, until it comes to take Root in the Nation. Or elſe, if this ſeem too great an Undertaking for the Humour of our Age, then ſuch a Sum of Money to lye ready in Hands appointed by the Government, for taking off at common moderate Prices all ſuch Pieces of Cloth as ſhall be brought in by any Perſons at certain Times to the chief Town of each County; and all ſuch Pieces of Cloth as are fit for Sails, to be carried into the Stores of the Navy. All that are fit for the Uſe of the Army, to be given the Soldiers (as Cloaths are) in part of their Pay: And all finer Pieces to be ſold, and the Money ſtill applied to the Encreaſe or conſtant Supply of the main Stock. The Effect hereof would be, That People finding a certain Market for this Commodity, and that of others, ſo uncertain as it is in this Kingdom, would turn ſo much of their Induſtry this Way, as would ſerve to furniſh a great Part of that Money, which is moſt abſolutely neceſſary for Payment of Taxes, Rents, or Subſiſtence of Families.

Hide, Tallow, Butter, Beef, ariſe all from one ſort of Cattle, and are ſubject to the ſame general Defects, and capable of the ſame common Improvements.

The three firſt are certain Commodities, and yield the readieſt Money of any that are turned in this Kingdom, becauſe they never fail of a Price abroad. Beef is a Drug, finding no conſtant Vent Abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at Home: For the Conſumption of the Kingdom holds no Proportion with the Product that is uſually made of Cattle in it; ſo that in ma-

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ny Parts at this Time an Ox may be brought in the Country-Markets, and the Hide and Tallow ſold at the next Trading-Town for near as much as it coſt. The Defects of theſe Commodities lie either in the Age and Feeding of the Cattle that are killed, or in the Manufacture, and making them up for Exportation abroad.

Until the Tranſportation of Cattle into *England* was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickeſt Trade of ready Money here was driven by the Sale of young Bullocks, which for four or five Summer-Months of the Year were carried over in very great Numbers, and this made all the Breeders in the Kingdom turn their Lands and Stocks chiefly to that ſort of Cattle. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than ſerved the Conſumption within; and few Oxen for Draught, which was all performed by raſcally ſmall Horſes; ſo as the Cattle generally ſold either for Slaughter within, or Exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at beſt four Years old, and thoſe ſuch as had never been either handled or wintered at Hand-meat, but bred wholly upon the Mountains in Summer, and upon the withered long Graſs of the lower Lands in the Winter. The Effect hereof was very pernicious to this Kingdom in what concerned all theſe Commodities; the Hides were ſmall, thin and lank; the Tallow much leſs in Quantity, and of quicker Conſumption. Little Butter was exported abroad, and that diſcredited by the Houſewifery of the *Iriſh*, in making it up; moſt of what was ſent coming from their Hands, who alone kept up the Trade of Dairies, becauſe the Breed of their Cattle was not fit for the *Engliſh* Markets. But above all, the Trade of Beef for Foreign Exportation was prejudiced and almoſt ſunk: For the Fleſh being young, and only Graſs-fed (and that on a ſudden by the Sweetneſs of the Snmmer's Paſture, after the Cattle being almoſt ſtarved in the Winter) was thin, light and moiſt, and not of a Subſtance to endure the Salt, or be preſerved by it, for long Voyages, or a ſlow Conſumption. Beſides, either the Unskilfulneſs, or Careleſneſs, or Knavery of the Traders, added much to the Undervalue and Diſcredit of theſe Commodities abroad; for the Hides were often made up very dirty, which increaſed the Weight, by which that Commodity is ſold when it comes in Quantities abroad. The Butter would be better on the top and bottom of the Barrel, than in the middle, which would be ſometimes filled up, or mingled with Tallow; nay, ſometimes with Stones. The Beef would be ſo ill choſen, or ſo ill cured, as to ſtink many times before it came ſo far as *Holland*, or at leaſt not prove a Commodity that would defray the firſt Charge of the Merchant before it was ſhip'd. Nay, I have known Merchants there fain to throw away great Quantities, after having lain long in their Hands without any Market at all.

After the Act in *England* had wholly ſtop'd the Tranſportation of Cattle, the Trade of this Kingdom was forced to find out a new Channel; a great deal of Land was turned to Sheep, becauſe Wool gave ready Money for the *Engliſh* Markets, and by ſtealth for thoſe Abroad. The Breeders of *Engliſh* Cattle turn'd much to Dairy, or elſe by keeping their Cattle to ſix and ſeven Years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef-Trade abroad; and ſome of the Merchants fell into Care and Exactneſs in barrelling them up; and hereby the Improvements of this Trade were grown ſo ſenſible in the Courſe of a few Years, than in the Year 1669 ſome Merchants in *Holland* aſſured me, that they had received Parcels of Beef out of *Ireland* which ſold current, and very near the *Engliſh*; and of Butter which ſold beyond it; and that they had obſerved it ſpent as if it came from the richeſt Soil of the two. 'Tis moſt evident, that if the *Dutch* War had not broken out ſo ſoon after the Improvements of all theſe Trades (forced at firſt by Neceſſity, and growing afterwards habitual by Uſe) a few Years would have very much advanced the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom, and made it a great Gainer, inſtead of loſing by the Act againſt Tranſportation of their Cattle: But the War gave a ſudden Damp to this and and all other Trade, which is ſunk to nothing by the Continuance of it,

However, having marked the Defects that were even in Time of Peace, it may not be uſeleſs to ſet down the Remedies, though little practicable while the War laſts. For that great one of killing Cattle young, and Graſs only-fed, I know none ſo effectual as introducing a genetal Cuſtom of uſing Oxen for all ſorts of Draught, which would be perhaps the greateſt Improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the Kingdom. By this means the great Slaughter would be made of full-grown, large and well-wintered Cattle, which would double the Income made by Hide, Tallow and Beef, and raiſe their Credit in all foreign Markets; every Man would be forced to provide Winter-Fodder for his Team (whereas common Garrans ſhift upon Graſs the Year round;) and this would force Men to the incloſing of Grounds, and improving Bog into Meadows; the Race of Garrans would decreaſe, and ſo make room for the Countries maintaining the greater Number of Cattle, which makes a foreign Commodity, though they die by Accident or Age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or uſeful Thing is to be atchieved without Difficulties; and therefore what may be raiſed againſt this Propoſal, ought not to diſcourage the attempting it. Firſt, the Statutes againſt that barbarous Cuſtom of Plowing by the Tail ought to be renewed, and upon abſolute Forfeitures inſtead of Penalties; the conſtant and eaſie Compoſitions whereof, have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this was wholly diſuſed, the Hotneſs for Horſes being dearer than for Oxen, the *Iriſh* would turn their Draught to the laſt, where-ever they have hitherto uſed the Plowing by the Tail. Next, a Standard might be made, under which no Horſe ſhould be uſed for Draught; this would not only enlarge the Breed of Horſes, but make way for the Uſe of Oxen, becauſe they would be cheaper kept than large good Horſes, which could not be wintered like Garrans, without Houſing or Fodder. And laſtly, a Tax might be laid upon every Horſe of Draught throughout the Kingdom; which beſides the main Uſe here intended, would increaſe the King's Revenue, by one of the eaſieſt Ways that is any where in uſe.

For the Miſcarriages mentioned in the making up of thoſe ſeveral Commodities for Foreign Markets, they muſt likewiſe be remedied by ſevere Laws, or elſe the Improvements of the Commodities themſelves will not ſerve to bring them in Credit, upon which all Trade turns. Firſt, the Ports out of which ſuch Commodities ſhall be ſhip'd may be reſtrained to a certain Number, ſuch as lie moſt convenient for the Vent of the Inland Provinces, and ſuch as either are already, or are capable of being made, regular Corporations. Whatever of them ſhall be carried out of any other Port, ſhall be penal both to the Merchant that delivers, and to the Maſter that receives them. In the Ports allowed ſhall be publiſhed Rules agreed on by the skilfulleſt Merchants in thoſe Wares, to be obſerved in the making up of all ſuch as are intended for Foreign Tranſportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to thoſe Rules, ſhall not be ſuffered to go out. Two Officers may be appointed to be choſen every three Years, by the Body of the Corporation, whoſe Buſineſs ſhall be to inſpect all Barrels of Beef, Tallow, Butter, and all Packs of Hides, and put to them the Seal or Mark of the Corporation, without which none ſhall be ſuffer'd to go abroad; nor ſhall this Mark be affix'd to any Parcels by thoſe Officers, but ſuch as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the Rules ſet forth for that Purpoſe. Whereof one ought to be certain, That every Barrel be of the ſame conſtant Weight, or ſomething over. If this were obſerved for a ſmall Courſe of Time, under any certain Marks, the Credit of them both as to Quality and Weight would riſe to that Degree, that the Barrels or Packs would go off in the Markets they uſed abroad, upon Sight of the Mark, like Silverplate upon Sight of the City's Mark where 'tis made.

The great Difficulty will lie in the good Execution of the Offices; but the Intereſt of ſuch Corporations lying ſo deep in the Credit of their Mark, will make Emulation among them, every one vying to raiſe their own as high as they can; and this will make them careful in the Choice of Men, fit for that

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Turn. Beſides, the Offices ought to be made beneficial to a good Degree, by a certain Fee upon every Seal; and yet the Office to be forfeited upon every Miſcarriage of the Officer, which ſhall be judged ſo by the chief Magiſtrates of the Town, and thereupon a new Election be made by the Body of the Corporation.

Cattle for Exportation, are Sheep, Bullocks, Horſes; and of one or other of theſe kinds the Country ſeems to be full ſtock'd, no Ground that I hear of being untenanted: The two firſt ſeems ſufficiently improved in the Kinds as well as the Number, moſt of both being of the *Engliſh* Breed. And though it were better for the Country, if the Number of Horſes being leſſened, made room for that of encreaſing Sheep, and great Cattle; yet it ſeems indifferent which of theſe two were moſt turn'd to, and that will be regulated by the Liberty or Reſtraint of carrying live Cattle into *England*. When the Paſſage is open, Land will be turned moſt to great Cattle; when ſhut, to Sheep, as it is at preſent; though I am not of Opinion it can laſt, becauſe that Act ſeems to have been carried on rather by the Intereſts of particular Counties in *England*, than by that of the whole, which in my Opinion muſt be evidently a Loſer by it. For firſt, the Freight of all Cattle that were brought over, being in *Engliſh* Veſſels, was ſo much clear Gain to *England*; and this was one with another near a third, or at leaſt a fourth Part of the Price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the firſt Market, made them double the Price by one Year's feeding, which was the greateſt Improvement to be made of our dry Paſture-land in *England*. The Trade of Hides, and Tallow, or elſe of Leather, was mightily advanced in *England*, which will be beaten down in Foreign Markets by *Ireland*, if they come to kill all their Cattle at home. The young *Iriſh* Cattle ſerved for the common Conſumption in *England*, while their own large old fat Cattle went into the Barrel for the Foreign Trade, in which *Iriſh* Beef had in a manner no Part, though by the Continuance of this Reſtraint it will be forced upon Improvement, and come to ſhare with *England* in the Beef-Trade abroad. Grounds were turned much in *England* from breeding, either to feeding or Dairy, and this advanced the Trade of *Engliſh* Butter, which will be extreamly beaten down when *Ireland* turns to it too (and in the Way of *Engliſh* Houſewifery, as it has done a great deal ſince the Reſtraint upon Cattle.) And laſtly, whereas *Ireland* had before very little Trade but with *England*, and with the Money for their Cattle bought all the Commodities there which they wanted; by this Reſtraint they are forced to ſeek a foreign Market; and where they ſell, they will be ſure to buy too; and all the foreign Merchandize which they had before from *Briſtol*, *Cheſter*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Rome*, *Amſterdam*, *Liſbon* and the *Streights*. As for the true Cauſes of the Decay of Rents in *England*, which made the Occaſion of that Act, they were to be found in the Want of People, in the mighty Conſumption of foreign Commodities among the better ſort, and in a higher Way of living among all, and not in this Tranſportation of *Iriſh* Cattle, which would have been complained of in former Times, if it had been found a Prejudice to *England*. Beſides, the Rents have been far from encreaſing ſince; and though that may be by other Accidents, yet as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unleſs Wool be forbidden as well as Cattle; for the leſs Cattle comes over thence, there comes the more Wool, which goes as far as t'other towards beating down the Price of Paſture-lands in *England*; and yet the Tranſportation of Wool cannot be forbidden, ſince that would force the *Iriſh* Wool, either by ſtealth into foreign Markets, or elſe in Cloth by the Advance of that Manufacture; either of which would bring a ſudden Decay upon the principal Branch of the *Engliſh* Trade.

Horſes in *Ireland* are a Drug, but might be improved to a Commodity, not only of greater Uſe at home, but alſo fit for Exportation into other Countries. The Soil is of a ſweet and plentiful Graſs, which will raiſe a large Breed; and the Hills, eſpecially near the Sea-coaſts, are hard and rough, and ſo fit to give them Shape and Breath, and ſound Feet. The preſent Defects

in

in them, are breeding without Choice of Stallions either in Shape or Size, and truſting ſo far to the Gentleneſs of the Climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling Colts till they are four Years old: This both checks the Growth of the common Breeds, and gives them an incurable Shyneſs, which is the general Vice of *Iriſh* Horſes, and is hardly ever ſeen in *Flanders*, becauſe the Hardneſs of the Winters in thoſe Parts forces the Breeders there to houſe and handle their Colts for at leaſt ſix Months every Year. In the Studs of Perſons of Quality in *Ireland*, where Care is taken, and Coſt is not ſpared, we ſee Horſes bred of excellent Shape, and Vigour, and Size, ſo as to reach Prices at home, and encourage Strangers to find the Market here; among whom I met with one this Summer that came over on that Errand, and bought about twenty Horſes to carry over into the *French* Army, from twenty to three-ſcore Pounds Price at the firſt hand.

The Improvement of Horſes here may be made by a Standard preſcribed to all Stallions, and all Horſes that ſhall be uſed for Draught; the main Point being to make the common Breed large, for then whether they have Shape or not they have ever ſome reaſonable Price both at home and abroad. And beſides, being not to be raiſed without wintering, they will help to force Men into Improvement of Land by a Neceſſity of Fodder. But for Incouragement of finer Breed, and in the better Hands, ſome other Inſtitutions may be invented, by which Emulation may be raiſed among the Breeders by a proſpect both of particular Honour and Profit to thoſe who ſucceed beſt, and of good ordinary Gains and ready Vent to ſuch as by aiming at the beſt, tho' they fail, yet go beyond the common ſorts. To this Purpoſe there may be ſet up both a Horſe-Fair, and Races to be held at a certain Time every Year for the Space of a Week; the firſt in the faireſt Green near the City of *Dublin*, the latter in that Place deſigned by your Lordſhip in the Park for ſome ſuch Purpoſe. During this Week, the *Monday*, *Wedneſday* and *Friday* may be the Races; the *Tueſday*, *Thurſday*, and *Saturday* the Fairs may be held. At each Race may be Two Plates given by the King, one of Thirty Pounds, and the other of Twenty (beſides the Faſhion) as the Prizes for the firſt and ſecond Horſes; the firſt engraven with a Horſe crowned with a Crown; the ſecond with a Coronet, and under it the Day of the Month, and the Year. Beſides theſe Plates, the Wagers may be as the Perſons pleaſe among themſelves, but the Horſes muſt be evidenced by good Teſtimonies to have been bred in *Ireland*. For Honour, the Lord-Lieutenant may ever be preſent himſelf, or at leaſt name a Deputy in his room, and two Judges of the Field, who ſhall decide all Controverſies, and with Sound of the Trumpet declare the two Victors. The Maſters of theſe two Horſes may be admitted to ride from the Field to the Caſtle with the Lord-Lieutenant, or his Deputy, and to dine with him that Day, and there receive all the Honour of the Table. This to be done, what Quality ſoever the Perſons are of; for the lower that is, the more will be the Honour, and perhaps the more the Sport; and the Encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all ſorts of Men.

For the Fairs, the Lord-Lieutenant may likewiſe be preſent every Day in the Heighth of them, by himſelf or Deputy, and may with the Advice of the two chief Officers of the Army then preſent, chooſe out one of the beſt Horſes, and two of the beſt Geldings that appear in the Fair, not under four, nor above ſeven Years old; for which ſhall be paid to the Owners of them, after ſufficient Teſtimony of their being bred in *Ireland*, one hundred Pounds for the Horſe, and fifty Pounds a Piece for the Geldings. Theſe Sums, as that for the Plates, to iſſue out of the Revenue of *Ireland*, and without Trouble or Fee; and the three Horſes to be ſent over every Year to the King's Stables. Both thoſe that won the Plate, and thoſe which are thus ſold, ought immediately to be marked, ſo as they may never return a ſecond Time, either to the Race, or to the Sale.

The Benefit by ſuch an Inſtitution as this, will be very great and various: For beſides the Encouragement to breed the beſt Horſes, from the Honour and

and grain already mentioned, there will be a sort of publick Entertainment for one whole Week, during which the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the City, and the great Officers both civil and military, ought to keep open Tables for all Strangers. This will draw a Confluence of People from all Parts of the Country. Many perhaps from the nearer Parts of *England* may come, not only as to a publick kind of Solemnity, but as to a great Mart of the best Horses. This will enrich the City by the Expence of such a Concourse, and the Country by the Sale of many Horses into *England*, and in time (or from thence) into foreign Parts. This will make general Acquaintances among the Gentry of the Kingdom, and bring the Lord Lieutenant to be more personally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more Greatness, and with more Solemnity than usual upon these Occasions. And all this with the Expence only of two hundred and fifty Pounds a Year to the Crown, for which the King shall have above the best Horses sold that Year in *Ireland*.

The Fishing of *Ireland* might prove a Mine under Water, as rich as any under Ground, if it were improved to those vast Advantages it is capable of, and that we see it raised to in other Countries. But this is impossible under so great a Want of People, and Cheapness of all Things necessary to Life throughout the Country, which are in all Places invincible Enemies of Industry and Improvements. While these continue, I know no Way of advancing this Trade to any considerable degree, unless it be the erecting four Companies of Fishery, one of each Province of *Ireland*, into which every Man that enters shall bring a certain Capital, and receive a proportionable Share of the Gain or Loss, and have a proportional Voice in the Election of a President and Council, by whom the whole Business in each Province shall be managed. If into each of these Companies the King or Lord Lieutenant would enter for a considerable Share at the first, towards building such a Number of Boats and Busses as each Company could easily manage, it would be an Encouragement both of Honour and Advantage. Certain Privileges likewise, or Immunities, might be granted from Charges of Trouble or Expence, nay from Taxes, and all unusual Payments to the Publick, in favour of such as brought in a Proportion to a certain Height into the Stock of the Fishery. Nay, it seems a Matter of so great Importance to His Majesty's Crowns, both as to the improving the Riches of this Kingdom, and impairing the mighty Gains of his Neighbours by this Trade, that perhaps there were no Hurt if an Act were made, by which none should be capable of being either chosen into a Parliament, or the Commission of the Peace, who had not manifested his Desire of advancing the publick Good by entring in some certain Proportion into the Stock and Companies of the Fishery; since the Greatness of the one, and Application of the other, seem the only present Means of improving so rich and so important a Trade. It will afterwards be the Business of the Companies themselves, or their Directors, to fall into the best Methods and Rules for the curing and barrelling up all their Fish, and to see them so exactly observed, as may bring all those Quantities of them that shall be sent abroad, or spent at home, into the highest and most general Credit, which with advancing the Seasons all that can be, so as to find the first foreign Markets, will be a Way to the greatest and surest Gains. In *Holland* there have been above thirty Placarts or Acts of State concerning the curing, taking, and barrelling of Herrings alone, with such Severity in the Imposition and Execution of Penalties, that the Business is now grown to an habitual Skill and Care, and Honesty, so as hardly any Example is seen of failing in that Matter, or thereby impairing the general Credit of that Commodity among them, or in the foreign Markets they use.

Iron seems to be a Manufacture that of all others ought the least to be encouraged in *Ireland*, or if it be, which requires the most Restriction to certain Places and Rules. Here I do not remember to have heard that there is any Oar in *Ireland*, at least I am sure the greatest Part is fetched from *England*; so that all this Country affords of its own Growth towards this Manufacture, is but the Wood, which has met but with too great Consumptions

already

already in moſt Parts of this Kingdom, and needs not this to deſtroy what is left. So that Iron-works ought to be confined to certain Places, where either the Woods continue vaſt, and make the Country ſavage; or where they are not at all fit for Timber, or likely to grow to it; or where there is no Conveyance for Timber to places of Vent ſo as to quit the Coſt of the Carriage.

Having run through the Commodities of *Ireland*, with their Defects and Improvements, I will only touch the other two Points mentioned at firſt, as the Grounds likewiſe of Trade in a Country; thoſe are the Commodiouſneſs of Ports, and the Store of Shipping; in one of which this Kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The Haven of *Dublin* is barr'd to that degree, as very much to obſtruct the Trade of the City; the clearing or opening of it were a great Work, and proper either for the City, or the whole Province of *Lemſter* to undertake. But whether it be feaſible, or at ſuch Charges as will quit Coſt, I will not judge, eſpecially conſidering the many good Havens that are ſcattered upon that whole Eaſtern Coaſt of *Ireland*. Beſides this, I know not what to propoſe upon this Head, unleſs it be the making of two free Ports, one in *Kerry*, and t'other upon the North-Weſt Coaſt, which may thereby grow to be Magazines for the *Weſt-India* Trade, and from thence thoſe Commodities may be diſperſed unto all other Parts of *Europe*, after having paid the Cuſtoms which they ought to pay in *England*, where this muſt be concerted.

For the laſt Point, I doubt there is hardly any other Country lying upon the Sea-coaſt, and not wholly out of the Way of Trade, which has ſo little Shipping of its own as *Ireland*, and which might be capable of imploying more. The Reaſon of this muſt be in part the Scarcity of Timber proper for this built; but more the Want of Merchants, and Uncertainty of Trade in the Country. For preventing the further Deſtruction of Timber, a Law may be made, forbidding any Man to cut down any Oak that is of a certain Height, unleſs it be of a certain Scantling, as twelve Inches Diameter, or ſome ſuch Meaſure as uſually makes a Tree uſeful Timber. And further, the ſevereſt Penalties ought to be put upon Barking any Tree that is not felled; a Cuſtom barbarous, and peculiar to this Country, and by which infinite Quantities of Timber have been deſtroyed.

Moſt Traders in theſe Parts, at leaſt of *Ireland*, are but Factors; nor do I hear of any Number of Merchants in the Kingdom. The Cauſe of this muſt be rather an ill Opinion of Security, than of Gain; for thoſe are the two Baits which draw Merchants to a Place; the laſt intices the poorer Traders, or the young Beginners, or thoſe of Paſſage; but without the firſt, the Subſtantial and the Rich will never ſettle in a Country. This Opinion can be attained only by a Courſe of Time, of good Conduct, and good Government and thereby of Juſtice and of Peace, which lie out of the Compaſs of this Diſcourſe. But to make ſome amends for this Want at preſent, Encouragement may be given to any Merchants that ſhall come over and turn a certain Stock of their own here, as Naturalization upon any Terms; Freedom from Cuſtoms the two firſt Years, and from any Offices of Trouble or Expence the firſt ſeven Years. I ſee no hurt if the King ſhould give leave to the Merchants in eight or ten of the chief Trading-Ports of *Ireland* to name for each Town one of their Number, out of which the Lord-Lieutenant ſhould chuſe Two to be of the Privy-Council of *Ireland*, with a certain Salary from the King to defray their Attendance: This would be an Honour and Encouragement to ſo worthy a Calling, and would introduce an Intereſt of Trade into the Council, which being now compoſed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the Civil or Military Officers; the Traders ſeem to be left without Patrons in the Government, and thereby without Favour to the particular Concernments of a chief Member in the Politick Body; and upon whoſe proſpering the Wealth of the whole Kingdom ſeems chiefly to depend.

But

But this is enough for your Excellency's Trouble, and for the Diſcharge of my Promiſe, and too much I doubt for the Humour of our Age to bring into Practice, or ſo much as to admit into Conſideration. Your Lordſhip, I know, has generous Thoughts, and turned to ſuch Speculations as theſe. But that is not enough towards the raiſing ſuch Buildings as I have drawn you here the Lines of, unleſs the Direction of all Affairs here were wholly in your Hands, or at leaſt the Opinion loſt of other Mens being able to conteſt with you thoſe Points of publick Utility, which you ought beſt to know, and moſt to be believ'd in, while you deſerve or diſcharge ſo great a Truſt as the Government of this Kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much conſider whom to chuſe for ſuch Imployments; but when he has choſen, cannot truſt them too far, or thereby give them too much Authority; no more than end it too ſoon, whenever he finds it abuſed. In ſhort, 'tis left only to Princes to mend the World, whoſe Commands find general Obedience, and Examples Imitation. For all other Men, they muſt take it as they find it; and good Men enter into Commerce with it, rather upon Cautions of not being ſpoil'd themſelves, than upon Hopes of mending the World. At leaſt, this Opinion becomes Men of my level, amongſt whom I have obſerved all ſet Quarrels with the Age, and Pretences of reforming it by their own Models, to end commonly like the Pains of a Man in a little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that's faſt to a Ship; it looks as if he reſolved to draw the Ship to him, but the Truth and his Meaning is, to draw himſelf to the Ship, where he gets in when he can, and does like the reſt of the Crew when he is there. When I have ſuch Deſigns, I will begin ſuch Contentions; in the mean time the Bent of my Thoughts ſhall be rather to mend my ſelf, than the World, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor ſhould I have reaſon in complaining too far of an Age, which does your Lordſhip ſo much Juſtice, by the Honour of ſo great an Employment. In which as I know no Man deſerves greater Succeſſes than you do, ſo I am ſure no Man wiſhes you greater than I do.

Written to the

DUKE

OF

ORMOND,

In *October*, 1673.

Upon His Grace's desiring me to give Him my Opinion what was to be done in that Conjuncture.

THERE never was any Conjuncture wherein it was more neceſſary for his Majeſty to fall into a Courſe of wiſe and ſteady Counſels, nor ever any wherein it was more difficult to adviſe him. To make Reflections upon what is paſt, is the Part of Ingenious, but Irreſolute Men, or elſe of ſuch as intend to value themſelves by compariſon with others whoſe Corruptions or Follies they condemn. But in all Matters of Counſel, the good and prudent Part is to take Things as they are (ſince the paſt cannot be recalled) to propoſe Remedies for the preſent Evils, and Proviſions againſt future Events.

The King finds himſelf engaged in the ſecond Year of a War with the *Dutch*, and for Proſecution thereof in a ſtrict Alliance with *France*; and now in danger of being entangled in the Quarrel broken out upon this Occaſion between *France* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In this State of Affairs, it is to be conſidered, whether we can purſue our War with *Holland*, and yet preſerve our Peace with *Spain*; whether we are able to maintain the War with both in Conjunction with *France*; and if not, what there is left for His Majeſty to do, with the beſt Regard to His Honour and Safety.

For the firſt, we ſhall ſoon be out of doubt; but in the mean time 'tis very unlikely that upon the late Conjunction between *Holland* and *Spain*, the *Dutch* ſhould have obliged themſelves to make no Peace without the Incluſion of their Allies; and that *Spain* ſhould not have yielded to break with Us, in caſe they could not effect a Peace between Us and *Holland*; ſince the *Dutch* know nothiug could farther induce us to it, than the Fear of a Breach with *Spain*, and ſo great a Loſs of Trade in thoſe Dominions. The *Spaniards* have but one Temptation of their own to quarrel with Us, which is an Occaſion

caſion of recovering *Jamaica*; for that has ever laid at their Hearts, and 'tis to be feared their Conjunction with *Holland* has not been perfected without early Meaſure between them for the Surpriſe of that Iſland, unleſs our Care has been as early in providing for its Defence. And if we ſhould loſe it, I foreſee little Hurt we could do *Spain* in their *Indies*, guarded as they would be, and attended by the Shipping of the *Dutch*. But His Majeſty will, I ſuppoſe, ſoon know from *Spain* what He is to truſt to in this Point.

To judge whether upon a Breach with *Spain* we are able to maintain the War, muſt be conſidered, the preſent State of the King's Treaſure, the Riſe or Fall that may happen in His conſtant Revenue by the *Spaniſh* War, the Hopes that may be grounded upon Supplies from *France*, the Aſſurance or Meaſure of thoſe expected from the Parliament, the Credit of the Exchequer to raiſe preſent Money where-ever any of theſe fall ſhort, and the Humour of the Nation towards carrying on or ending the War.

For the preſent State of the Treaſury, the King beſt knows it himſelf, or His Officers can beſt give the Account; for the Changes that may happen in his Revenue, 'tis evident they muſt be much for the worſe the very firſt Year of a *Spaniſh* War. The main Branch of it, which is the Cuſtoms, muſt wither away in a very great Meaſure, ſince all the Trade in a manner left us upon the *Dutch* War (that has turned to any Account) has been that with *Spain* and into the *Streights*: The firſt upon a *Spaniſh* War will be wholly loſt; the laſt can neither be ſecured by our own Convoys, nor by the *French* Fleets in the *Mediterranean*, from the *Dutch* Capers that will fill the *Spaniſh* Havens, and from thoſe of *Biſcay*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*, which in all Wars have been the Neſts of Picaroons; ſo that no Way ſeems left of beginning this War, but as the *Dutch* began theirs, by leaving off all Trade in the Nation while it laſts. But the Caſe is very different between them and us; for they have ſtill a Trade left from the *North*, which running upon a ſandy Coaſt from *Hamborough*, is ſecured from our Fleets; and they have driven a great Commerce by Colluſion with the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Bremeners*, and *Flemiſh*, ever ſince the War began. Beſides, the Hearts of their People (which would otherwiſe have ſunk by the Loſs of Trade) have been kept up by the Neceſſity of their Defence, by the laſt Extremities which were threatened them from the War, and by the general Opinion of Juſtice in their Cauſe, both from theſe Circumſtances, and the manner of ours and of the *French* beginning the War.

This makes the States content to impoſe, and the People to ſuffer, the utmoſt Payments; and beſides, in a manner all Men of Fortunes among them have a great Part of their Eſtates lying in the Cantores of the States or the Provinces, which would all be loſt upon the Conqueſt of their Country; ſo as they will lend to the laſt, for ſecuring ſo much as is already in danger. And theſe are Circumſtances which will not be found in our Diſpoſitions or Conſtitutions.

For Supplies from *France*, it muſt be conſidered how their Money has been drained out of the Kingdom ſince this War began, by their Payments to Us, and to *Sweden*, to the Biſhops of *Cologn* and *Munſter*, and ſome other Princes of *Germany*; by their Armies in *Germany*, and the new Conqueſts in *Holland*; all which returns no more into *France*, as Money did in their former Wars with *Spain*, that were made chiefly upon their Confines; for then the Pays of their Armies being made only in the Winter-quarters, which were in *France* or its Frontiers, the Money fell back again into the Circulation of their own Country; yet now their Expence muſt upon a *Spaniſh* War be increaſed by new Armies in *Catalonia* and *Italy*, and new Fleets in the *Mediterranean*; ſo that all theſe Circumſtances, with the general Decay of Trade by the War, muſt in few Years time leave that Kingdom poorer than it has been this Age; and where Money is not, the King of *France* himſelf cannot have it.

For what Supplies may come from the Parliament towards carrying on the War, ſome few Days I ſuppoſe will inform us; and no Meaſures can be

taken, unleſs by what paſt in the former Seſſion, which was not very favourable to that Deſign.

For the Credit of the Exchequer (at leaſt to any Meaſure that may ſupply the Courſe of Neceſſities of a War) I fear it is irrecoverably loſt by the laſt Breach with the Bankers; for Credit is gained by Cuſtom and Courſe of Time, and ſeldom recovers a Strain; but if broken, is never well ſet again. I have heard a great Example given of this (by ſome of our Merchants) that happened upon the laſt King's ſeizing 200000*l.* that was in the Mint about the Year 38, which had then the Credit of a Bank, and for ſeveral Years had been the Treaſury of all the veſt Payments tranſmitted from *Spain* to *Flanders*. But after this Invaſion of it, though the King paid back the Money within very few Months, yet the Mint has never ſince recovered its Credit among Foreign Merchants.

If the Buſineſs of Money ſhould happen to go lame upon any or all of theſe Feet, then all that will be left to carry on the War is the Humour of the Nation: And that ſometimes may go farther than any Treaſures, if ſpirited by Hatred or Revenge, by the Love of Religion or Liberty, or the Neceſſity of Defence: But the good Will of the Nation to the preſent War (as it was foreſeen by thoſe who gave the deſperate Counſels of beginning it with the Proroguing of the Parliament, and ſtopping of the Exchequer; ſo it) has been ſince but too much experienced by the Succeſſes that have attended it, which will ever depend upon the Humours and Opinions of thoſe that ſerve, as well as the Abilities and Conduct of thoſe that command; and not to ſpeak of thoſe incurable Jealouſies which have been ſo generally raiſed or infuſed into the People about the firſt Deſigns of this War, and ſo much encreaſe by the Profeſſions or Actions, or at leaſt the general Reputation of thoſe who paſs for the chief Authors of it: 'Tis at leaſt obſervable, that after ſo long Hoſtility, and four Battles, yet the Nation does not ſeem at all to be angry, though that is the firſt thing ſhould be brought about, if we would have Men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a Breach with *Spain* ſhould make us any kinder to the War than we were before; ſince that muſt grow wholly upon Occaſion of the *French*, we having no Quarrel there of our own. And our Kindneſs to *France* will ſpirit us as little as our Hatred to *Spain*, at leaſt till their Fortunes change, and the Balance riſe again on the *Spaniſh* ſide, which has riſen ſo long and to ſuch a Height on the *French*; for by the Courſe of Human Nature there will ever be a degree of Hatred mingled with Fear, and of Kindneſs with Compaſſion.

Upon the Survey of theſe Proviſions and Diſpoſitions, it muſt be concluded neceſſary for His Majeſty either to make a Peace, or elſe to turn the War directly upon ſuch Points of Honour, Juſtice and Safety, as may ingage both the Parliament and Nation in the Support and Proſecution of the War. And to do this, he muſt indeed offer at a Peace, and upon Terms into which the Humour and Spirit of the Nation will run.

The Conjunction now paſſed between *Holland* and *Spain* ſeems the happieſt Thing that could have arrived to His Majeſty's Affairs upon this Occaſion; for whilſt *Holland* ſtood alone, in caſe we had been forced to offer at any Meaſures with them, *France* might upon the firſt Jealouſie have been before Us, and ſlipping one Knot might have tyed another in three Days time. But now the Intereſts of the *Empire*, *Spain* and *Lorrain* are woven together with thoſe of *Holland*, it will not be a ſhort and eaſie Work to adjuſt thoſe of *France* with the Emperor in the Matters of *Alſatia*, with *Spain* in *Flanders*, or the Duke of *Lorrain* in that *Dutchy*; nor is the Conjunction between *Holland* and their Allies likely to be broken, unleſs by the Revolutions of War the *Dutch* come to apprehend a near and greater Danger from *Spain*, in which caſe they will not fail of returning to their old Meaſures with *France*.

The firſt Peace which ſeems neceſſary for his Majeſty to make, is to fall into Confidence with *Spain* as far as poſſible he can, by aſſuring them he reſolves upon a Neutrality in the War between them and *France*; that if he

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comes to Peace with *Holland*, he intends it shall pass by their Mediation; and if that be effected, he will imploy his own towards the general Peace of *Christendom*, and particularly that between *France* and *Spain*.

The next Point is to resolve upon the Conditions necessary to a Peace; the best Way to this is to seek without Passion where the Justice lies, and the true Interests of His Majesty's Crowns, as it is generally understood by his People, of which the Sense of his Parliament is the best Testimony; for their Concurrence will give Weight to his Demands of Peace, or to the Support of a War.

Between Us and *Holland* the Points of Justice must be grounded upon the Infraction of Treaties, and so will reach only to the Business of the Flag and of *Surinam*. For the Flag, it has been agreed by three several Treaties in the same Form; but the Articles still referring to former Use, it remains to discuss and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the Manner and Circumstances of observing it. Without this, no Peace we can have will seem to be made with Intentions to keep it long, while the Interpretation of that Article about the Flag is a Ground at Pleasure for opening a War. And this Point can only be gained by a separate Peace between Us and *Holland*; for if the War should come to end in a general Treaty, like that of *Munster*, as His Majesty's Interest would be less considered in a Croud of so many others, and would hardly be suffered to obstruct a general Peace; so this Right of the Flag in particular would be at least disavoured, if not opposed, by our Friends as well as our Enemies, that is, by *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*.

The Business of *Surinam* is a Trifle, and the Disputes upon it arose rather from an unkind and jealous Humour growing between the Nations, than from any Difference or Difficulty in adjusting it; so as that is not a Thing will lie much in the Way, being soon decided by plain Articles upon the Surrender of the Place.

There are two Points more wherein the Honour and Interest of the Nation is concerned, and ought to be insisted upon, so far at least as to find a Temper in them, though they can hardly be said to be Points of Justice, because they are not regulated by Treaties. The first is the Point of the *East-India* Trade, wherein we desire new Agreements between us, upon Suspicion of what may happen, rather than complain of any Breach of the Old; and though our *East-India* Company never urged their Desires as a just Ground for a Quarrel, yet a great deal might have been gained in this Point from the *Dutch*, while they depended upon our Alliance; and I suppose may be still, if we fall into it again.

The Second is an Acknowledgment to His Majesty for the Leave of Fishing upon His Coasts; and though this may not be grounded upon any Treaty, yet if it appear to have been an Ancient Right on our Side, and Custom on theirs, and not determined or extinguished by any Treaty between us, it may with Justice be insisted on; though it will pass harder with the *Dutch* than any of the rest, who will much easier be induced to buy off the Pretence with a great Sum of Money at one or more Payments, than acknowledge it by a constant Tribute.

The last Thing his Majesty can demand from *Holland*, is Money for the Charges of the War. But unless the Justice or Necessity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak Ground. And if we expected Money, it must be to purchase what is to come, and not to pay for what is past: And it is very probable, that if His Majesty should resolve with a Peace of *Holland* to enter into a Mediation between *France* and *Spain* upon the evident Points of Justice between them, and to joyn against that Crown which refuses the Peace, both *Spain* and *Holland* would be content to part with their Money upon such an Agreement. But the Measure and Manner must be left to private Treaty, and would depend upon the Confidence between us.

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Whatever in any of these Points, or any other His Majesty should be content to release, ought to be done upon the Satisfaction he should declare to have received in the Advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Charges of his Ancestors. But for His Majesty to insist upon any further Advantages to the Prince than are already devolved upon him, would not only raise invincible Difficulties in our Treaty with the States, but prejudice the Prince's Affairs among them in a very great Measure. And the Prince, I believe, knows their Constitution so well, as to understand it so.

If upon good Terms, in these Particulars, a Peace can be effected with *Holland*, the Honour of this Crown will certainly be provided for, and the Interest of it to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the Events of the War; since we should be left in Peace to enjoy the Trade of the World, while the House of *Austria* and *Holland* would be ingaged in a long War with *France*; and whenever they grow weary, His Majesty would have the Glory and Advantage of Mediating the Peace.

For the Measures to be observed in all this with *France*, and the preserving His Majesty's Honour on that side; First, the Humour of the Parliament as to this War, and the Interest of the Nation in the Trade with *Spain*, ought to be represented to them as Difficulties invincible, unless *France* can furnish the Charge which the War will cost beyond what can be spared out of His Majesty's constant Revenue. Then His Majesty may propose to them his Design of Neutrality between them and *Spain*; which, I suppose, was not a Point that entered into any Agreements against *Holland*. And lastly, He may desire their Consent, since he cannot prosecute the War, to make His Peace with *Holland*, upon the Assurance of imploying afterwards his Mediation between them and *Spain*, in what the Concurrence of His Parliament will make him able to effect a Peace, as the want of it has made him unable to pursue the War. If *France* will not consent either to furnish us with Money sufficient to carry on the War, nor to our Neutrality with *Spain*, nor Peace with *Holland*; it would then be considered, whether *France* in the like Case would suffer such a Conjuncture as this to escape them upon any Ties or Treaties between us; or whether indeed any Prince or State would do so. A Conjuncture whereby the Honour and Interest of his Majesty's Crown may be provided for; the Trade of the Nation raised to a height it has not reached before; the passionate Bent and Humour of the People pleased, and their Jealousies in a great measure allayed; the true Balance of *Christendom* maintained, all the Princes and States of it (besides *France* alone) satisfied: And in short, by which His Majesty may grow again insensibly into the Hearts of his People at Home, and into the Influence upon all Affairs of His Neighbours Abroad.

It is a rude Thing which is commonly said, that we may come off from *France* with as much Honour as we came on. But it is a true Thing, that he has always the Honour of the War, that has the Advantage of it; and 'tis, I doubt, so of a Peace too, and that cannot fail us here, provided we make sure of *Spain* (in case we apprehend our losing of *France*) to which their Dispositions and Interests must certainly concur with ours in all Points, unless that of *Jamaica* make an Exception.

All the Difficulty His Majesty can meet with in this Pursuit, will be some want of Reputation and Trust with the Governments of *Spain* and *Holland*, which have been foiled of late by the Breach of our former Alliances, so much (as they think) against our own Interests as well as theirs; for all Treaties are grounded upon the common Belief, that every State will be ever found in their own Interests, among which their Honour and Observance of Faith grows to be one very considerable (because while the Minds of Men are generally possess'd with a Belief of God Almighty's concerning himself in Affairs here below, the Opinion of Justice or Injustice in a Quarrel will never fail of having mighty Effect upon the Successes of a War:) Therefore our Reputation cannot any way be so far recovered with our Neigh-

Neighbours, as by their finding that His Majeſty's Councils return into the true Intereſts of His Kingdoms; which will make the *Spaniards* believe our Meaſures may be firm with them, upon the ſame Reaſon which has ſhaken them with *France*. Thus much is certain, that whatever Means will reſtore, or raiſe the Credit of His Majeſty's Government at Home, will do it Abroad too: For a King of *England* at the Head of his Parliament and People, and in their Hearts and Intereſts, can never fail of making what Figure he pleaſes in the World, nor of being ſafe and eaſie at Home; and may deſpiſe all the Deſigns of factious Men, who can only make themſelves conſidered by ſeeming to be in the Intereſt of the Nation, when the Court ſeems to be out of it. But in running on Counſels contrary to the general Humour and Spirit of the People, the King indeed may make His Miniſters great Subjects, but they can never make him a great Prince.

TO THE

COUNTESS OF ESSEX,

UPON

Her Grief occaſioned by the Loſs of Her only Daughter.

Shene, Jan. 29, 1674.

THE Honour I received by a Letter from your Ladyſhip, was too great and too ſenſible not to be acknowledged; but yet I doubted whether that Occaſion could bear me out in the Confidence of giving your Ladiſhip any further Troubles of this kind, without as good an Errand as my laſt. This I have reckoned upon a good while, by another Viſit my Siſter and I had deſigned to my Lord *Capell*. How we came to have deferr'd it ſo long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this diſtance, though we make our ſelves believe it could not be help'd. Your Ladyſhip at leaſt has had the Advantage of being thereby excuſed ſome time from this Trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the ſenſible Wounds that have ſo often of late been given your Friends here by ſuch deſperate Expreſſions in ſeveral of your Letters concerning your Humour, your Health, and your Life; in all which, if they are your Friends, you muſt allow them to be extreamly concerned. Perhaps none can be at Heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladyſhip, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very Occaſion, how unjuſt and unkind ſoever you are to your ſelf. But when you go about to throw away your Health, or your Life, ſo great a Remainder of your own Family, and ſo great Hopes of that into which you are entered, and all by a deſperate Melancholy, upon an Accident paſt Remedy, and to which all Mortal Race is perpetually ſubject: For God's Sake, Madam, give me leave to tell, that what you do is not at all agreeable either with ſo good a Chriſtian, or ſo reaſonable and ſo great a Perſon as your Ladyſhip appears to the World in all other Lights.

I know no Duty in Religion more generally agreed on, nor more juſtly required by God Almighty, than a perfect Submiſſion to his Will in all Things; nor do I think any Diſpoſition of Mind can either pleaſe him more, or become us better, than that of being ſatisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away. None, I am ſure, can be of more Honour to God, nor of more Eaſe to our ſelves; for if we conſider him as our Maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our Father, we ought not to diſturb him; ſo that we may be confident, whatever He does is intended for good, and

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whatever happens that we interpret otherwiſe, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor ſave any thing by reſiſting.

But if it were fit for us to reaſon with God Almighty, and your Ladyſhip's Loſs be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive; yet I doubt, you would have but ill Grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do; for the firſt Motions or Paſſions, how violent ſoever, may be pardoned; and it is only the Courſe of them which makes them inexcuſable. In this World, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good; and whatever is called ſo, is but either comparatively with other Things of its kind, or elſe with the Evil that is mingled in its Compoſition; ſo he is a good Man that is better than Men commonly are, or in whom the good Qualities are more than the bad; ſo in the Courſe of Life, his Condition is eſteemed good, which is better than that of moſt other Men, or wherein the good Circumſtances are more than the ill. By this Meaſure, I doubt, Madam, your Complaints ought to be turned into Acknowledgments, and your Friends would have Cauſe to rejoice rather than condole with you: For the Goods or Bleſſings of Life are uſually eſteemed to be Birth, Health, Beauty, Friends, Children, Honour, Riches. Now when your Ladyſhip has fairly conſidered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what he has given you of all theſe, you may be left to judge your ſelf how you dealt with him in your Complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you, and conſider other Lives as well as your own, and what your Lot is in compariſon with thoſe that have been drawn in the Circle of your Knowledge; if you think how few are born with Honour, how many die without Name or Children, how little Beauty we ſee, how few Friends we hear of, how many Diſeaſes, and how much Poverty there is in the World, you will fall down upon your Knees, and inſtead of repining at one Affliction, will admire ſo many Bleſſings as you have received at the Hand of God.

To put your Ladyſhip in mind of what you are, and the Advantages you have in all theſe Points, would look like a Deſign to flatter you: But this I may ſay, That we will pity you as much as you pleaſe, if you would tell us who they are that you think upon all Circumſtances you have Reaſon to envy. Now if I had a Maſter that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either becauſe I uſed it ill, or gave my ſelf ſo much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the reſt of the World; or perhaps becauſe he would ſhew his Power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the reſt; would you think I had much Reaſon to complain of hard Uſage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

'Tis true you have loſt a Child, and therein all that could be loſt in a Child of that Age; but you have kept one Child, and are likely to do ſo long; you have the Aſſurance of another, and the Hopes of many more. You have kept a Husband great in Employment, and in Fortune, and (which is more) in the Eſteem of good Men. You have kept your Beauty and your Health, unleſs you have deſtroyed them you ſelf, or diſcouraged them to ſtay with you by uſing them ill. You have Friends that are as kind to you as you can wiſh, or as you can give them leave to be by their Fears of loſing you, and being thereby ſo much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have Honour and Eſteem for all that know you; or, if ever it fails in any degree, 'tis only upon that Point of your ſeeming to be fallen out with God and the whole World, and neither to care for your ſelf, or any thing elſe, after what you have loſt.

You will ſay perhaps *that* one thing was all to you, and your Fondneſs of it made you indifferent to every thing elſe. But this, I doubt, will be ſo far from juſtifying you, that it will prove to be your Fault as well as your Misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the Bleſſings of Life, and you ſet your Heart wholly upon one, and deſpiſe or undervalue all the reſt: Is this his Fault or yours? Nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very ſcornful to the reſt of the World? Is it not to ſay, Becauſe you have

loſt one Thing God hath given you, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to ſay, ſince that one Thing is gone out of the World, there is nothing left in it which you think can deſerve your Kindneſs or Eſteem? A Friend makes me a Feaſt, and ſets all before me that his Care or Kindneſs could provide; but I ſet my Heart upon one Diſh alone, and if that happen to be thrown down, I ſcorn all the reſt; and tho' he ſends for another of the ſame, yet I riſe from the Table in a Rage, and ſay my Friend is my Enemy, and has done me the greateſt Wrong in the World: Have I Reaſon, Madam, or good Grace in what I do? Or would it become me better to eat of the reſt that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the Precepts of Chriſtianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our Paſſions, to temper our Affections towards all Things below; to be thankful for the Poſſeſſion, and patient under the Loſs whenever he that gave ſhall ſee fit to take away. Your extream Fondneſs was perhaps as diſpleaſing to God before, as now your extream Affliction; and your Loſs may have been a Puniſhment for your Faults in the manner of enjoying what you had. 'Tis at leaſt pious to aſcribe all the Ill that befalls us to our own Demerits, rather than to Injuſtice in God; and it becomes us better to adore all the Iſſues of his Providence in the Effects, than enquire into the Cauſes; For Submiſſion is the only Way of Reaſoning between a Creature and its Maker; and Contentment in his Will is the greateſt Duty we can pretend to, and the beſt Remedy we can apply to our Misfortunes.

But, Madam, tho' Religion were no Party in your Caſe, and that for ſo violent and injurious a Grief you had nothing to anſwer to God, but only to the World and your ſelf; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the World with us a poor, needy, uncertain Life, ſhort at the longeſt, and unquiet at at the beſt; all the Imaginations of the Witty and the Wiſe have been perpetually buſied to find out the Ways how to revive it with Pleaſures, or relieve it with Diverſions; how to compoſe it with Eaſe, and ſettle it with Safety. To ſome of theſe Ends have been imployed the Inſtitutions of Law-givers, the Reaſonings of Philoſophers, the Inventions of Poets, the Pains of labouring, and the Extravagances of voluptuous Men. All the World is perpetually at work about nothing elſe, but only that our poor mortal Lives ſhould paſs the eaſier and happier for that little time we poſſeſs them, or elſe end the better when we loſe them. Upon this Occaſion Riches came to be coveted, Honours to be eſteemed, Friendſhip and Love to be purſued, and Virtues themſelves to be admired in the World. Now, Madam, is it not to bid Defiance to all Mankind, to condemn their univerſal Opinions and Deſigns, if inſtead of paſſing your Life as well and eaſily, you reſolve to paſs it as ill and as miſerably as you can? You grow inſenſible to the Conveniences of Riches, the Delights of Honour and Praiſe, the Charms of Kindneſs or Friendſhip, nay to the Obſervance or Applauſe of Virtues themſelves; for who can you expect, in theſe Exceſſes of Paſſion, will allow you to ſhew either Temperance or Fortitude, to be either Prudent or Juſt? And for your Friends, I ſuppoſe, you reckon upon loſing their Kindneſs, when you have ſufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of yours, ſince you have none left for your ſelf or any thing elſe. You declare upon all Occaſions, you are incapable of receiving any Comfort or Pleaſure in any Thing that is left in this World; and I aſſure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no Hopes ever to pleaſe you.

Among the ſeveral Inquiries and Endeavours after the Happineſs of Life, the ſenſual Men agree in Purſuit of every Pleaſure they can ſtart, without regarding the Pains of the Chaſe, the Wearineſs when it ends, or how little the Quarry is worth. The buſie and ambitious fall into the more laſting Purſuits of Power and Riches; the ſpeculative Men prefer Tranquillity of Mind, before the different Motions of Paſſion and Appetite, or the common Succeſſion of Deſire and Satiety, of Pleaſure and Pain; but this may ſeem too dull a Principle for the Happineſs of Life, which is ever in Motion; and

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Paſſions are perhaps the Stings, without which they ſay no Honey is made; yet I think all ſorts of Men have ever agreed, they ought to be our Servants, and not our Maſters; to give us ſome Agitation for Entertainment or Exerciſe, but never to throw our Reaſon out of its Seat. Perhaps I would not always ſit ſtill, or would be ſometimes on Horſe-back; but I would never ride a Horſe that galls my Fleſh, or ſhake my Bones, or that runs away with me as he pleaſes, ſo as I can neither ſtop at a River or Precipice. Better no Paſſions at all, than have them too violent; or ſuch alone, as inſtead of heightening our Pleaſures, afford us nothing but Vexation and Pain.

In all ſuch Loſſes as your Ladyſhip's has been, there is ſomething that common Nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good Nature may be allowed; but all exceſſive and outrageous Grief or Lamentation for the Dead, was accounted among the Ancient Chriſtians to have ſomething of Heatheniſh; and among the Civil Nations of Old, to have ſomething of Barbarous; and therefore it has been the Care of the firſt to moderate it by their Precepts, and the latter to reſtrain it by their Law. The longeſt Time that has been allowed to the Forms of Mourning by the Cuſtom of any Country, and in any Relation, has been but that of a Year, in which Space the Body is commonly ſuppoſed to be mouldered away to Earth, and to retain no more Figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the Loſs of Parents, of Husband, or Wife. On the other ſide, to Children under Age, nothing has been allowed; and I ſuppoſe with particular Reaſon (the common Ground of all general Cuſtoms;) perhaps becauſe they die in Innocence, and without having taſted the Miſeries of Life, ſo as we are ſure they are well when they leave us, and eſcape much Ill which would in all Appearance have befallen them if they had ſtaid longer with us. Beſides, a Parent may have twenty Children, and ſo his Mourning may run through all the beſt of his Life, if his Loſſes are frequent of that kind; and our Kindneſs to Children ſo young, is taken to proceed from common Opinions, or fond Imaginations, not Friendſhip or Eſteem; and to be grounded upon Entertainment, rather than Uſe in the many Offices of Life; nor would it paſs from any Perſon beſides your Ladyſhip, to ſay you loſt a Companion and a Friend at nine Year old, though you loſt one indeed, who gave the faireſt Hopes that could be of being both in time, and every thing elſe that was eſtimable and good: But yet, that it ſelf God only knows, conſidering the Changes of Humour and Diſpoſition, which are as great as thoſe of Feature and Shape the firſt ſixteen Years of our Lives, conſidering the Chances of Time, the Infection of Company, the Snares of the World, and the Paſſions of Youth; ſo that the moſt excellent and agreeable Creature of that tender Age, and that ſeemed born under the happieſt Stars, might by the Courſe of Years and Accidents come to be the moſt miſerable her ſelf, and more Trouble to her Friends by living long, than ſhe could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, Madam, I think your Loſs ſo great, and ſome Meaſure of your Grief ſo deſerved, that would all your paſſionate Complaints, all the Anguiſh of your Heart do any thing to retrieve it; could Tears water the lovely Plant, ſo as to make it grow again after once 'tis cut down; would Sighs furniſh new Breath, or could it draw Life and Spirits from the waſting of yours; I am ſure your Friends would be ſo far from accuſing your Paſſion, that they would encourage it as much, and ſhare it as deep as they could. But alas! the eternal Laws of the Creation extinguiſh all ſuch Hopes, forbid all ſuch Deſigns: Nature gives us many Children and Friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the Exceſſes of Grief to have been ſo univerſally condemned as a Thing unnatural, becauſe ſo much in vain; whereas Nature they ſay does nothing in vain: As a Thing ſo unreaſonable, becauſe ſo contrary to our own Deſigns; for we all deſign to be well, and at Eaſe, and by Grief we make our ſelves ill of imaginary Wounds, and raiſe our ſelves Troubles moſt properly out of the Duſt, whilſt our Ravings and Complaints are but like Arrows ſhot up into the Air, at no Mark, and ſo to no

no purpoſe, but only to fall back upon our Heads, and deſtroy our ſelves inſtead of recovering or revenging our Friends.

Perhaps, Madam, you will ſay, this is your Deſign, or if not, your Deſire; but I hope you are not yet ſo far gone, or ſo deſperately bent: Your Ladyſhip knows very well, your Life is not your own, but his that lent it you to manage, and preſerve the beſt you could, and not to throw it away, as if it came from ſome common Hand. It belongs in a great meaſure to your Country, and your Family; and therefore by all human Laws, as well as Divine, Self-murder has ever been agreed on as the greateſt Crime, and is puniſh'd here with the utmoſt Shame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the Dead. But is the Crime much leſs to kill ourſelves by a ſlow Poiſon, than by a ſudden Wound? Now if we do it, and know we do it by a long and a continual Grief, can we think our ſelves innocent? What great Difference is there if we break our Hearts, or conſume them; if we pierce them, or bruiſe them; ſince all determines in the ſame Death, as well as ariſes from the ſame Deſpair? But what if it goes not ſo far? 'Tis not indeed ſo bad as might be, but that does not excuſe it from being very ill: Though I do not kill my Neighbour, is it no Hurt to wound him, or to ſpoil him of the Conveniences of Life? The greateſt Crime is for a Man to kill himſelf; is it a ſmall one to wound himſelf by Anguiſh of Heart, by Grief, or Deſpair, to ruin his Health, to ſhorten his Age, to deprive himſelf of all the Pleaſures, or Eaſes, or Enjoyments of Life?

Next to the Miſchiefs we do our ſelves, are thoſe we do our Children, and our Friends, as thoſe who deſerve beſt of us, or at leaſt deſerve no Ill. The Child you carry about you, what has that done, that you ſhould endeavour to deprive it of Life, almoſt as ſoon as you beſtow it? Or if at the beſt you ſuffer it to live to be born, yet by your ill Uſage of your ſelf, ſhould ſo much impair the Strength of its Body and Health, and perhaps the very Temper of its Mind, by giving it ſuch an Infuſion of Melancholy, as may ſerve to diſcolour the Objects, and diſreliſh the Accidents it may meet with in the common Train of Life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you ſay to another you are? Were it a ſmall Injury to my Lord *Capel*, to deprive him of a Mother, from whoſe Prudence and Kindneſs he may juſtly expect the Cares of his Health and Education, the forming of his Body, and the cultivating of his Mind; the Seeds of Honour and Virtue, and thereby the true Principles of a happy Life? How has my Lord of *Eſſex* deſerved, that you ſhould go about to loſe Him a Wife he loves with ſo much Paſſion, and, which is more, with ſo much Reaſon; ſo great an Honour and Support to his Family, ſo great a Hope to his Fortune, and Comfort to his Life? Are there ſo many left to your own Great Family, that you ſhould deſire in a manner wholly to reduce it by ſuffering the greateſt and almoſt laſt Branch of it to wither away before its Time? Or is your Country in this Age ſo ſtored with great Perſons, that you ſhould envy it thoſe we may juſtly expect from ſo noble a Race?

Whilſt I had any Hopes your Tears would eaſe you, or that your Grief would conſume it ſelf by Liberty and Time, your Ladyſhip knows very well I never once accuſed it, nor ever encreaſed it, like many others, by the common formal Ways of aſſwaging it; and this I am ſure is the firſt Office of this kind I ever went about to perform otherwiſe than in the moſt ordinary Forms. I was in hopes what was ſo violent, could not be ſo long; but I obſerved it to grow ſtronger with Age, and encreaſe like a Stream the further it run; when I ſaw it draw out ſo much unhappy Conſequences, and threaten no leſs than your Child, your Health, and your Life; I could no longer forbear this Endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladyſhip for God's Sake and for your own, for your Childrens and your Friends, for your Country's and your Family's, that you would no longer abandon your ſelf to ſo diſconſolate a Paſſion; but that you would at length awaken your Piety, give way to your Prudence, or at leaſt rouſe up the invincible Spirit of the *Pierces*, that never yet ſhrunk at any Diſaſter; that you would ſometimes

times remember the great Honours and Fortunes of your Family, not always the Losses; cherish those Veins of good Humour that are sometimes so natural to you, and sear up those of ill that would make you so unnatural to your Children, and to your self: But above all, that you would enter upon the Cares of your Health, and your Life, for your Friend's Sake at least, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me so great an Honour and Satisfaction, as if your Ladyship would own me to have contributed towards this Cure; but however, none can perhaps more justly pretend to your Pardon for the Attempt, since there is none, I am sure, that has always had at Heart a greater Honour for your Ladyship's Family, not can have for your Person more Devotion and Esteem than,

MADAM,

Your Ladyship's most Obedient

and most Humble Servant.

ESSAY

Upon the CURE of the

GOUT

BY

MOXA.

Written to Monsieur de ZULICHEM.

Nimeguen, June 18, 1677.

I Never thought it would have befallen me to be the first that should try a new Experiment, any more than to be Author of any new Invention; being little inclined to practise upon others, and as little that others should practise upon me. The same Warmth of Head disposes Men to both, though one be commonly esteemed an Honour, and the other a Reproach. I am sorry the first, and the worst of the two, is fallen to my share, by which all a Man can hope is to avoid Censure, and that is much harder than to gain Applause: For this may be done by one great or wise Action in an Age; but to avoid Censure a Man must pass his Life without saying or doing one ill or foolish Thing.

This might serve the Turn, if all Men were just; but as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that 'tis the idlest Pretension in the World to live without it; the meanest Subject censuring the Actions of the greatest Prince; the sillies Servants of the wisest Master; and young Children of the oldest Parents. Therefore I have not troubled my self to give any Account of an Experiment I made by your Persuasion, to satisfie those who imputed it to Folly, Rashness or Impatience; but to satisfie you who proposed the Thing in kindness to me, and desired the Relation of it, in kindness to other Men.

I confess your engaging me first in this Adventure of the *Moxa*, and desiring the Story of it from me, is like giving one the Torture, and then asking his Confession; which is hard Usage to an innocent Man and a Friend. Besides, having

having ſuffered the firſt, I took my ſelf to have a Right of refuſing the other. But I find your Authority with me is too great to be diſputed in either; and the Pretence of publick Good is a Cheat that will ever paſs in the World, though ſo often abuſed by ill Men, that I wonder the good do not grow aſhamed to uſe it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you asked, and cannot but ſay that I have done, as well as ſuffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the Story with the more Circumſtance, becauſe many queſtioned the Diſeaſe, that they might not allow of the Cure; though the Certainty of one, and Force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two Returns ſince I left you at the *Hague*, which paſt with the ſame Succeſs. The Reaſonings upon this Method, which ſeem to confirm the Experiment, and other Remedies for the *Gout* here reflected on, are aimed at the ſame End for which you ſeemed ſo much to deſire this Relation. The Digreſſions I cannot excuſe otherwiſe, than by the Confidence that no Man will read them, who has not at leaſt as much leiſure as I had when I writ them; and whoſoever diſlikes, or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For thoſe about Temperance, Age, or their Effects and Periods in reference to publick Buſineſs, they could be better addreſs'd to none, than to you, who have paſt the longeſt Life with the moſt Temperance, and the beſt Health and Humour of any Man I know; and having run through ſo much great and publick Buſineſs, have found out the Secret ſo little known, that there is a Time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one Piece of Merit in this Relation, which is to have writ it for you in *Engliſh*, being the Language I always obſerved to have moſt of your Kindneſs among ſo many others of your Acquaintance. If your Partiality to that, and to me, and to your own Requeſt, will not excuſe all the Faults of this Paper, I have nothing more to ſay for it, and ſo will leave you to judge of it as you pleaſe.

AMong all the Diſeaſes to which the Intemperance of this Age diſpoſes it (at leaſt in theſe Northern Climates) I have obſerved none to encreaſe ſo much within the Compaſs of my Memory and Converſation, as the *Gout*; nor any, I think, of worſe conſequence to Mankind; becauſe it falls generally upon Perſons engaged in publick Affairs and great Imployments, upon whoſe Thoughts and Cares (if not their Motions and their Pains) the common Good and Service of their Country ſo much depends. The General Officers of Armies, the Governours of Provinces, the publick Miniſters in Counſels at home, and Embaſſies abroad (that have fallen in my way) being generally ſubject to it in one degree or other. I ſuppoſe the Reaſon of this may be, that Men ſeldom come into thoſe Poſts till after forty Years old, about which time the natural Heat beginning to decay, makes way for thoſe Diſtempers they are moſt inclined to by their Native Conſtitutions, or by their Cuſtoms and Habits of Life. Beſides, Perſons in thoſe Poſts are uſually born of Families Noble and Rich, and ſo derive a Weakneſs of Conſtitution from the Eaſe and Luxury of their Anceſtors, and the Delicacy of their own Education: Or if not, yet the Plenty of their Fortunes from thoſe very Imployments, and the general Cuſtom of living in them at ſuch Expence, engages Men in the conſtant Uſe of great Tables, and in frequent Exceſſes of ſeveral Kinds, which muſt end in Diſeaſes when the Vigour of Youth is paſt, and the Force of Exerciſe (that ſerved before to ſpend the Humour) is given over for a ſedentary and unactive Life.

Theſe I take to be the Reaſons of ſuch Perſons being ſo generally ſubject to ſuch Accidents more than other Men; and they are ſo plain, that they muſt needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill Conſequence of it is not ſo obvious, tho' perhaps as evident to Men that obſerve; and may be equally confirmed by Reaſons and Examples. It is that the Vigour of the Mind decays with that of the Body, and not only Humour and Invention, but even Judgment and Reſolution, change and languiſh, with ill Conſtitution of Body, and

of

of Health; and by this means publick Buſineſs comes to ſuffer by private Infirmities, and Kingdoms or States fall into Weakneſſes and Diſtempers or Decays of thoſe Perſons that manage them.

Within theſe fifteen Years paſt, I have known a great Fleet diſabled for two Months, and thereby loſe great Occaſions, by an Indiſpoſition of the Admiral, while he was neither well enough to exerciſe, nor ill enough to leave the Command. I have known two Towns of the greateſt Conſequence loſt contrary to all Forms, by the Governour's falling ill in the Time of the Sieges.

I have obſerved the Fate of *Campania* determine contrary to all appearances, by the Caution and Conduct of a General, which were attributed by thoſe that knew him, to his Age and Infirmities, rather than his own true Qualities, acknowledged otherwiſe to have been as great as moſt Men of the Age. I have ſeen the Counſels of a Noble Country grow bold, or timorous, according to the Fits of his good or ill Health that managed them, and the Pulſe of the Government beat high or low with that of the Governour; and this unequal Conduct makes way for great Accidents in the World: Nay, I have often reflected upon the Counſels and Fortunes of the greateſt Monarchies riſing and decaying ſenſibly with the Ages and Healths of the Princes and chief Officers that governed them. And I remember one great Miniſter that confeſſed to me, when he fell into one of his uſual Fits of the *Gout*, He was no longer able to bend his Mind or Thoughts to any publick Buſineſs, nor give Audiences beyond two or three of his own Domeſticks, though it were to ſave a Kingdom; and that this proceeded not from any Violence of Pain, but from a general Languiſhing and Faintneſs of Spirits, which made him in thoſe Fits think nothing worth the Trouble of one careful or ſolicitous Thought. For the Approaches or Lurkings of the *Gout*, the *Spleen*, or the *Scurvy*, nay the very Fumes of Indigeſtion, may indiſpoſe Men to Thought and to Care, as well as Diſeaſes of Danger and Pain.

Thus Accidents of Health grow to be Accidents of State, and publick Conſtitutions come to depend in a great meaſure upon thoſe of particular Men; which makes it perhaps ſeem neceſſary in the Choice of Perſons for great Imployments (at leaſt ſuch as require conſtant Application and Pains) to conſider their Bodies as well as their Minds, and Ages and Health as well as their Abilities.

When I was younger than I am, and thereby a worſe Judge of Age, I have often ſaid, that what great Thing ſoever Man propoſed to do in his Life, he ſhould think of atchieving it by fifty Years old. Now I am approaching that Age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no Man rides to an End of that Stage without feeling his Journey in all Parts, whatever Diſtinctions are made between the Mind and the Body, between Judgment and Memory. And though I have known ſome few, who might perhaps be of uſe in Council upon great Occaſions, till after Threeſcore and Ten; and have heard that the two late Miniſters in *Spain*, Counts of *Caſtriglio* and *Pignoranda*, were ſo till Fourſcore: Yet I will not anſwer, that the very Conduct of publick Affairs, under their Miniſtry, has not always taſted of the Lees of their Age.

I obſerve in this Aſſembly at *Nimeguen*, from ſo many ſeveral Parts of *Chriſtendom*, that of One and Twenty Ambaſſadors, there are but three above fifty Years old, which ſeems an Argument, of my Opinion being in a manner general: Nor can I think the Period ill calculated, at leaſt for a great General of Armies, or Miniſter of State, in Times or Scenes of great Action, when the Care of the State or an Army ought to be conſtant as the *Chymicks* Fire, to make any great Production; and if it goes out for an Hour, perhaps the whole Operation fails. Now I doubt whether any Man after Fifty be capable of ſuch conſtant Application of Thought, any more than of long and violent Labour or Exerciſe, which that certainly is, and of the fineſt Parts. Beſides, none that feel ſenſibly the Decays of Age, and

his

his Life wearing off, can figure to himſelf thoſe imaginary Charms in Riches and Praiſe, that Men are apt to do in the Warmth of their Blood; and thoſe are the uſual Incentives towards the Attempt of great Dangers and Support of great Trouble and Pains.

To confirm this by Examples, I have heard that Cardinal *Mazarine*, about Five and Fifty, found it was time to give over: That the preſent Grand *Vizier*, who paſſes for one of the greateſt Men of that Empire, or this Age, began his Miniſtry about Twenty Eight; and the greateſt I have obſerved, which was that of *Mounſieur de Witt*, began at Three and Thirty, and laſted to Forty Eight, and could not, I believe, have gone on many Years longer at that Height, even without that fatal End. Among other Qualities which enter'd into the Compoſition of this Miniſter, the great Care he had of his Health, and the little of his Life, were not, I think, the leaſt conſiderable; ſince from the firſt he derived his great Temperance, as well as his great Boldneſs and Conſtancy from the other. And if Intemperance be allowed to be the common Mother of *Gout*, or *Dropſie*, and of *Scurvy*, and moſt other lingering Diſeaſes, which are thoſe that infeſt the States; I think Temperance deſerves the firſt Rank among publick Virtues, as well as thoſe of private Men; and doubt whether any can pretend to the conſtant ſteddy Exerciſe of Prudence, Juſtice, or Fortitude, without it.

Upon theſe Grounds, whoever can propoſe a Way of Curing, or Preventing the *Gout* (which enter'd chiefly into thoſe Examples I have mentioned of publick Affairs ſuffering by private Indiſpoſitions) would perhaps do a Service to Princes and States, as well as to particular Men; which makes me the more willing to tell my Story, and talk out of my Trade, being ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with a Belief, that what I have tried, or thought, or heard upon this Subject, may grow a great Way in preventing the Growth of this Diſeaſe where it is but new, though perhaps longer Methods are neceſſary to deal with it when 'tis old.

From my Grandfather's Death I had reaſon to apprehend the *Stone*, and from my Father's Life the *Gout*, who has been for this many Years, and ſtill continues much afflicted with it. The firſt Apprehenſion has been, I confeſs, with me ever the ſtrongeſt, and the other hardly in my Thoughts, having never deſerved it by the uſual Forms, nor had I ever, I thank God, the leaſt Threat from either of them, till the laſt Year at the *Hague*, being then in the ſeven and fortieth Year of my Age; when about the End of *February*, one Night at Supper, I felt a ſudden Pain in my right Foot, which from the firſt Moment it began, encreaſed ſenſibly, and in an Hour's Time to that degree, that though I ſaid nothing, yet others took Notice of it in my Face, and ſaid they were ſure I was not well, and would have had me go to Bed. I confeſs'd I was in pain, and thought it was with ſome Sprain at Tennis: I pulled off my Shoo, and with ſome Eaſe that gave me, ſtir'd not till the Company broke up, which was about three Hours after my Pain began. I went away to Bed, but it raged ſo much all Night, that I could not ſleep a wink. I endured it till about Eight next Morning, in hopes ſtill of ſtealing ſome Reſt; but then making my Complaints, and ſhewing my Foot, they found it very red and angry; and to relieve my Extremity of Pain, began to apply common Poltices to it; and by the frequent Change of them I found ſome Eaſe, and continued this Exerciſe all that Day, and a great Part of the following Night, which I paſs'd with very little Reſt. The Morning after, my Foot began to ſwell, and the Violence of my Pain to aſſwage, though it left ſuch a Soreneſs, that I could hardly ſuffer the Cloaths of my Bed, nor ſtir my Foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my Illneſs being enquired after about the Town, was concluded to be the *Gout*; and being no longer Feveriſh, or in any Extremity of Pain, I was content to ſee Company. Every body that came to viſit me, found ſomething to ſay upon the Occaſion; ſome made a Jeſt of it, or a little Reproach; others were ſerious in their Mirth, and made me Compliments as upon a happy Accident and Sign of long Life. The *Spaniards* ask'd me

Albricias for telling me the News, that I might be ſure 'twas the *Gout*; and in ſhort, none of the Company was in ill Humour but I, who had rather by half have had a Fever or a worſe Diſeaſe at that Time, where the Danger might have been greater, but the Trouble and the Melancholy would, I am ſure, have been leſs.

Though I had never feared the *Gout*, yet I had always ſcorned it as an Effect commonly of Intemperance; and hated it, as what I thought made Men unfit for any Thing after they were once deep engaged in it: Beſides, I was preſs'd in my Journey at that Time to *Nimeguen* by his Majeſty's Commands, to aſſiſt at the Treaty there. Moſt of the Ambaſſadors from the ſeveral Parts of *Chriſtendom* were upon their Way: One of my *Collegues* was already upon the Place, and I had promiſed immediately to follow; for by our Commiſſion we were to be two to act in that Mediation; and to help at this Pinch, I had always heard that a Fit of the *Gout* uſed to have ſix Weeks at the leaſt for its ordinary Period. With theſe Comforts about me, and Sullenneſs enough to uſe no Remedy of a hundred that were told me, Monſieur *Zulichem* came to ſee me (among the reſt of my Friends) who, I think, never came into Company without ſaying ſomething that was new, and ſo he did upon my Occaſion. For talking of my Illneſs, and approving of my Obſtinacy againſt all the common Preſcriptions; he ask'd me whether I had never heard the *Indian* Way of curing the *Gout* by *Moxa*? I told him no, and asked him what it was? He ſaid it was a certain kind of Moſs that grew in the *Eaſt-Indies*; that their Way was, whenever any body fell into a Fit of the *Gout*, to take a ſmall Quantity of it, and form it into a Figure broad at bottom as a Two-Pence, and pointed at top; to ſet the Bottom exactly upon the Place where the Violence of the Pain was fixed; then with a ſmall round perfumed Match (made likewiſe in the *Indies*) to give Fire to the Top of the Moſs; which burning down by degrees, came at length to the Skin, and burnt it till the Moſs was conſumed to Aſhes: That many times the firſt Burning would remove the Pain; if not, it was to be renewed a ſecond, third, and fourth time, till it went away, and till the Perſon found he could ſet his Foot boldly to the Ground and walk.

I deſired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new Operation. He ſaid, by the Relation of ſeveral who had ſeen and tried it in the *Indies*, but particularly by an ingenious little Book, written of it by a *Dutch* Miniſter at *Batavia*, who being extreamly tormented with a Fit of the *Gout*, an old *Indian* Woman coming to ſee him, undertook to cure him, and did it immediately by this *Moxa*; and after many Experiments of it there, had written this Treatiſe of it in *Dutch* for the Uſe of his Countrymen, and ſent over a Quantity of the Moſs and Matches to his Son at *Utredht*, to be ſold, if any would be perſuaded to uſe them. That though he could not ſay whether Experiment had been made of it here, yet the Book was worth reading; and for his part, he thought he ſhould try it if ever he ſhould fall into that Diſeaſe.

I deſired the Book, which he promiſed to ſend me next Morning; and this Diſcourſe of Monſieur *Zulichem* buſied my Head all Night. I hated the very Name of the *Gout*, and thought it a Reproach; and for the good Sign People called it, I could not find that mended an ill Thing; nor could I like any Sign of living long in Weakneſs or in Pain. I deplored the Loſs of my Legs, and Confinement to my Chamber, at an Age that left me little Pleaſure but of Walking and of Air; but the worſt Circumſtance of all, was the Sentence paſs'd upon it of being without Cure.

I had paſs'd Twenty Years of my Life, and ſeveral Accidents of Danger in my Health, without any Uſe of Phyſicians; and from ſome Experiments of my own, as well as much Reading and Thought upon that Subject, had reaſoned my ſelf into an Opinion, that the Uſe of them and their Methods (unleſs in ſome ſudden and acute Diſeaſe) was it ſelf a very great Venture; and that their greateſt Practiſers practiſed leaſt upon themſelves, or their Friends. I had ever quarrelled with their ſtudying Art more than Nature, and applying them-

themſelves to Methods, rather than to Remedies; whereas the Knowledge of the laſt is all that Nine Parts in Ten of the World have truſted to in all Ages.

But for the common Remedies of the *Gout*, I found Exceptions to them all; the Time of Purging was paſt with me, which otherwiſe I ſhould certainly have tried upon the Authority of the great *Hippocrates*, who ſays it ſhould be done upon the firſt Motion of the Humour in the *Gout*. For Poltices, I knew they allayed Pain; but withal, that they drew down the Humours, and ſupplied the Parts, thereby making the Paſſages wider, and apter to receive them in greater quantity; and I had often heard it concluded, that the Uſe of them ended in loſing that of one's Limbs, by weakening the Joynt upon every Fit. For Plaiſters that had any Effect, I thought it muſt be by diſperſing or repelling the Humours, which could not be done without endangering perhaps ſome other Diſeaſe of the Bowels, the Stomach, or the Head. Reſt and Warmth either of Cloaths or Bathings, I doubted would in a degree have the Effects of Poltices; and Sweating was proper for Prevention rather than Remedy. So that all I could end in with any Satisfaction, was Patience and Abſtinence; and though I eaſily reſolved of the laſt, yet the firſt was hard to be found in the Circumſtances of my Buſineſs as well as of my Health.

All this made me rave upon Monſieur *Zulichem*'s new Operation; and for the Way of curing by Fire, I found twenty Things to give me an Opinion of it. I remembered what I had read of the *Egyptians* of old, who uſed it in moſt Diſeaſes; and what I had often heard of that Practice ſtill continuing among the *Moors* of *Africk*; ſo that a Slave is ſeldom taken (as both *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* affirm) who has not many Scars of the Hot-Iron upon his Body, which they uſe upon moſt Diſtempers, but eſpecially thoſe of the Head, and conſequently in Phyſick as well as in Surgery. In the Time of the *Incas* Reign in *Peru* (which I take to have been one of the greateſt Conſtitutions of Abſolute Monarchy that has been in the World) no Compoſition was allowed by the Laws to be uſed in Point of Medicine, but only Simples proper to each Diſeaſe. Burning was much in uſe either by Natural or Artificial Fires; particularly for all Illneſs of Teeth, and Soreneſs or Swelling of the Gums (which they were ſubject to from their Nearneſs to the Sea) they had an Herb that never failed of curing it, and being laid to the Gums, burnt away all the Fleſh that was ſwelled or corrupted, and made way for new that came again as ſound as that of a Child. I remembered to have had my ſelf in my Youth, one cruel Wound cured by ſcalding Medicament, after it was grown ſo putrefied as to have (in the Surgeon's Opinion) endangered the Bone; and the violent Swelling and Bruiſe of another, taken away as ſoon as I received it, by ſcalding it with Milk. I remembered the Cure of Chilblanes when I was a Boy (which may be called the Childrens *Gout*) by burning at the Fire, or elſe by ſcalding Brine, that has (I ſuppoſe) the ſame Effect. I had heard of curing the Stings of Adders, and Bites of Mad-Dogs, by immediately burning the Part with a Hot-Iron; and of ſome ſtrange Cures of Frenzies, by eaſual Applications of Fire to the lower Patts; which ſeems reaſonable enough, by the violent Revulſion it may make of Humours from the Head; and agrees with the Opinions and Practice I mentioned before, of *Egypt* and *Africa*. Perhaps bliſtering in the Neck, and hot Pidgeons, may be in uſe among us upon the ſame Grounds; and in our Methods of Surgery, nothing is found of ſuch Effect in the Caſe of old Ulcers as Fire, which is certainly the greateſt Drawer and Drier, and thereby the greateſt Cleanſer that can be found. I knew very well, that in Diſeaſes of Cattle, there is nothing more commonly uſed nor with greater Succeſs; and concluded it was but a Tenderneſs to Mankind that made it leſs in uſe amongſt us, and which had introduced Corroſives and Cauſticks to ſupply the Place of it, which are indeed but artificial Fires.

I mention all theſe Reflections, to ſhew that the Experiment I reſolved to make, was upon Thought, and not Raſhneſs or Impatience (as thoſe called

it that would have diſſuaded me from it;) but the chief Reaſon was, that I liked no other, becauſe I knew they failed every Day, and left Men in Deſpair of being well cured of the Gout.

Next Morning I looked over the Book which Monſieur *Zulichem* had promiſed me, written by the Miniſter at *Batavia*. I pretended not to judge of the *Indian* Philoſophy, or Reaſonings upon the Cauſe of the *Gout*; but yet thought them as probable as thoſe of Phyſicians here; and liked them ſo much the better, becauſe it ſeems their Opinion in the Point is general among them, as well as their Method of Curing; whereas the Differences among ours are almoſt as many in both as there are Phyſicians that reaſon upon the Cauſes or practiſe upon the Cure of that Diſeaſe. They hold, that the Cauſe of the *Gout* is a malignant Vapour that falls upon the Joynt between the Bone and the Skin that covers it, which being the moſt ſenſible of all Parts of the Body, cauſes the Violence of the Pain. That the Swelling is no Part of the Diſeaſe, but only an Effect of it, and a Kindneſs in Nature, that, to relieve the Part affected, calls down Humours to damp the Malignity of the Vapour, and thereby aſſwage the Sharpneſs of the Pain; which ſeldom fails whenever the Part grows very much ſwelled. That conſequently the Swellings and Returns of the *Gout*, are chiefly occaſioned by the ill Methods of curing it at firſt. That this Vapour falling upon Joynts which have not Motion, and thereby Heat enough to diſpel it, cannot be cured otherwiſe than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the preſent Ceaſing of the Pain upon the Second, Third, or Fourth Application of the *Moxa*, which are performed in a few Minutes time. And the Author affirms it happens often there, that upon the laſt burning, an extream Stench comes out of the Skin where the Fire had opened it.

Whatever the Reaſonings were, which yet ſeemed ingenious enough; the Experiments alledged with ſo much Confidence, and to be ſo general in thoſe Parts, and told by an Author that writ like a plain Man, and one whoſe Profeſſion was to tell Truth, helped me to reſolve upon making the Tryal. I was confirmed in this Reſolution by a *German* Phyſician, Doctor *Theodore Coledy*, who was then in my Family, a ſober and intelligent Man, whom I diſpatched immediately to *Utrecht*, to bring me ſome of the *Moxa*, and learn the exact Method of uſing it, from the Man that ſold it, who was Son to the Miniſter of *Batavia*. He returned with all that belonged to this Cure, having performed the whole Operation upon his Hand by the Man's Direction. I immediately made the Experiment in the manner before related, ſetting the *Moxa* juſt upon the Place where the firſt Violence of my Pain began, which was the Joint of my great Toe, and where the greateſt Anger and Soreneſs ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the Swelling of my Foot, ſo that I had never yet in five Days been able to ſtir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the firſt Burning I found the Skin ſhrink all round the Place; and whether the greater Pain of the Fire had taken away the Senſe of a ſmaller or no, I could not tell; but I thought it leſs than it was: I burnt it the ſecond time, and upon it obſerved the Skin about it to ſhrink, and the Swelling to flat yet more than at firſt. I began to move my Toe, which I had not done before; but I found ſome Remainders of Pain. I burnt it the third time, and obſerved ſtill the ſame Effects without, but a much greater within; for I ſtirred the Joint ſeveral times at Eaſe; and growing bolder, I ſet my Foot to the Ground without any Pain at all. After this I purſued the Method preſcribed by the Book, and the Author's Son at *Utrecht*, and had a bruiſed Clove of Garlick laid to the Place that was burnt, and covered with a large Place of *Diapalma*, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more Pain, and treading ſtill bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a Slipper to let in my Foot, ſwelled as it was, and walk'd half a dozen Turns about the Room, without any Pain or Trouble, and much to the Surprize of thoſe that were about me, as well as to my own. For though I had reaſoned

reaſoned my ſelf before-hand into an Opinion of the Thing, yet I could not expect ſuch an Effect as I found, which ſeldom reaches to the Degree that is promiſed by the Preſcribers of any Remedies, whereas this went beyond it, having been applied ſo late, and the Preſcription reaching only to the firſt Attack of the Pain, and before the Part begins to ſwell.

For the Pain of the Burning it ſelf, the firſt time it is ſharp, ſo that a Man may be allowed to complain; I reſolved I would not, but that I would count to a certain Number, as the beſt Meaſure how long it laſted. I told Sixſcore and Four, as faſt as I could; and when the Fire of the *Moxa* was out, all Pain of Burning was over. The ſecond time was not near ſo ſharp as the firſt, and the third a great deal leſs than the ſecond. The Wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked only ſcorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole Trouble of the Operation, than half a quarter of an Hour's Pain in the Degree I felt it the firſt whole Night.

After Four and Twenty Hours, I had it opened, and found a great Bliſter drawn by the Garlick, which I uſed no more, but had the Bliſter cut, which run a good deal of Water, but filled again by the next Night; and this continued for three Days, with only a Plaiſter of *Diapalma* upon it; after which time the Bliſter dried up, and left a Sore about as big as a Two-pence, which healed and went away in about a Weeks time longer; but I continued to walk every Day, and without the leaſt Return of Pain, the Swelling ſtill growing leſs, though it were near Six Weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common Opinion, that walking too much might draw down the Humour; which I have ſince had reaſon to conclude a great Miſtake, and that if I had walked as much as I could from the firſt Day the Pain left me, the Swelling might have left me too in a much leſs Time.

The Talk of this Cure run about the *Hague*, and made the Converſation in other Places, as well as in the Viſits I received while I kept my Chamber, which was about a Fortnight after the Burning. Monſieur *Zulichem* came to me among the reſt of the good Company of the Town, and much pleaſed with my Succeſs, as well from his own great Humanity and particular Kindneſs to me, as from the Part he had in being the firſt Preſcriber of my Cure, and from the Opinion it gave him of a common good Fortune befallen all that felt, or were in danger of *Gout*.

Among others he told it to Monſieur *Swinchamps* was one, an Envoy of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s, then in Town; a Perſon very much and very deſervedly eſteemed among all the good Company in Town, and to whom every body was kind upon the Score of his own good Humour, or his Maſter's ill Fortunes: He had been long ſubject to the *Gout*, and with conſtant Returns of long and violent Fits two or three times in a Year. He was a Man frank and generous, and loved to enjoy Health whilſt he had it, without making too much Reflection upon what was to follow; and ſo, when he was well, denied himſelf nothing of what he had a mind to Eat or Drink; which gave him a Body full of Humours, and made his Fits of the *Gout* as Frequent and Violent as moſt I have known: When they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as ſoon as they were paſt, till a new Remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel Fit, which was fallen upon his Knee, and with extream Pain. When he heard of my Cure, he ſent to me firſt for the Relation of it; and upon it, for my *Moxa*, and for *Coleby* to apply it. He ſuffer'd it; but after his pleaſant Way roared out, and ſwore at me all the while it was Burning, and asked if I took him for a Sorcerer, that I ſent to burn him alive? Yet with all this, the Pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the ſame Place; but he was ſomething diſcouraged by a new Pain falling ſome Days after upon his Elbow on the other Side, which gave him a new Fit, though gentler and ſhorter than they uſed to be.

About the ſame Time one of the Maids of my Houſe was grown almoſt deſperate with the Tooth-ach, and want of Sleep upon it, and was without Remedy.

Remedy. The Book gives the ſame Cure for certain in that Illneſs, by burning upon the great Vein under the Ear; and the Man who ſold it at *Utrecht* had aſſured *Colleby* he had ſeen many Cures by it in that kind. We reſolved to try; which was done, and the Pain immediately taken away, and the Wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at leaſt while ſhe was in my Houſe.

Thus paſſed the firſt Experiment; upon which Monſieur *Zulichem* giving an Account of it to ſome of his Friends at *Greſham-College*, came to me before I left the *Hague*, formally to deſire me from them, and from himſelf, that I would give a Relation of it that might be made publick, as a Thing which might prove in appearance of common Utility to ſo great Numbers as were ſubject to that Diſeaſe; and told me, that ſome of *Greſham-College* had already given order for tranſlating into *Engliſh* the little *Batavian* Treatiſe. I commended the Care of publiſhing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an Experiment I had reaſon to approve; but excuſed my ſelf from any Relation of my own, as having too much Buſineſs at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in Publick. I had another Reaſon to decline it, that ever uſed to go far with me upon all new Inventions or Experiments, which is, that the beſt Tryal of them is by Time, and obſerving whether they live or no; and that one or two Tryals can pretend to make no Rule, no more than one Swallow a Summer; and ſo before I told my Story to more than my Friends, I had a mind to make more Tryals my ſelf, or ſee them made by other People as wiſe as I had been.

During the Confinement of this Fit, I fell into ſome Methods, and into much Diſcourſe upon the Subject of the *Gout*, that may be perhaps as well worth Reflection by ſuch as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this *Indian* Cure. In the firſt place, from the Day I kept my Chamber, till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I reſtrained by ſelf to ſo regular a Diet, as to eat Fleſh but once a Day, and little at a Time, without Salt or Vinegar; and to one moderate Draught, either of Water or Small Ale. I concluded to truſt to Abſtinence and Exerciſe, as I had ever reſolved, if I fell into this Diſeaſe; and if it continued, to confine my ſelf wholly to the Milk-diet, of which I had met with very many and great Examples, and had a great Opinion even in long and inveterate *Gouts*. Beſides this Refuge, I met with, in my Viſits and Converſation ariſing upon my Illneſs, many Notions or Medicines very new to me, and Reflections that may be ſo perhaps to other Men. Old Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* told me, he laugh'd at the *Gout*, and though he had been ſeveral times attacked, yet it never gave him Care nor Trouble. That he uſed but one Remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boil a good Quantity of Horſe-dung from a Stone-horſe of the *Hermelinne* Colour, as he called it in *French*, which is a Native White, with a ſort of a raw Noſe, and the ſame commonly about the Eyes. That when this was well boiled in Water, he ſet his Leg in a Pail-full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool for above an Hour together. That after it, he drew his Leg immediately into a warm Bed, to continue the Perſpiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the Remedy be good, or the Circumſtances of Colour ſignifie any thing more, than to make more Myſtery, I know not; but I obſerved, that he ever had a Sett of ſuch *Hermelinne* Horſes in his Coach, which he told we was on purpoſe that he might never want this Remedy.

The Count *Kinski*, Ambaſſador from the Emperor to the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, gave me a Receipt of the Salt of Harts-horn, by which a famous *Italian* Phyſician of the Emperor's had performed mighty Cures upon many others as well as himſelf, and the laſt Year upon the Count *Montecuculi*: The Uſe of this I am apt to eſteem, both from the Quality given it of provoking Sweat extreamly, and of taking away all Sharpneſs from whatever you put it in; which muſt both be of good effect in the Cure of the *Gout*

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The *Rhyngrave*, who was killed laſt Summer before *Maeſtricht*, told me his Father the old *Rhyngrave*, whom I knew very well, had been long ſubject to the *Gout*, and never uſed other Method or Remedy, than upon the very firſt Fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the Weather was, and as long as he was able to ſtand, and preſſing ſtill moſt upon the Foot that threatened him; when he came home he went to a warm Bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the Place where the Pain begun. If it continued, or returned next Day, he repeated the ſame Courſe, and was never laid up with it; and before his Death recommended this Courſe to his Son, if he ſhould fall into that Accident.

A *Dutchman*, who had been long in the *Eaſt Indies*, told me, in one Part of them, where he had lived ſome Time, the general Remedy of all that were ſubject to the *Gout*, was rubbing with Hands; and that whoever had Slaves enough to do that conſtantly every Day, and relieve one another by turns till the Motion raiſed a violent Heat about the Joints where it was chiefly uſed, was never troubled much, or laid up by that Diſeaſe.

My youngeſt Brother told me he had a Keeper very ſubject to it, but that it never laid him up, but he was ſtill walking after his Deer or his Stud while he had the Fits upon him, as at other Times, and often from Morning to Night, though in Pain all the while. This he gave me as one Inſtance, that poor and toiling Men have ſometimes the *Gout*, and that many more may have it, who take no more Notice of it, than his Keeper did; who yet he confeſs'd uſed to bring the Fits of *Gout* upon him, by Fits of Drinking; which no doubt is a Receipt that will hardly fail, if Men grow old in the Cuſtom.

Monſieur *Serinchamps* told me, a *Lorrain* Surgeon had undertaken to cure it by a more extraordinary Way than any of theſe, which was by whipping the naked Part with a great Rod of Nettles till it grew all over bliſter'd; and that he had once perſuaded him to perform this Penance in a ſharp Fit he had, and the Pain in his Knee ſo Violent, as helped him to endure this Remedy. He ſaid it was cruel; that all where he was whip'd grew ſo angry, and ſwell'd as well as bliſter'd, that he thought it had given him a Fever that Night. The next Morning the Part was all as ſtiff as a Boot, and the Skin like Parchment; but that keeping it anointed with a certain *Oil* likewiſe of *Nettles*, it paſs'd in two Days, and the *Gout* too, without feeling any more Pain that Fit.

All theſe Things put together, with what a great Phyſician writes of Cures by whipping with Rods, and another with Holly, and by other Cruelties of cutting or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the *Gout* was a Companion that ought to be treated like an Enemy, and by no means like a Friend, and that grew troubleſome chiefly by good Uſage; and this was confirmed to me, by conſidering that it haunted uſually the Eaſie and the Rich, the Nice and the Lazy, who grow to endure much, becauſe they can endure little: That make much of it as ſoon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themſelves too: That take care to carry it preſently to Bed, and keep it Safe and Warm, and indeed lay up the *Gout* for two or three Months while they give out, that the *Gout* lays upon them. On t'other ſide, it hardly approaches the Rough and the Poor, ſuch as labour for Meat, and eat only for Hunger; that drink Water, either pure, or but diſcoloured with Malt; that know no Uſe of Wine, but for a Cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: Or if ſuch Men happen by their native Conſtitutions to fall into the *Gout*, either they mind it not at all, having no leiſure to be ſick; or they uſe it like a Dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before, they keep it Wet and Cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps forced by that to faſt more than before, and if it laſts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it, or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while perhaps never know the very Name of the *Gout*.

But to follow my Experiment: I paſs'd that Summer here at *Nimeguen*, without the leaſt Remembrance of what had happen'd to me in the Spring,

till

till about the end of *September*, and then began to feel a Pain that I knew not what to make of, in the ſame Joint, but of my other Foot: I had flattered my ſelf with Hopes, that the Vapour had been exhaled, as my learned Authors had taught me, and that thereby the Buſineſs had been ended; this made me neglect my *Moxa* for two Days, the Pain not being violent, till at laſt my Foot begun to ſwell, and I could ſet it no longer to the Ground. Then I ſell to my *Moxa* again, and burnt it four times before the Pain went clear away, as it did upon the laſt, and I walked at Eaſe, as I had done the firſt Time, and within ſix Days after above a League, without the leaſt Return of any Pain.

I continued well till this Spring, when about the end of *March* feeling again the ſame Pain, and in the ſame Joint, but of the firſt Foot; and finding it grow violent, I immediately burnt it, and felt no more after the third Time; was never off my Legs, nor kept my Chamber a Day. Upon both theſe laſt Experiments I omitted the Application of Garlick, and contented my ſelf with a Plaiſter only of *Diapalma* upon the Place that was burnt, which cruſted and healed in very few Days, and without any Trouble. I have ſince continued perfectly well to this preſent *June*; and with ſo much Confidence of the Cure, that I have been content to trouble my ſelf ſome Hours with telling the Story, which, 'tis poſſible, may at one time or other be thought worth making Publick, if I am further confirmed by more Time and Experiments of my own, or of others. And thereby I may not only ſatisfie Monſieur *Zulichem*, but my ſelf too, who ſhould be ſorry to omit any good I thought I could do to other Men, though never ſo unknown.

But this Cure, I ſuppoſe, cannot pretend to deal with inveterate *Gouts*, grown habitual by long and frequent Returns, by Diſpoſitions of the Stomach to convert even the beſt Nouriſhment into thoſe Humours, and the Veſſels to receive them. For ſuch Conſtitutions, by all I have diſcovered, or conſidered upon this Subject, the Remedies (if any) are to be propoſed either from a conſtant Courſe of the Milken Diet, continued at leaſt for a Year together; or elſe from ſome of thoſe Methods commonly uſed in the Cure of a worſe Diſeaſe (if at leaſt I may be ſo bold with one that is ſo much in vogue;) the uſual Exceptions to the firſt, are not only ſo long a Conſtraint, but the Weakneſs of Spirits whilſt it continues, and the Danger of Fevers whenever 'tis left off. There may, I believe, be ſome Care neceſſary in this laſt Point, upon ſo great a Change; but for the other, I have met with no Complaints among thoſe that have uſed it; and Count *Egmont*, who has done ſo, more, I believe, than any other Man, has told me he never found himſelf in ſo much Vigour, as in the midſt of that Courſe. I have known ſo many great Examples of this Cure, and heard of its being ſo familiar in *Auſtria*, that I wonder it has gained no more Ground in other Places, and am apt to conclude from it, that the Loſs of Pain is generally thought to be purchaſed too dear by the Loſs of Pleaſure.

For the other, I met with a Phyſician, whom I eſteemed a Man of Truth, that told me of ſeveral great Cures of the *Gout*, by a Courſe of *Guiacum*, and of two Patients of his own that had gone ſo far as to be fluxed for it, and with Succeſs. And indeed there ſeems nothing ſo proper, as what pretends to change the whole Maſs of the Blood, or elſe a long Courſe of violent Perſpiration. But the Miſchief is, That the *Gout* is commonly the Diſeaſe of aged Men, who cannot go through with theſe ſtrong Remedies, which young Men play with upon other Occaſions; and the Reaſon, I ſuppoſe, why theſe Ways are ſo little practiſed, is becauſe it happens ſo ſeldom that young Men have the *Gout*.

Let the Diſeaſe be new or old, and the Remedies either of common or foreign Growth, there is one Ingredient of abſolute Neceſſity in all Caſes: For whoever thinks of curing the *Gout* without great Temperance, had better reſolve to endure it with Patience: And I know not whether ſome deſperate Degrees of Abſtinence would not have the ſame Effect upon other Men, as

they

they had upon *Atticus*, who weary of his Life as well as his Phyſicians, by long and cruel Pains of a Dropſical *Gout*, and deſpairing of any Cure, reſolved by degrees to ſtarve himſelf to Death, and went ſo far, that the Phyſicians found he had ended his Diſeaſe inſtead of his Life; and told him, That to be well, there would need nothing but only reſolve to live. His Anſwer was noble; That ſince dying was a Thing to be done, and he was now ſo far on his Way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was ſaid and done, and could indeed have been ſo by none, but ſuch a Man as *Atticus*, who was ſingular in his Life, as well as his Death, and has been ever, I confeſs, by me as much eſteemed in both, as any of thoſe that have made greater Figures upon the buſie Scenes of their own Times, and ſince in Records of Story and of Fame.

But perhaps ſome ſuch Methods might ſucceed with others upon the Deſigns to live, as they did with him upon thoſe to die; and though ſuch Degrees may be too deſperate, yet none of Temperance can, I think, be too great for thoſe that pretend the Cure of inveterate *Gouts*, or indeed of moſt other Diſeaſes to which Mankind is expoſed, rather by the Viciouſneſs than by the Frailty of their Natures. Temperance, that Virtue without Pride, and Fortune without Envy, that gives Indolence of Body, and Tranquillity of Mind; the beſt Guardian of Youth, and Support of old Age; the Precept of Reaſon, as well as Religion; and Phyſician of the Soul, as well as the Body; the tutelar Goddeſs of Health, and univerſal Medicine of Life; that clears the Head, and cleanſes the Blood; that eaſes the Stomach, and purges the Bowels; that ſtrengthens the Nerves, enlightens the Eyes, and comforts the Heart: In a word, that ſecures and perfects Digeſtion, and thereby avoids the Fumes and Winds to which we owe the Colick and the Spleen; thoſe Crudities and ſharp Humours that feed the *Scurvey* and the *Gout*, and thoſe ſlimy Dregs, out of which the *Gravel* and *Stone* are formed within us. Diſeaſes by which we often condemn ourſelves to greater Torments and Miſeries of Life, than have perhaps been yet invented by Anger or Revenge, or inflicted by the greateſt Tyrants upon the worſt of Men.

I do not allow the Pretence of Temperance to all ſuch as are ſeldom or never drunk, or fall into Surfeits; for Men may loſe their Health, without loſing their Senſes, and be intemperate every Day, without being drunk perhaps once in their Lives: Nay, for ought I know, if a Man ſhould paſs the Month in a College-diet, without Exceſs or Variety of Meats or of Drinks, but only the laſt Day give a looſe in them both, and ſo far till it comes to ſerve him for Phyſick rather than Food, and he utters his Stomach as well as his Heart; he may perhaps, as to the meer Conſiderations of Health, do much better than another that eats every Day but as Men do generally in *England*, who pretend to live well in Court or in Town; that is, in Plenty and Luxury, with great Variety of Meats, and a dozen Glaſſes of Wine at a Meal, ſtill ſpurring up Appetite when it would lie down of itſelf; fluſh'd every Day, but never drunk; and with the Help of dozing three Hours after Dinner, as ſober and wiſe as they were before.

But that which I call Temperance, and reckon ſo neceſſary in all Attempts and Methods of curing the *Gout*, is a regular and ſimple Diet, limited by every Man's Experience of his own eaſie Digeſtion, and thereby proportioning as near as well can be, the daily Repairs to the daily Decays of our waſting Bodies. Nor can this be determined by Meaſures and Weights, or any general *Leſſian* Rules; but muſt vary with the Vigour or Decays of Age, or of Health, and the Uſe or Diſuſe of Air or of Exerciſe, with the Changes of Appetite; and thereby what every Man may find or ſuſpect of the preſent Strength or Weakneſs of Digeſtion: And in caſe of Exceſſes, I take the *German* Proverbial Cure by a *Hair of the ſame Beaſt*, to be the worſt in the World; and the beſt to be that which is called the Monks Diet, to eat till you are ſick, and faſt till you are well again. In all Courſes of the *Gout*, the moſt effectual Point I take to be Abſtinence from Wine, further than as a Cordial where Faint-

nels or want of Spirits require it: And the Use of Water where the Stomach will bear it, as I believe most Mens will, and with great Advantage of Digestion, unless they are spoiled with long and constant Use of Wines or other strong Drinks. In that case they must be weaned, and the Habit changed by degrees, and with Time, for fear of falling into Consumptions, instead of recovering *Dropsies* or *Gouts*. But the Wines used by those that feel or fear this Disease, or pursue the Cure, should rather be *Spanish* or *Portugal*, than either *French* or *Rhenish*; and of the *French*, rather the *Provence* or *Languedoc*, than the *Bourdeaux* or *Campagne*; and of the *Rhenish*, the *Ringau* and *Bitter*, of which at least it may be said that they do not so much harm as the others.

But I have known so great Cures, and so many, done by obstinate Resolutions of drinking no Wine at all, that I put more Weight upon the Part of Temperance, than any other. And I doubt very much whether the great Encrease of that Disease in *England* within these twenty Years, may not have been occasioned by the Custom of so much Wine introduced into our constant and common Tables: For this Use may be more pernicious to Health, than that of Taverns and Debauches, according to the old Stile, which were but by Fits, and upon set or casual Encounters. I have sometimes thought that this Custom of using Wine for our common Drink, may alter in time the very Constitution of our Nation, I mean the native Tempers of our Bodies and Minds, and cause a Heat and Sharpness in our Humours, which is not natural to our Climate. Our having been denied it by Nature, is Argument enough that it was never intended us for common Use; nor do I believe it was so in any other Countries, there being so small a Part of the World where it grows; and where it does, the Use of it pure being so little practised, and in some Places defended by Customs or Laws. So that *Turks* have not known it, unless of late Years; and I have met with many *Spaniards*, that never tasted it pure in their Lives; nor in the Time when I was in *France*, did I observe any I convers'd with to drink it unmixt at Meals. The true Use of Wine, is either as I mentioned, for a Cordial; and I believe there is not a better to such as drink it seldom; or else what the Mother of *Lemuel* tells her Son, *Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and Wine to those that are heavy of Heart; let him drink and forget his Poverty, and remember his Misery no more.* At least it ought to be reserv'd for the Times and Occasions of Feast and of Joy, and be treated like a Mistress rather than a Wife, without abandoning either our Wits to our Humours, or our Healths to our Pleasure, or that of one Sense to those of all the rest, which I doubt it impairs. This Philosophy, I suppose, may pass with the youngest and most sensual Men, while they pretend to be reasonable; but whenever they have a mind to be otherwise, the best Way they can take, is to drink or to sleep, and either of them will serve the Turn.

FINIS.

MISCELLANEA.

THE

SECOND PART.

IN FOUR

ESSAYS.

I. *Upon* ANTIENT *and* MODERN LEARNING.

II. *Upon the* GARDENS *of* EPICURUS.

III. *Upon* HEROICK VIRTUE.

IV. *Upon* POETRY.

——*Juvat antiquos accedere Fontes.*

LONDON:

Printed for J. KNAPTON, R. SMITH, and J. ROUND.

MDCCXXXI.

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——Amat cantidus accessus Fontes.

I. Upon ANTIENT and MODERN LEARNING.

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III. Upon HEROICK VIRTUE.

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THE

SECOND PART.

MISCELLANEA.

ALMÆ MATRI

ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSI

Has qualescunque Nugas

At Rei Literariæ non alienas

D. D. Dq;

ALUMNUS Olim

Et semper OBSERVANTISSIMUS

W. TEMPLE.

M. LEHLE

Et tempori Observantissimus

ALUMNUS olim

D. D. D.

Ad Rei Litteratiae non aliena

Has dissertationes Nuper

Academiae Cantabrigiensi

ALMAE MATRI

AN ESSAY UPON THE *Ancient and Modern Learning.*

WHOEVER converses much among the Old Books, will be something hard to please among the New; yet these must have their Part too in the Leisure of an idle Man, and have many of them their Beauties as well as their Defaults. Those of Story or Relation to Matter of Fact, have a Value from their Substance, as much as from their Form; and the Variety of Events, is seldom without Entertainment or Instruction, how indifferently soever the Tale is told. Other Sorts of Writings have little of Esteem, but what they receive from the Wit, Learning, or Genius of the Authors, and are seldom met with of any Excellency, because they do but trace over the Paths that have been beaten by the Ancients, or Comment, Critick and Flourish upon them; and are at best but Copies after those Originals, unless upon Subjects never touched by them; such as are all that relate to the different Constitutions of Religions, Laws, or Governments in several Countries, with all Matters of Controversy that arise upon them.

Two Pieces that have lately pleased me (abstracted from any of these Subjects) are, one in *English* upon the *Antideluvian* World; and another in *French* upon the *Plurality of Worlds*; one writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman, but both very finely in their several Kinds, and upon their several Subjects, which would have made very poor Work in common Hands: I was so pleased with the last (I mean the Fashion of it, rather than the Matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what else I could of the same Hand, till I met with a small Piece concerning Poesy, which gave me the same Exception to both these Authors, whom I should otherwise have been very partial to. For the first could not end his Learned Treatise without a Panegyrick of Modern Learning and Knowledge in comparison of the Ancient: And the other falls so grosly in the Censure of the old Poetry and Preference of the new, that I could not read either of these Strains, without some Indignation, which no Quality among Men is so apt to raise in me as Sufficiency, the worst Composition out of the Pride and Ignorance of Mankind. But these two, being not the only Persons of the Age that defend these Opinions, it may be worth examining how far either Reason or Experience can be allowed to plead or determine in their Favour.

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The Force of all that I have met with upon this Subject, either in Talk or Writing is, firſt, as to Knowledge; that we muſt have more than the Ancients, becauſe we have the Advantage both of theirs and our own, which is commonly illuſtrated by the Similitude of a Dwarf's ſtanding upon a Gyant's Shoulders, and ſeeing more or farther than he. Next as to Wit or Genius, that Nature being ſtill the ſame, theſe muſt be much at a Rate in all Ages, at leaſt in the ſame Climates, as the Growth and Size of Plants and Animals commonly are; and if both theſe are allowed, they think the Cauſe is gained. But I cannot tell why we ſhould conclude, that the Ancient Writers had not as much Advantage from the Knowledge of others, that were Ancient to them, as we have from thoſe that are Ancient to us. The Invention of Printing has not perhaps multiplied Books, but only the Copies of them; and if we believe there were Six hundred thouſand in the Library of *Ptolomy*, we ſhall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, not, perhaps, by all put together; I mean ſo many Originals, that have lived any Time, and thereby given Teſtimony of their having been thought worth preſerving. For the Scribblers are infinite, that like Muſhrooms or Flies, are born and die in ſmall Circles of Time; whereas Books, like Proverbs, receive their chief Value from the Stamp and Eſteem of Ages through which they have paſſed. Beſides the Account of this Library at *Alexandria*, and others very Voluminous in the leſſer *Aſia* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of Ancient Writers in many of thoſe Books which we now call Ancient, both Philoſophers and Hiſtorians. 'Tis true, that beſides what we have in Scripture concerning the Original and Progreſs of the *Jewiſh* Nation; all that paſſed in the reſt of our World before the *Trojan* War, is either ſunk in the Depths of Time, wrapt up in the Myſteries of Fables, or ſo maimed by the Want of Teſtimonies and Loſs of Authors, that it appears to us in too obſcure a Shade, to make any Judgment upon it. For the Fragments of *Manethon* about the Antiquities of *Egypt*, the Relations of *Juſtin* concerning the *Scythian* Empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as the Records of *China*, make ſuch Excurſions beyond the Periods of Time given us by the Holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reaſon upon them. And this Diſagreement it ſelf, after ſo great a Part of the World became Chriſtian, may have contributed to the Loſs of many Ancient Authors. For *Solomon* tells us even in his Time, of writing many Books there was no End; and whoever conſiders the Subject and the Stile of *Job*, which by many is thought more Ancient than *Moſes*, will hardly think it was written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books or Learning; and yet he ſpeaks of the Ancients then, and their Wiſdom, as we do now.

But if any ſhould ſo very raſhly and preſumptuouſly conclude, that there were few Books before thoſe we have either Extant or upon Record; yet that cannot argue there was no Knowledge or Learning before thoſe Periods of Time, whereof they give us the ſhort Account. Books may be Helps to Learning and Knowledge, and make it more common and diffuſed; but I doubt, whether they are neceſſary ones or no, or much advance any other Science, beyond the particular Records of Actions or Regiſters of Time; and theſe perhaps might be as long preſerved without them, by the Care and Exactneſs of Tradition in the long Succeſſions of certain Races of Men, with whom they were intruſted. So in *Mexico* and *Peru*, before the leaſt Uſe or Mention of Letters, there was remaining among them the Knowledge of what had paſſed in thoſe mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages. Whereas in *Ireland*, that is ſaid to have flouriſhed in Books and Learning before they had much Progreſs in *Gaul* or *Britany*; there are now hardly any Traces left of what paſſed there, before the Conqueſt made of that Country by the *Engliſh* in *Henry* the Second's Time. A ſtrange but plain Demonſtration, how Knowledge and Ignorance, as well as Civility and Barbariſm, may ſucceed each other in the ſeveral Countries of the World; how much better the Records of Time may be kept by Tradition in one Country than by Writing in another; and how much we owe to thoſe Learned Languages of

Greek

Greek and *Latin*, without which, for ought I know, the World in all the *Weſtern* Parts would hardly be known to have been above five or ſix hundred Years old, nor any Certainty remain of what paſſed in it before that Time.

'Tis true, in the *Eaſtern* Regions, there ſeems to have been a general Cuſtom of the Prieſts in each Country, having been either by their own Choice, or by Deſign of the Governments, the perpetual Conſervers of Knowledge and Story. Only in *China*, this laſt was committed particularly to certain Officers of State, who were appointed or continued upon every Acceſſion to that Crown, to Regiſter diſtinctly the Times and memorable Events of each Reign. In *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, *Chaldea*, *Perſia*, *Syria*, *Judea*, theſe Cares were committed wholly to the Prieſts, who were not leſs diligent in the Regiſters of Times and Actions, than in the Study and ſucceſſive Propagation thereby of all natural *Science* and *Philoſophy*. Whether this was managed by Letters, or Tradition, or by both; 'tis certain the ancient Colleges, or Societies of Prieſts, were mighty Reſervoirs or Lakes of Knowledge, into which ſome Streams entered perhaps every Age, from the Obſervations or Inventions of any great Spirits or tranſcendent Genius's, that happened to riſe among them; and nothing was loſt out of theſe Stores, ſince the Part of conſerving what others have gained, either in Knowledge or Empire, is as common and eaſy, as the other is hard and rare among Men.

In theſe Soils were planted and cultivated thoſe mighty Growths of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Magick*, *Geometry*, Natural *Philoſophy*, and Ancient *Story*. From theſe Sources, *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, *Pythagorus*, *Plato*, and others of the Ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all thoſe Depths of Knowledge or Learning, which have made them ſo renowned in all ſucceeding Ages. I make a Diſtinction between theſe two, taking Knowledge to be properly meant of Things that are generally agreed to be true by Conſent of thoſe that firſt found them out, or have been ſince inſtructed in them; but Learning is the Knowledge of the different and conteſted Opinions of Men in former Ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes ſo much of one, and ſo little of the other in the World.

Now to judge, Whether the Ancients or Moderns can be probably thought to have made the greateſt Progreſs in the Search and Diſcoveries of the vaſt Region of Truth and Nature; it will be worth inquiring, What Guides have been uſed, and what Labours imploy'd by the one and the other in theſe noble Travels and Purſuits.

The Modern Scholars have their uſual Recourſe to the Univerſities of their Countries; ſome few it may be, to thoſe of their Neighbours; and this, in queſt of Books rather than Men for their Guides, though theſe are living, and thoſe, in compariſon, but dead Inſtructors; which like a Hand with an Inſcription, can point out the ſtrait Way upon the Road, but can neither tell you the next Turnings, reſolve your Doubts, or anſwer your Queſtions, like a Guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his Chamber. And who are theſe dead Guides we ſeek in our Journey? They are at beſt but ſome few Authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in *Greek* and *Latin*, from the Age of *Hyppocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above Six hundred Years. Before that Time I know none, beſides ſome Poets, ſome Fables, and ſome few Epiſtles; and ſince that Time, I know very few that can pretend to be Authors, rather than Tranſcribers or Commentators of the Ancient Learning: Now to conſider at what Sources our Ancients drew their Water, and with what unwearied Pains: 'Tis evident, *Thales* and *Pythagoras* were the two Founders of the *Grecian* Philoſophy; the Firſt gave Beginning to the *Ionick* Sect, and the other to the *Italick*; out of which, all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or compoſed: *Thales* was the Firſt of the *Sophi* or Wiſe Men famous in *Greece*, and is ſaid to have learned his *Aſtronomy*, *Geometry*, *Aſtrology*, *Theology*, in his Travels from his Country *Miletus* to *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Crete*, and *Delphos*: *Pythagoras* was the Father of Philoſophers, and of

the Virtues, having in Modesty chosen the Name of a *Lover of Wisdom*, rather than of *Wise*; and having first introduced the Names of the Four Cardinal Virtues, and given them the Place and Rank they have held ever since in the World: Of these two mighty Men remain no Writings at all; for those Golden Verses that go under the Name of *Pythagoras* are generally rejected as spurious, like many other Fragments of *Sibyls* or old Poets, and some intire Poems that run with Ancient Names: Nor is it agreed, Whether he ever left any thing written to his Scholars or Cotemporaries; or whether all that learned of him, did it not by the Ear and Memory; and all that remained of him, for some succeeding Ages, were not by Tradition. But whether these ever writ or no, they were the Fountains, out of which the following *Greek* Philosophers drew all those Streams, that have since watered the Studies of the Learned World, and furnished the Voluminous Writings of so many Sects, as passed afterwards under the common Name of Philosophers.

As there were Guides to those that we call Ancients, so there were others that were Guides to them, in whose Search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than, That all the Learning of the *Greeks* was deduced originally from *Egypt* or *Phenicia*; but, Whether theirs might not have flourished to that degree it did, by the Commerce of the *Ethiopians*, *Chaldeans*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, is not so evident (though I am very apt to believe it) and to most of these Regions some of the *Grecians* travelled in search of those Golden Mines of Learning and Knowledge: Not to mention the Voyages of *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Lycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and that vain Sophist, *Apollonius* (who was but an Ape of the Ancient Philosophers) I shall only trace those of *Pythagoras*, who seems, of all others, to have gone the farthest upon this Design, and to have brought home the greatest Treasures. He went first to *Egypt*, where he spent two and twenty Years in Study and Conversation, among the several Colleges of Priests, in *Memphis*, *Thebes* and *Heliopolis*; was initiated in all their several Mysteries, in order to gain Admittance and Instruction, in the Learning and Sciences that were there, in their highest Ascendent. Twelve Years he spent in *Babylon*, and in the Studies and Learning of the Priests or *Magi* of the *Chaldeans*. Besides these long Abodes, in those Two Regions, celebrated for Ancient Learning, and where one Author, according to their Calculations, says, He gained the Observations of innumerable Ages, He travelled upon the same Scent into *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the Oracles that were renowned in any of these Regions.

What sort of Morals some of those may have been that he went so far to seek, I shall only endeavour to trace out, by the most ancient Accounts that are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, since those of the Learned or Sages in the other Countries occur more frequent in Story. These were all of one Race or Tribe, that was kept chast from any other Mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the Service of the Gods, to the Studies of Wisdom and Nature, and to the Counsel of their Princes. There was not only particular Care taken of their Birth and Nature, but even from their Conception. For when a Woman among them was known to have conceived, much Thought and Diligence was employed about her Diet and Entertainments, so far as to furnish her with pleasant Imaginations, to compose her Mind and her Sleeps, with the best Temper, during the Time she carried her Burthen. This I take to be a Strain beyond all the *Grecian* Wit, or the Constitutions even of their imaginary Lawgivers, who began their Cares of Mankind only after their Birth, and none before. Those of the *Brachmans* continued in the same Degree for their Education and Instruction, in which, and their Studies, and Discipline of their Colleges, or separate Abodes in Woods and Fields, they spent thirty seven Years. Their Learning and Institutions were unwritten, and only Traditional among themselves, by a perpetual Succession. Their Opinions in Natural Philosophy, were, That the World was

round,

round, that it had a Beginning, and would have an End, but reckoned both by immenſe Periods of Time; that the Author of it was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole Univerſe, and was diffuſed through all the Parts of it. They held the Tranſmigration of Souls, and ſome uſed Diſcourſes of Infernal Manſions, in many Things, like thoſe of *Plato*. Their Moral Philoſophy conſiſted chiefly in preventing all Diſeaſes or Diſtempers of the Body, from which they eſteemed the Perturbation of Mind, in a great meaſure, to ariſe. Then, in compoſing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cares, eſteeming the troubleſome and ſollicitous Thoughts, about Paſt and Future, to be like ſo many Dreams, and no more to be regarded. They deſpiſed both Life and Death, Pleaſure and Pain, or at leaſt thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Juſtice was exact and exemplary; their Temperance ſo great, that they lived upon Rice or Herbs, and upon nothing that had ſenſitive Life. If they fell ſick, they counted it ſuch a Mark of Intemperance, that they would frequently die out of Shame and Sullenneſs; but many lived a Hundred and Fifty, and ſome Two Hundred Years.

Their Wiſdom was ſo highly eſteemed, that ſome of them were always imployed to follow the Courts of their Kings, to adviſe them upon all Occaſions, and inſtruct them in Juſtice and Piety; and upon this Regard, *Calanus*, and ſome others, are ſaid to have followed the Camp of *Alexander*, after his Conqueſt of one of their Kings. The Magical Operations, reported of them, are ſo wonderful, that they muſt either be wholly disbelieved, or will make eaſie Way for the Credit of all thoſe that we ſo often meet with in the latter Relation of the *Indies*. Above all the reſt, their Fortitude was moſt admirable in their Patience and Endurance of all Evils, of Pain, and of Death; ſome ſtanding, ſitting, lying, without any Motion whole Days together in the ſcorching Sun; others ſtanding whole Nights upon one Leg, and holding up a heavy Piece of Wood or Stone in both Hands, without ever moving (which might be done, upon ſome ſort of Penances uſual among them.) They frequently ended their Lives by their own Choice, and not Neceſſity, and moſt uſually by Fire; ſome upon Sickneſs, others upon Misfortunes, ſome upon meer Safety of Life; ſo *Calanus*, in *Alexander*'s Time, burnt himſelf publickly, upon growing old and infirm; *Zormanochages*, in the Time of *Auguſtus*, upon his conſtant Health and Felicity, and to prevent his living ſo long as to fall into Diſeaſes or Misfortunes. Theſe were the *Brachmans* of *India*, by the moſt Ancient Relations remaining of them; and which compar'd with our Modern (ſince Navigation and Trade have diſcovered ſo much of thoſe vaſt Countries) make it eaſie to conjecture that the preſent *Baniams* have derived from them many of their Cuſtoms and Opinions, which are ſtill very like them, after the Courſe of two thouſand Years. For how long Nations, without the Changes introduced by Conqueſt, may continue in the ſame Cuſtoms, Inſtitutions, and Opinions, will be eaſily obſerved, in the Stories of the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans*, of the *Chineſes* and *Scythians*: Theſe laſt being deſcribed by *Herodotus*, to lodge always in Carts, and to feed commonly upon the Milk of Mares, as the *Tartars* are reported to do at this Time, in many Parts of thoſe vaſt *Northern* Regions.

From theſe Famous *Indians*, it ſeems to me moſt probable, that *Pythagoras* learn'd, and tranſported into *Greece* and *Italy*, the greateſt Part of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy, rather than from the *Egyptians*, as is commonly ſuppoſed; for I have not obſerved any Mention of the Tranſmigration of Souls, held among the *Egyptians*, more Ancient than the Time of *Pythagoras*: On the contrary, *Orpheus* is ſaid to have brought out of *Egypt* all his Myſtical Theology, with the Stories of the *Stygian* Lake, *Charon*, the Infernal Judges, which were wrought up by the ſucceeding Poets (with a Mixture of the *Cretan* Tales, or Traditions) into that Part of the *Pagan* Religion, ſo long obſerved by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Now 'tis obvious, that this was in all Parts very different from the *Pythagorean* Opinion of Tranſmigra-

tion, which, though it was preſerved long among ſome of the ſucceeding Philoſophers, yet never entered into the vulgar Belief of *Greece* or *Italy*.

Nor does it ſeem unlikely that the *Egyptians* themſelves might have drawn much of their Learning from the *Indians*; for they are obſerved, in ſome Authors, to have done it from the *Ethiopians*; and Chronologers, I think, agree, that theſe were a Colony that came anciently from the River *Indus*, and planted themſelves upon that Part of *Africa*, which from their Name was afterward called *Æthiopia*, and in probability brought their Learning and their Cuſtoms with them. The *Phenicians* are likewiſe ſaid to have been anciently a Colony that came from the *Red Sea*, and planted themſelves upon the *Mediterranean*, and from thence ſpread ſo far the Fame of their Learning, and their Navigations.

To ſtrengthen this Conjecture, of much Learning being derived from ſuch remote and ancient Fountains as the *Indies*, and perhaps *China*; it may be aſſerted with great Evidence, that though we know little of the Antiquities of *India*, beyond *Alexander*'s Time; yet thoſe of *China* are the oldeſt that any where pretend to any fair Records; for theſe are agreed, by the Miſſionary Jeſuits, to extend ſo far above four thouſand Years, and with ſuch Appearance of clear and undeniable Teſtimonies, that thoſe Religious Men themſelves, rather than queſtion their Truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar Chronology of the Scripture, are content to have Recourſe to that of the *Septuagint*, and thereby to ſalve the Appearances in thoſe Records of the *Chineſes*. Now though we have been deprived the Knowledge of what Courſe Learning may be held, and to what Heights it may have ſoared, in that vaſt Region, and during ſo great Antiquity of Time, by reaſon of the ſavage Ambition of one of their Kings, who, deſirous to begin the Period of Hiſtory from his own Reign, ordered all Books to be burnt, except thoſe of Phyſick and Agriculture; ſo that what we have remaining beſides, of that wiſe and ancient Nation, is but what was, either by Chance or by private Induſtry, reſcued out of that publick Calamity (among which were a Copy of the Records and Succeſſions of the Crown;) yet it is obſervable and agreed, that as the Opinions of the Learned among them are at preſent, ſo they were anciently divided into two Sects, whereof one held the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the other the Eternity of Matter, comparing the World to a great Maſs of Metal, out of which ſome Parts are continually made up into a thouſand various Figures, and after certain Periods melted down again into the ſame Maſs. That there were many Volumes written of old in Natural Philoſophy among them; that near the Age of *Socrates*, lived their Great and Renowned *Confutius*, who began the ſame Deſign of reclaiming Men from the uſeful and endleſs Speculations of Nature, to thoſe of Morality. But with this Difference, that the Bent of the *Grecian* ſeemed to be chiefly upon the Happineſs of private Men or Families, but that of the *Chineſe*, upon the good Temperament and Felicity of ſuch Kingdoms or Governments as that was, and is known to have continued for ſeveral Thouſands of Years; and may be properly called, a Government of Learned Men, ſince no other are admitted into Charges of the State.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that in theſe remote Regions, not only *Pythagoras* learn'd the firſt Principles, both of his Natural and Moral Philoſophy; but that thoſe of *Democritus* (who travelled into *Egypt*, *Chaldea*, and *India*, and whoſe Doctrines were after improved by *Epicurus*) might have been derived from the ſame Fountains; and that long before them both, *Lycurgus*, who likewiſe travelled into *India*, brought from thence alſo the chief Principles of his Laws and Politicks, ſo much Renowned in the World.

For whoever obſerves the Account already given of the Ancient *Indian* and *Chineſe* Learning and Opinions, will eaſily find among them the Seeds of all theſe *Grecian* Productions and Inſtitutions: As, the Tranſmigration of Souls, and the four Cardinal Virtues: The long Silence injoined his Scholars, and Propagation of their Doctrines by Tradition, rather than Letters,

and

and Abſtinence from all Meats that had Animal Life, introduced by *Pythagoras*: The Eternity of Matter, with perpetual Changes of Form, the Indolence of Body, and Tranquillity of Mind, by *Epicurus*. And among thoſe of *Lycurgus*; the Care of Education from the Birth of Children, the auſtere Temperance of Diet, the patient Endurance of Toil and Pain, the Neglect or Contempt of Life, the Uſe of Gold and Silver only in their Temples, the Deſarce of Commerce with Strangers, and ſeveral others, by him eſtabliſhed among the *Spartans*, ſeem all to be wholly *Indian*, and different from any Race or Vein of Thought or Imagination, that have ever appeared in *Greece*, either in that Age or any ſince.

It may look like a Paradox, to deduce Learning from Regions accounted commonly ſo barbarous and rude. And 'tis true, the generality of People were always ſo, in thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries, and their Lives wholly turned to Agriculture, to Mechanicks, or ſo Trades: But this does not hinder particular Races or Succeſſions of Men (the Deſign of whoſe Thought and Time was turned wholly to Learning and Knowledge) from having been what they are repreſented, and what they deſerve to be eſteemed; ſince among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themſelves, there have been ſuch Races of Men under the Names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amautas*, *Runirs*, and other barbarous Appellations.

Beſides, I know no Circumſtances like to contribute more to the Advancement of Knowledge and Learning among Men, than exact Temperance in their Races, great Pureneſs of Air, and Equality of Climate, long Tranquillity of Empire or Government: And all theſe we may juſtly allow to thoſe *Eaſtern* Regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at leaſt till the Conqueſts made by the *Tartars*, upon both *India* and *China*, in the latter Centuries. However, it may be as pardonable to derive ſome Parts of Learning from thence, as to go ſo far for the Game of *Cheſs*, which ſome Curious and Learned Men have deduced from *India* into *Europe*, by two ſeveral Roads, that is, by *Perſia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia*, into *Africk* and *Spain*.

Thus much I thought might be allowed me to ſay, for the giving ſome Idea of what thoſe Sages or Learned Men were, or may have been, who were Ancients to thoſe that are Ancients to us. Now to obſerve what theſe have been, is more eaſie and obvious. The moſt Ancient *Grecians* that we are at all acquainted with, after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly a great Philoſopher as well as Law-giver, were the ſeven Sages: Though the Court of *Croeſus* is ſaid to have been much reſorted to, by the Sophiſts of *Greece*, in the happy Beginnings of his Reign. And ſome of theſe ſeven ſeem to have brought moſt of thoſe Sciences out of *Egypt* and *Phenicia*, into *Greece*; particularly thoſe of *Aſtronomy*, *Aſtrology*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*. Theſe were ſoon followed by *Pythagoras* (who ſeems to have introduced Natural and Moral Philoſophy) and by ſeveral of his Followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But of all theſe, there remains nothing in Writing now among us; ſo that *Hypocrates*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, are the firſt *Philoſophers*, whoſe Works have eſcaped the Injuries of Time. But that we may not conclude, the firſt Writers we have of the *Grecians* were the firſt Learned or Wiſe among them; we ſhall find upon inquiry, that the more Ancient Sages of *Greece* appear, by the Characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater Men. They were generally Princes or Law-givers of their Countries, or at leaſt offered and invited to be ſo, either of their own or of others, that deſired them to frame or reform their ſeveral Inſtitutions of Civil Government. They were commonly excellent Poets, and great Phyſicians: They were ſo learned in Natural Philoſophy, that they fore-told, not only Eclipſes in the Heavens, but Earthquakes at Land, and Storms at Sea, great Drowths and great Plagues, much Plenty, or much Scarcity of certain Sorts of Fruits or Grain; not to mention the Magical Powers attributed to ſeveral of them, to allay Storms, to raiſe Gales, to appeaſe Commotions of People, to make Plagues ceaſe; which Qualities, whether upon any Ground of Truth or no, yet, if well believed, muſt

must have raiſed them to that ſtrange Height they were at, of common Eſteem and Honour, in their own and ſucceeding Ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our Moderns or our Ancients may have had the greater and the better Guides, and which of them have taken the greater Pains, and with the more Application in the Purſuit of Knowledge. And, I think, it is enough to ſhew, that the Advantages we have, from thoſe we call the Ancients, may not be greater than what they had from thoſe that were ſo to them.

But after all, I do not know whether the high Flights of Wit and Knowledge, like thoſe of Power and of Empire in the World, may not have been made by the pure Native Force of Spirit or Genius, in ſome ſingle Men, rather than by any derived Strength among them, however increaſed by Succeſſion; and whether they may not have been the Atchievements of Nature, rather than the Improvements of Art. Thus the Conqueſts of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamerlane*, which I take to have been the Greateſt recorded in Story, were at their Height in thoſe Perſons that began them; and ſo far from being increaſed by their Succeſſors, that they were not preſerved in their Extent and Vigour by any of them, grew weaker in every Hand they paſſed through, or were divided into many, that ſet up for great Princes, out of ſeveral ſmall Ruins of the firſt Empires, till they withered away in Time, or were loſt by the Change of Names, and Forms of Families or of Governments.

Juſt the ſame Fate ſeems to have attended the higheſt Flights of Learning and of Knowledge, that are upon our Regiſters. *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hyppocrates*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, were the firſt mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our World, and made greater Progreſſes in the ſeveral Empires of Science, than any of their Succeſſors have been ſince able to reach. Theſe have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and not able to compaſs that it ſelf, they have ſet up for Authors, upon ſome Parcels of thoſe great Stocks, or elſe have contented themſelves only to comment upon thoſe Texts, and make the beſt Copies they could, after thoſe Originals.

I have long thought, that the different Abilities of Men, which we call Wiſdom or Prudence, for the Conduct of publick Affairs or private Life, grow directly out of that little Grain of Intellect or good Senſe, which they bring with them into the World; and that the Defect of it in Men, comes from ſome Want in their Conception or Birth.

——Dixitque ſemel Naſcentibus Author,
Quicquid ſcire licet ——

And though this may be improved or impaired in ſome degree, by Accidents of Education, of Study, and of Converſation and Buſineſs; yet it cannot go beyond the Reach of its Native Force, no more than Life can beyond the Period to which it was deſtined, by the Strength or Weakneſs of the ſeminal Virtue.

If theſe Speculations ſhould be true, then I know not what Advantages we can pretend to Modern Knowledge, by any we receive from the Ancients: Nay, 'tis poſſible, Men may loſe rather than gain by them; may leſſen the Force and Growth of their own Genius, by conſtraining and forming it upon that of others; may have leſs Knowledge of their own, for contenting themſelves with that of thoſe before them. So a Man that only Tranſlates, ſhall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that ſwims always with Bladders. So People that truſt wholly to others Charity, and without Induſtry of their own, will be always Poor. Beſides, who can tell, whether Learning may not even weaken Invention, in a Man that has great Advantages from Nature and Birth; whether the Weight and Number of ſo many other Mens Thoughts and Notions, may not ſuppreſs his own, or hinder the Motion and Agitation of them, from which all Invention ariſes;

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as heaping on Wood, or too many Sticks, or too close together, suppresses, and sometimes quite extinguishes a little Spark that would otherwise have grown up to a Noble Flame. The Strength of Mind, as well as of Body, grows more from the Warmth of Exercise, than of Cloaths; nay, too much of this Foreign Heat rather makes Men faint, and their Constitutions tender or weaker than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are Dwarfs, we are still so, though we stand upon a Gyant's Shoulders; and even so placed, yet we see less than he, if we are naturally shorter-sighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazled with the Height, which often happens from Weakness either of Heart or Brain.

In the Growth and Stature of Souls as well as Bodies, the common Productions are of indifferent Sizes, that occasion no gazing nor no wonder: But though there are or have been sometimes Dwarfs and sometimes Gyants in the World; yet it does not follow, that there must be such in every Age nor in every Country: This we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, because there are none now, at least in the Compass of our present Knowledge or Inquiry. As I believe, there may have been Gyants at some Time, and some Place or other in the World, of such a Stature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again, in several Thousands of Years, or in any other Parts; so there may be Gyants in Wit and Knowledge, of so over-grown a Size, as not to be equalled again in many Successions of Ages, or any Compass of Place or Country. Such, I am sure, *Lucretius* esteems and describes *Epicurus* to have been, and to have risen, like a Prodigy of Invention and Knowledge, such as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not why others of the Ancients may not be allowed to have been as great in their Kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different Schemes or Foundations. Because there is a Stag's Head at *Amboise* of a most prodigious Size, and a large Table at *Memorancy* cut out of the Thickness of a Vine-stock, is it necessary, that there must be, every Age, such a Stag in every great Forest, or such a Vine in every large Vineyard; or that the Productions of Nature in any Kind, must be still alike, or something near it, because Nature is still the same? May there not many Circumstances concur to one Production, that do not to any other, in one or many Ages? In the Growth of a Tree, there is the native Strength of the Seed, both from the Kind, and from the Perfections of its ripening, and from the Health and Vigour of the Plant that bore it. There is the Degree of Strength and Excellence, in that Vein of Earth where it first took Root: There is a Propriety of Soil, suited to the Kind of Tree that grows in it; there is a great Favour or Dis-favour to its Growth, from Accidents of Water and of Shelter, from the Kindness or Unkindness of Seasons, till it be past the Need or the Danger of them. All these, and perhaps many others, joined with the Propitiousness of Climate, to that Sort of Tree, and the Length of Age it shall stand and grow, may produce an Oak, a Fig, or a Plain-Tree, that shall deserve to be renowned in Story, and shall not perhaps be paralleld in other Countries or Times.

May not the same have happened in the Production, Growth, and Size of Wit and Genius in the World, or in some Parts or Ages of it, and from many more Circumstances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the stupendious Growth of a Tree or Animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, such Prodigies of Invention and Learning in *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Physick*, *Oratory*, *Poetry*, that none has ever since approached them, as well as there were in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*? And yet their unparalleld and inimitable Excellencies in these are undisputed.

Science and Arts have run their Circles, and had their Periods in the several Parts of the World: They are generally agreed to have held their Course from *East* to *West*, to have begun in *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, to have been transplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome*, to have sunk there, and, after many Ages, to have revived from those Ashes and to have sprung

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up again, both in *Italy* and other more *Weſtern* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldea* and *Egypt* were Learned and Civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Egypt* and *Syria* now are, and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their Heights in Arts and Sciences, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any Parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

Theſe, and greater Changes, are made in the ſeveral Countries of the World, and Courſes of Time, by the Revolutions of Empire, the Devaſtations of Armies, the Cruelties of Conquering, and the Calamities of enſlaved Nations; by the violent Inundations of Water in ſome Countries, and the cruel Ravages of Plagues in others. Theſe Sorts of Accidents ſometimes lay them ſo waſte, that when they riſe again, 'tis from ſuch low Beginnings, that they look like New-created Regions, or growing out of the Original State of Mankind, and without any Records or Remembrances, beyond certain ſhort Periods of Time. Thus that vaſt Continent of *Norway* is ſaid to have been ſo wholly deſolated by a Plague, about eight or nine hundred Years ago, that it was for ſome Ages following a very Deſart, and ſince all over-grown with Wood: And *Ireland* was ſo ſpoiled and waſted by the Conqueſts of the *Scutes* and *Danes*, that there hardly remains any Story or Tradition what that Iſland was, how Planted or Governed above five hundred Years ago. What Changes have been made by violent Storms, and Inundations of the Sea in the Maritime Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us of all that paſſed there before a certain and ſhort Period of Time.

The Accounts of many other Countries would perhaps as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the Depths of Time, and Gulphs of Ignorance, had it not been for the Aſſiſtance of thoſe two Languages, to which we owe all we have of Learning or Ancient Records in the World. For whether we have any thing of the Old *Chaldean*, *Hebrew*, *Arabian*, that is truly Genuine or more Ancient than the *Auguſtan* Age, I am much in doubt; yet 'tis probable, the vaſt *Alexandrian* Library muſt have chiefly conſiſted of Books compoſed in thoſe Languages, with the *Egyptian*, *Syrian* and *Ethiopick*, or at leaſt tranſlated out of them by the Care of the *Egyptian* Kings or Prieſts, as the *Old Teſtament* was, wherein the *Septuagints* imploy'd left their Name to that Famous Tranſlation.

'Tis very true and juſt, all that is ſaid of the mighty Progreſs that Learning and Knowledge have made in theſe *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, within theſe hundred and fifty Years; but that does not conclude, it muſt be at greater Height than it had been in other Countries, where it was growing much longer Periods of Time; it argues more how low it was then amongſt us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, almoſt all Learning was buried in its Ruins: The *Northern* Nations, that conquered or rather overwhelmed it by their Numbers, were too barbarous to preſerve the Remains of Learning or Civility, more carefully than they did thoſe of Statuary or Architecture, which fell before their Bruriſh Rage. The *Saracens* indeed, from their Conqueſts of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, carried home great Spoils of Learning, as well as other Riches, and gave the Original of all that Knowledge, which flouriſhed for ſome Time among the *Arabians*, and has ſince been copied out of many Authors among them, as theirs have been out of thoſe of the Countries they had ſubdued; nor indeed do Learning, Civility, Morality, ſeem any where to have made a greater Growth, in ſo ſhort a Time, than in that Empire, nor to have flouriſhed more than in the Reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whoſe Victorious Enſigns *Spain* was conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the reſt of thoſe *Scythian* Swarms that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under ſo many ſeveral Names, over-run all *Europe*, took very hardly and very late any Tincture of the Learning and Humanity that had flouriſhed in the ſeveral Regions of it, under the Protection, and by the Example and Inſtructions of the *Romans*, that had ſo long poſſeſſed them:

Thoſe

Thoſe *Northern* Nations were indeed eaſier induced to imbrace the Religion of thoſe they had ſubdued, and by their Devotion gave great Authority and Revenues, and thereby Eaſe to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, thro' all their Conqueſts. Great numbers of the better ſort among the oppreſſed Natives, finding this Vein among them, and no other Way to be ſafe and quiet under ſuch rough Maſters, betook themſelves to the Profeſſion and Aſſemblies of Religious Orders and Fraternities, and among thoſe only were preſerved all the poor Remainders of Learning, in theſe ſeveral Countries.

But theſe good Men, either contented themſelves with their Devotion, or with the Eaſe of quiet Lives; or elſe imployed their Thoughts and Studies to raiſe and maintain the Eſteem and Authority of that Sacred Order, to which they owed the Safety and Repoſe, the Wealth and Honour they injoyed. And in this they ſo well ſucceeded, that the Conquerors were governed by thoſe they had ſubdued, the greateſt Princes by the meaneſt Prieſts, and the Victorious *Franks* and *Lombard* Kings fell at the Feet of the *Roman* Prelates.

Whilſt the Clergy were buſied in theſe Thoughts or Studies, the better ſort among the Laity were wholly turned to Arms and to Honour, the meaner ſort to Labour or to Spoil; Princes taken up with Wars among themſelves, or in thoſe of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors upon Diſputes of the Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Powers; Learning ſo little in uſe among them, that few could write or read, beſides thoſe of the Long Robes. During this Courſe of Time, which laſted many Ages in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, the *Greek* Tongue was wholly loſt, and the Purity of the *Roman* to that degree, that what remained of it was only a certain Jargon rather than *Latin*, that paſſed among the *Monks* and *Fryers* who were at all Learned; and among the Students of the ſeveral Univerſities, which ſerved to carry them to *Rome* in purſuit of Preferments or Cauſes depending there, and little elſe.

When the *Turks* took *Conſtantinople*, about two hundred Years ago, and ſoon after poſſeſſed themſelves of all *Greece*, the poor Natives fearing the Tyranny of thoſe cruel Maſters made their Eſcapes in great Numbers to the neighbouring Parts of Chriſtendom, ſome by the *Auſtrian* Territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*; ſeveral that were Learned among theſe *Grecians* (and brought many Ancient Books with them in that Language) began to teach it in theſe Countries; firſt to gain Subſiſtence, and afterwards Favour in ſome Princes or Great Mens Courts, who began to take a Pleaſure or Pride in countenancing Learned Men. Thus began the Reſtoration of Learning in theſe Parts, with that of the *Greek* Tongue; and ſoon after, *Reuchlyn* and *Eraſmus* began that of the purer and ancient *Latin*. After them, *Buchanan* carried it, I think, to the greateſt Height of any of the Moderns before or ſince: The *Monkiſh Latin* upon this Return was laughed out of Doors, and remains only in the Inns of *Germany* or *Poland*; and with the Reſtitution of theſe two Noble Languages, and the Books remaining of them (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) Learning of all Sorts began to thrive in theſe *Weſtern* Regions; and ſince that Time, and in the firſt ſucceeding Century, made perhaps a greater Growth than in any other that we know of in ſuch a Compaſs of Time, conſidering into what Depths of Ignorance it was ſunk before.

But why from thence ſhould be concluded, That it has out-grown all that was Ancient, I ſee no Reaſon. If a Strong and Vigorous Man at thirty Years old ſhould fall into a Conſumption, and ſo draw on till Fifty in the extreameſt Weakneſs and Infirmity; after that, ſhould begin to recover Health till Sixty, ſo as to be again as ſtrong as Men uſually are at that Age: It might perhaps truly be ſaid in that Caſe, that he had grown more in Strength that laſt ten Years than any others of his Life; but not that he was grown to more Strength and Vigour, than he had at thirty Years old.

But what are the Sciences wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no New Philosophers, that have made Entries upon that Noble Stage for fifteen hundred Years past, unless *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* should pretend to it; of whom I shall make no Critick here, but only say, That by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have by no means eclipsed the Lustre of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients. For Grammar or Rhetorick, no Man ever disputed it with them; nor for Poetry, that ever I heard of, besides the New *French* Author I have mentioned; and against whose Opinion there could, I think, never have been given stronger Evidence, than by his own Poems, printed together with that Treatise.

There is nothing new in *Astronomy*, to vie with the Ancients, unless it be the *Copernican* System; nor in *Physick*, unless *Harvey*'s Circulation of the Blood. But whether either of these be modern Discoveries, or derived from old Fountains, is disputed: Nay, it is so too, whether they are true or no; for though Reason may seem to favour them more than the contrary Opinions, yet Sense can very hardly allow them; and to satisfie Mankind, both these must concur. But if they are true, yet these two great Discoveries have made no Change in the Conclusions of *Astronomy*, nor in the Practice of Physick, and so have been of little Use to the World, though perhaps of much Honour to the Authors.

What are become of the Charms of Musick, by which Men and Beasts, Fishes, Fowls and Serpents, were so frequently enchanted, and their very Natures changed; by which the Passions of Men are raised to the greatest Height and Violence, and then as suddenly appeased, so as they might be justly said to be turned into Lyons or Lambs, into Wolves or into Harts, by the Powers and Charms of this admirable Art? 'Tis agreed by the Learned, that the Science of Musick, so admired of the Ancients, is wholly lost in the World, and that what we have now is made up out of certain Notes that fell into the Fancy or Observation of a poor *Fryar*, in chanting his Mattins. So as those two Divine Excellencies of Musick and Poetry are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one Fidling, and the other Rhyming; and are indeed very worthy the Ignorance of the Fryar, and the Barbarousness of the *Goths* that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of *Magick*, by which the *Indians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Egyptians* were so renowned, and by which Effects so wonderful, and to common Men so astonishing, were produced, as made them have recourse to Spirits or Supernatural Powers, for some Account of their strange Operations? By *Magick*, I mean some excelling Knowledge of Nature, and the various Powers and Qualities in its several Productions, and the Application of certain Agents to certain Patients, which by Force of some peculiar Qualities produce Effects very different from what fall under vulgar Observation or Comprehension. These are by ignorant People called *Magick* and *Conjuring*, and such like Terms, and an Account of them much about as wise, is given by the common Learned, from *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, *Idiosyncrasies*, *Talismans*, and some Scraps or Terms left us by the *Egyptians* or *Grecians* of the Ancient Magick, but the Science seems with several others to be wholly lost.

What Traces have we left of that admirable Science or Skill in Architecture by which such stupendous Fabrics have been raised of old, and so many of the Wonders of the World been produced, and which are so little approached by our Modern Atchievements of this Sort, that they hardly fall within our Imagination? Not to mention the Walls and Palace of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, the Tomb of *Mausolus*, or *Colosse* of *Rhodes*, the Temples and Palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: What can be more admirable in this Kind than the *Roman* Theatres, their Aqueducts, and their Bridges, among which that of *Trajan* over the *Danube* seems to have been the last Flight of the Ancient Architecture? The stupendous Effects of this Science sufficiently evince, at what Heights the Mathematicks were among the Ancients; but if this be not enough, who ever would be satisfied, need go no further

further than the Siege of *Syracuse*, and that mighty Defence made against the *Roman* Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almost magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants.

The greatest Invention that I know of in latter Ages, has been that of the Load-Stone, and consequently the greatest Improvement has been made in the Art of Navigation; yet there must be allowed to have been something stupendous in the Numbers, and in the Build of their Ships and Gallies of Old; and the Skill of Pilots, from the Observation of the Stars in the more serene Climates, may be judged, by the Navigations so celebrated in Story, of the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, not to mention other Nations. However, 'tis to this we owe the Discovery and Commerce of so many vast Countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the Ancients, and the experimental Proof of this Terrestrial Globe, which was before only Speculation, but has since been surrounded by the Fortune and Boldness of several Navigators. From this great, though fortuitous Invention, and the Consequence thereof, it must be allowed, that Geography is mightily advanced in these latter Ages. The vast Continents of *China*, the *East* and *West-Indies*, the long Extent and Coasts of *Africa*, with the numberless Islands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our Acquaintance, and our Maps, and great Increases of Wealth and Luxury, but none of Knowledge, brought among us, further than the Extent and Situation of Country, the Customs and Manners of so many Original Nations which we call barbarous, and I am sure have treated them as if we hardly esteem them to be a Part of Mankind. I do not doubt, but many great and more noble Uses would have been made of such Conquests or Discoveries, if they had fallen to the Share of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in those Ages, when Knowledge and Fame were in as great Request as endless Gains and Wealth are among us now; and how much greater Discoveries might have been made by such Spirits as theirs, is hard to guess. I am sure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the Face of this Terrestrial Globe would probably appear, if they had been pursued as far as we might justly have expected from the Progresses of Navigation, since the Use of the Compass, which seems to have been long at a Stand. How little has been performed of what has been so often and so confidently promised, of a *North-West* Passage to the *East* of *Tartary*, and *North* of *China*? How little do we know of the Lands on that side of the *Magellan Streights*, that lie towards the *South-Pole*, which may be vast Islands or Continents, for ought any can yet aver, though that Passage was so long since found out? Whether *Japan* be Island or Continent, with some Parts of *Tartary* on the *North* side, is not certainly agreed. The Lands of *Jedso* upon the *North-East* Continent have been no more than coasted, and whether they may not join to the *Northern* Continent of *America* is by some doubted.

But the Defect or Negligence seems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond thirty-five Degrees, and that only by the Necessity of doubling the *Cape of Good-hope* in our *East-India* Voyages; yet a Continent has been long since found out within fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent none knows, either to the *South*, the *East*, or the *West*; yet the Learned have been of Opinion, That there must be a Balance of Earth on that side of the Line in some Proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all Sea from thirty Degrees to the *South-Pole*, since we have found Land so above sixty-five Degrees towards the *North*. But our Navigators that Way have been confined to the Roads of Trade; and our Discoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain Degree of Gain. And I have heard it said among the *Dutch*, that their *East-India* Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest Penalties, any further Attempts of discovering that Continent, having already more Trade in those Parts than they can turn to Account, and fearing some more

populous Nation of *Europe* might make great Eſtabliſhments of Trade in ſome of thoſe unknown Regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus we are lame ſtill in Geography itſelf, which we might have expected to run up to ſo much greater Perfection by the Uſe of the Compaſs, and it ſeems to have been little advanced theſe laſt hundred Years. So far have we been from improving upon thoſe Advantages we have received from the Knowledge of the Ancients, that ſince the late Reſtoration of Learning and Arts among us, our Flights ſeem to have been the higheſt, and a ſudden Damp to have fallen upon our Wings, which has hindered us from riſing above certain Heights. The Arts of Painting and Statuary began to revive with Learning in *Europe*, and made a great but ſhort Flight; ſo as for theſe laſt hundred Years we have not one Maſter in either of them, who deſerved a Rank with thoſe that flouriſhed in that ſhort Period after they began among us.

It were too great a Mortification to think, That the ſame Fate has happened to us, even in our Modern Learning, as if the Growth of that, as well as of Natural Bodies, had ſome ſhort Periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which it muſt begin to decay. It falls in one Country or one Age, and riſes again in others, but never beyond a certain Pitch. One Man, or one Country, at a certain Time, runs a great Length in ſome certain kinds of Knowledge, but loſe as much Ground in others, that were perhaps as uſeful and as valuable. There is a certain Degree of Capacity in the greateſt Veſſel, and when 'tis full, if you pour in ſtill, it muſt run out ſome way or other, and the more it runs out on one ſide, the leſs runs out at the other. So the greateſt Memory, after a certain Degree, as it learns or retains more of ſome Things or Words, loſes and forgets as much of others. The largeſt and deepeſt Reach of Thought, the more it purſues ſome certain Subjects the more it neglects others.

Beſides, few Men or none excel in all Faculties of Mind. A great Memory may fail of Invention; both may want Judgment to digeſt or apply what they remember or invent. Great Courage may want Caution, great Prudence may want Vigour, yet all are neceſſary to make a great Commander. But how can a Man hope to excel in all Qualities, when ſome are produced by the Heat, others by the Coldneſs of Brain and Temper? The Abilities of Man muſt fall ſhort on one ſide or other, like too ſcanty a Blanket when you are a-bed, if you pull it upon your Shoulders, you leave your Feet bare; if you thruſt it down upon your Feet, your Shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unleſs it be other Natures and Beings than God Almighty has given us? The Height of our Statures may be ſix or ſeven Foot, and we would have it ſixteen; the Length of our Age may reach to a hundred Years, and we would have it a thouſand. We are born to grovel upon the Earth, and we would fain ſore up to the Skies. We cannot comprehend the Growth of a Kernel or Seed, the Frame of an *Ant* or *Bee*; we are amazed at the Wiſdom of the one, and Induſtry of the other, and yet we will know the Subſtance, the Figure, the Courſes, the Influences of all thoſe Cœleſtial Bodies, and the End for which they were made; we pretend to give a clear Account how Thunder and Lightning (that great Artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the Voice of a Man is framed, that poor little Noiſe we make every time we ſpeak. The Motion of the Sun is plain and evident to ſome Aſtronomers, and of the Earth to others, yet we none of us know which of them moves, and meet with many ſeeming Impoſſibilities in both, and beyond the Fathom of human Reaſon or Comprehenſion. Nay, we do not ſo much as know what Motion is, nor how a Stone moves from our Hand, when we throw it croſs the Street. Of all theſe that moſt Ancient and Divine Writer gives the beſt Account in that ſhort Satyr, *Vain Man would fain be wiſe, when he is born like a Wild Aſs's Colt.*

But,

But, God be thanked, his Pride is greater than his Ignorance; and what he wants in Knowledge, he ſupplies by Sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be ſeen; when he is at the End of his Line, he is at the Bottom of the Ocean; when he has ſhot his beſt, he is ſure, none ever did nor ever can ſhoot better or beyond it. His own Reaſon is the certain Meaſure of Truth, his own Knowledge, of what is poſſible in Nature, though his Mind and his Thoughts change every ſeven Years, as well as his Strength and his Features; nay, though his Opinions change every Week or every Day, yet he is ſure, or at leaſt confident, this his preſent Thoughts and Concluſions are juſt and true, and cannot be deceived; and among all the Miſeries, to which Mankind is born and ſubjected in the whole Courſe of his Life, he has this one Felicity to comfort and ſupport him, that in all Ages, in all Things, every Man is always in the right. A Boy of Fifteen is wiſer than his Father at Forty, the meaneſt Subject than his Prince or Governours; and the Modern Scholars, becauſe they have for a hundred Years paſt learned their Leſſon pretty well, are much more knowing than the Ancients their Maſters.

But let it be ſo, and proved by good Reaſons; is it ſo by Experience too? Have the Studies, the Writings, the Productions of *Greſham* College, or the late Academies of *Paris*, outſhined or eclipſed the *Lycæum* of *Plato*, the Academy of *Ariſtotle*, the *Stoa* of *Zeno*, the Garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Harvey* out-done *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D'Avila*'s and *Strada*'s Hiſtories beyond thoſe of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyden*'s Commentaries beyond thoſe of *Cæſar*? the Flights of *Boileau* above thoſe of *Virgil*? If all this muſt be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excell'd *Homer*, as is pretended; and the Modern *French* Poetry, all that of the Ancients. And yet, I think, it may be as reaſonably ſaid, that the Plays in *Moor-Fields* are beyond the *Olympick* Games; a *Welſh* or *Iriſh* Harp excels thoſe of *Orpheus* and *Arion*; the Pyramid in *London* thoſe of *Memphis*; and the *French* Conqueſts in *Flanders* are greater than thoſe of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, as their Operas and Panegyricks would make us believe.

But the Conſideration of Poetry ought to be a Subject by it ſelf. For the Books we have in Proſe, Do any of the Modern we converſe with appear of ſuch a Spirit and Force, as if they would live longer than the Ancients have done? If our Wit and Eloquence, our Knowledge or Inventions would deſerve it, yet our Languages would not; there is no hope of their laſting long, nor of any thing in them; they change every hundred Years ſo as to be hardly known for the ſame, or any thing of the former Stiles to be endured by the latter; ſo as they can no more laſt like the Ancients, than excellent Carvings in Wood, like thoſe in Marble or Braſs.

The three modern Tongues much eſteemed, are *Italian*, *Spaniſh* and *French*; all imperfect Dialects of the Noble *Roman*; firſt mingled and corrupted with the harſh Words and Terminations of thoſe many different and barbarous Nations, by whoſe Invaſions and Excurſions the *Roman* Empire was long infeſted: They were afterwards made up into theſe ſeveral Languages, by long and popular Uſe, out of thoſe Ruins and Corruptions of *Latin*, and the prevailing Languages of thoſe Nations, to which theſe ſeveral Provinces came in time to be moſt and longeſt ſubjected (as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*) beſides a Mingle of thoſe Tongues which were original to *Gaul* and to *Spain*, before the *Roman* Conqueſts and Eſtabliſhments there. Of theſe, there may be ſome Remainders in *Biſcay* or the *Aſturias*; but I doubt, whether there be any of the old *Gallick* in *France*, the Subjection there having been more univerſal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find the mountainous Parts on the *North* of *Spain* were ever wholly ſubdued, or formerly governed, either by the *Romans*, *Goths*, or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, after their Conqueſts in our Iſland, which has preſerved the ancient *Biſcayn* and *Britiſh* more intire, than any Native Tongue of other Provinces, where

where the *Roman* and *Gothick* or *Northern* Conqueſts reached, and were for any time eſtabliſhed.

'Tis eaſie to imagine, how imperfect Copies theſe modern Languages, thus compoſed, muſt needs be of ſo excellent Original, being patch'd up out of the Conceptions as well as Sounds of ſuch barbarous or inſlaved People. Whereas the *Latin* was framed or cultivated by the Thoughts and Uſes of the nobleſt Nation that appears upon any Record of Story, and inriched only by the Spoils of *Greece*, which alone could pretend to contest it with them. 'Tis obvious enough, what rapport there is, and muſt ever be, between the Thoughts and Words, the Conceptions and Languages of every Country, and how great a Difference this muſt make in the Compariſon and Excellence of Books; and how eaſie and juſt a Preference it muſt decree to thoſe of the *Greek* and *Latin*, before any of the Modern Languages.

It may, perhaps, be further affirmed, in Favour of the Ancients, that the oldeſt Books we have, are ſtill in their kind the beſt. The two moſt Ancient, that I know of in Proſe, among thoſe we call Profane Authors, are *Æſop's* Fables, and *Phalaris's* Epiſtles, both living near the ſame Time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the firſt has been agreed by all Ages ſince, for the greateſt Maſter in his kind, and all others of that Sort have been but Imitations of his Original; ſo I think the Epiſtles of *Phalaris* to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ever ſeen, either ancient or modern. I know ſeveral Learned Men (or that uſually paſs for ſuch, under the Name of Criticks) have not eſteemed them Genuine, and *Politian* with ſome others have attributed them to *Lucian*: But I think he muſt have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original; ſuch Diverſity of Paſſions, upon ſuch Variety of Actions and Paſſages of Life and Government, ſuch Freedom of Thought, ſuch Boldneſs of Expreſſion, ſuch Bounty to his Friends, ſuch Scorn of his Enemies, ſuch Honour of Learned Men, ſuch Eſteem of Good, ſuch Knowledge of Life, ſuch Contempt of Death, with ſuch Fierceneſs of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be repreſented but by him that poſſeſſed them; and I eſteem *Lucian* to have been no more capable of writing, than of acting what *Phalaris* did. In all one writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophiſt; and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

The next to theſe in Time, are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Ariſtotle*; of whom I ſhall ſay no more, than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their ſeveral kinds inimitable. So are *Cæſar*, *Saluſt*, and *Cicero*, in theirs, who are the Ancienteſt of the *Latin* (I ſpeak ſtill of Proſe) unleſs it be ſome little of old *Cato*, upon Ruſtick Affairs.

The Height and Purity of the *Roman* Stile, as it began towards the Time of *Lucretius*, which was about that of the *Jugurthin* War; ſo it ended about that of *Tiberius*; and the laſt Strain of it ſeems to have been *Velleius Paterculus*. The Purity of the *Greek* laſted a great deal longer, and muſt be allowed till *Trajan's* Time, when *Plutarch* wrote, whoſe *Greek* is much more eſtimable, than the *Latin* of *Tacitus* his Contemporary. After this laſt, I know none that deſerves the Name of *Latin*, in compariſon of what went before them, eſpecially in the *Auguſtan* Age; if any, 'tis the little Treatiſe of *Minutius Felix*. All *Latin* Books that we have till the End of *Trajan*, and all *Greek* till the End of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very eſtimable Value. All written ſince that Time, ſeem to me to have little more than what comes from the Relation of Events we are glad to know, or the Controverſie of Opinions in Religion or Laws, wherein the buſie World has been ſo much employed.

The great Wits among the Moderns have been, in my Opinion, and in their ſeveral Kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes* (who writ *Don Quixote*) and *Guevara*; among the *French*, *Rablais*, and *Montagne*; among the *Engliſh*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, *Bacon* and *Selden*: I mention nothing of what is written upon the Subject of Divinity,

Divinity, wherein the *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh* Pens have been moſt converſant and moſt excelled. The Modern *French* are *Voiture*, *Rochfaucalt's* Memoirs, *Buſſy's Amours de Gaul*, with ſeveral other little Relations or Memoirs that have run this Age, which are very pleaſant and entertaining, and ſeem to have refined the *French* Language to a degree, that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does in all Works, that the more they are filed and poliſhed, the leſs they have of Weight and of Strength; and as that Language has much more Fineneſs and Smoothneſs at this Time, ſo I take it to have had much more Force, Spirit and Compaſs, in *Montagne's* Age.

Since thoſe Accidents, which contributed to the Reſtoration of Learning, almoſt extinguiſhed in the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*, have been obſerved; it will be juſt to mention ſome that may have hindered the Advancement of it, in proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty Growth and Progreſs made in the firſt Age after its Recovery. One great Reaſon may have been, that very ſoon after the Entry of Learning upon the Scene of *Chriſtendom*, another was made by many of the New-learned Men, into the Inquiries and Conteſts about Matters of Religion; the Manners and Maxims, and Inſtitutions introduced by the Clergy, for ſeven or eight Centuries paſt; the Authority of Scripture and Tradition; of Popes and of Councils; of the Ancient Fathers, and of the latter School-men and Caſuiſts; of Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power. The Humour of ravelling into all theſe Myſtical or Intangled Matters, mingling with the Intereſts and Paſſions of Princes and of Parties, and thereby heightened or inflamed, produced infinite Diſputes, raiſed violent Heats throughout all Parts of *Chriſtendom*, and ſoon ended in many Defections or Reformations from the *Roman* Church, and in ſeveral new Inſtitutions, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, in divers Countries; which have been ſince rooted and eſtabliſhed in almoſt all the *North-Weſt* Parts. The endleſs Diſputes and litigious Quarrels upon all theſe Subjects, favoured and incouraged by the Intereſts of the ſeveral Princes ingaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally imployed the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the Endeavours of all or moſt of the fineſt Wits, the deepeſt Scholars, and the moſt learned Writers that the Age produced. Many excellent Spirits, and the moſt penetrating *Genii*, that might have made admirable Progreſſes and Advances in many other Sciences, were ſunk and overwhelmed in the Abyſs of Diſputes about Matters of Religion, without ever turning their Looks or Thoughts any other Way. To theſe Diſputes of the Pen, ſucceeded thoſe of the Sword; and the Ambition of great Princes and Miniſters, mingled with the Zeal, or covered with the Pretences of Religion, has for a hundred Years paſt infeſted *Chriſtendom* with almoſt a perpetual Courſe, or Succeſſion, either of Civil or of Foreign Wars: The Noiſe and Diſorders whereof have been ever the moſt Capital Enemies of the *Muſes*, who are ſeated, by the Ancient Fables, upon the Top of *Parnaſſus*; that is, in a Place of Safety and of Quiet, from the Reach of all Noiſes and Diſturbances of the Regions below.

Another Circumſtance that may have hindered the Advancement of Learning, has been a Want or Decay of Favour in Great Kings and Princes, to encourage or applaud it. Upon the firſt Return or Recovery of this fair Stranger among us, all were fond of ſeeing her, apt to applaud her; She was lodged in Palaces inſtead of Cells; and the greateſt Kings and Princes of the Age took either a Pleaſure in courting her, or a Vanity in admiring her, and in favouring all her Train. The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes*, and of *Emperors*, thought themſelves honoured and adorned, by the Number and Qualities of Learned Men, and by all the Improvements of Sciences and Arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all Parts, for the Uſe and Entertainment of Kings, for the Education and Inſtruction of young Princes, for Advice and Aſſiſtance to the greateſt Miniſters; and, in ſhort, the Favour of Learning was the Humour and Mode of the Age. *Francis* the Firſt, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth (thoſe

(thoſe three great Rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing elſe. Many Nobles purſued this Vein with great Application and Succeſs; among whom, *Picus de Mirandula*, a Soveraign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a Prodigy of Learning, if his Studies and Life had laſted as long as thoſe of the Ancients: For I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old; whereas he dyed about Three and Thirty, and left the World in Admiration of ſo much Knowledge in ſo much Youth. Since thoſe Reigns I have not obſerved in our modern Story, any great Princes much celebrated for their Favour of Learning, further than to ſerve their Turns, to juſtifie their Pretenſions and Quarrels, or flatter their Succeſſes. The Honour of Princes has of late ſtruck Sail to their Intereſt; whereas of old, their Intereſts, Greatneſs and Conqueſts, were all dedicated to their Glory and Fame.

How much the Studies and Labours of Learned Men muſt have been damped for want of this Influence and kind Aſpect of Princes, muſt be beſt conjectured from what happened on the contrary, about the *Auguſtan* Age, when the Learning of *Rome* was at its Height, and perhaps owed it in ſome degree to the Bounty and Patronage of that Emperor, and *Mecænas* his Favourite, as well as to the Felicity of the Empire, and Tranquillity of the Age.

The Humour of Avarice, and Greedineſs of Wealth, have been ever, and in all Countries, where Silver and Gold have been in Price and of current Uſe: But if it be true in particular Men, that as Riches increaſe, the Deſires of them do ſo too, May it not be true of the general Vein and Humour of Ages? May they not have turned more to this Purſuit of inſatiable Gains, ſince the Diſcoveries and Plantations of the *Weſt-Indies*, and thoſe vaſt Treaſures that have flowed in to theſe *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe* almoſt every Year, and with ſuch mighty Tides for ſo long a Courſe of Time? Where few are rich, few care for it; where many are ſo, many deſire it; and moſt in time begin to think it neceſſary. Where this Opinion grows generally in a Country, the Temples of Honour are ſoon pulled down, and all Men's Sacrifices are made to thoſe of Fortune. The Soldier as well as the Merchant, the Scholar as well as the Plough Man, the Divine and the States-Man as well as the Lawyer and Phyſician.

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the World, than that Honour is a much ſtronger Principle, both of Action and Invention, than Gain can ever be. That all the great and noble Productions of Wit and of Courage, have been inſpired and exalted by that alone. That the charming Flights and Labours of Poets, the deep Speculations and Studies of Philoſophers, the Conqueſts of Emperors and Atchievements of Heroes, have all flowed from this one Source of Honour and Fame. The laſt Farewell that *Horace* takes of his Lyrick Poems, *Epicurus* of his Inventions in Philoſophy, *Auguſtus* of his Empire and Government, are all of the ſame Strain; and as their Lives were entertained, ſo their Age was relieved, and their Deaths ſoftened, by the Proſpect of lying down upon the Bed of Fame.

Avarice is, on the other ſide, of all Paſſions the moſt ſordid, the moſt clogged and covered with Dirt and with Droſs, ſo that it cannot raiſe its Wings beyond the Smell of the Earth: 'Tis the Pay of Common Soldiers, as Honour is of Commanders; and yet among thoſe themſelves, none ever went ſo far upon the Hopes of Prey or of Spoils, as thoſe that have been ſpirited by Honour or Religion. 'Tis no wonder then, that Learning has been ſo little advanced ſince it grew to be mercenary, and the Progreſs of it has been fettered by the Cares of the World, and diſturbed by the Deſires of being rich, or the Fears of being poor; from all which, the Ancient *Philoſophers*, the *Brachmans* of *India*, the *Chaldean Magi*, and *Egyptian* Prieſts, were diſintangled and free.

But the laſt Maim given to Learning, has been by the Scorn of Pedantry, which the Shallow, the Superficial, and the Sufficient among Scholars firſt drew upon themſelves, and very juſtly, by pretending to more than they had,

had, or to more Eſteem than what they had could deſerve, by broaching it in all Places, at all Times, upon all Occaſions, and by living ſo much among themſelves, or in their Cloſets and Cells, as to make them unfit for all other Buſineſs, and ridiculous in all other Converſations. As an Infection that riſes in a Town, firſt falls upon Children or weak Conſtitutions, or thoſe that are ſubject to other Diſeaſes, but ſpreading further by degrees, ſeizes upon the moſt Healthy, Vigorous and Strong; and when the Contagion grows very general, all the Neighbours avoid coming into the Town, or are afraid of thoſe that are Well among them, as much as of thoſe that are Sick. Juſt ſo it fared in the Common-wealth of Learning, ſome poor weak Conſtitutions were firſt infected with Pedantry, the Contagion ſpread in time upon ſome that were Stronger; Foreigners that heard there was a Plague in the Country, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the Commerce of the Sound as well as of the Diſeaſed. This Diſlike or Apprehenſion turned, like all Fear, to Hatred, and Hatred to Scorn. The reſt of the Neighbours begun firſt to rail at Pendants, then to ridicule them; the Learned began to fear the ſame Fate, and that the Pigeons ſhould be taken for Daws, becauſe they were all in a Flock: And becauſe the Pooreſt and Meaneſt of the Company were Proud, the Beſt and the Richeſt began to be aſhamed.

An Ingenious *Spaniard* at *Bruſſels* would needs have it that the Hiſtory of *Don Quixot* had ruined the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; for before that Time, Love and Valour were all Romance among them; every young Cavalier that enter'd the Scene, dedicated the Services of his Life, to his Honour firſt, and then to his Miſtreſs. They lived and died in this romantick Vein; and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his laſt *Portugal* Expedition, had a young Miſtreſs, to whom the Glory of that Atchievement was devoted, by which he hoped to value himſelf, inſtead of thoſe Qualities he had loſt with his Youth. After *Don Quixot* appeared, and with that inimitable Wit and Humour turned all this Romantick Honour and Love into Ridicule; the *Spaniards*, he ſaid, began to grow aſhamed of both, and to laugh at Fighting and Loving; or at leaſt otherwiſe than to purſue their Fortune, or ſatiſie their Luſt; and the Conſequences of this, both upon their Bodies and their Minds, this *Spaniard* would needs have paſs'd for a great Cauſe of the Ruin of *Spain*, or of its Greatneſs and Power.

Whatever Effect the Ridicule of Knight-Errantry might have had upon that Monarchy, I believe that of Pedantry has had a very ill one upon the Common-wealth of Learning; and I wiſh the Vein of Ridiculing all that is Serious and Good, all Honour and Virtue, as well as Learning and Piety, may have no worſe Effects on any other State: 'Tis the Itch of our Age and Climate, and has over-run both the Court and the Stage; enters a Houſe of Lords and Commons, as boldly as a Coffee-houſe, Debates of Council as well as private Converſation; and I have known in my Life, more than one or two Miniſters of State, that would rather have ſaid a Witty Thing, than done a Wiſe one; and made the Company Laugh, rather than the Kingdom Rejoyce. But this is enough to excuſe the Imperfections of Learning in our Age, and to cenſure the Sufficiency of ſome of the Learned; and this ſmall Piece of Juſtice I have done the Ancients, will not, I hope, be taken, any more than 'tis meant, for any Injury to the Moderns.

I ſhall conclude with a Saying of *Alphonſus* (ſurnamed the Wiſe) King of *Aragon*:

That among ſo many Things as are by Men poſſeſſed or purſued in the Courſe of their Lives, all the reſt are Bawbles, beſides Old Wood to Burn, Old Wine to Drink, Old Friends to Converſe with, and Old Books to Read.

Gardens of EPICURUS;

OR, OF GARDENING, UPON THE

In the Year 1685.

THE same Faculty of Reason which gives Mankind the great Advantage and Prerogative over the rest of the Creation, seems to make the greatest Default of Human Nature; and subjects it to more Troubles, Miseries, or at least Disquiets of Life, than any of its Fellow-Creatures: 'Tis this furnishes us with such Variety of Passions, and consequently of Wants and Desires, that none other feels; and these followed by infinite Designs and endless Pursuits, and improved by that Restlesness of Thought which is natural to most Men, give him a Condition of Life suitable to that of His Birth; so that as He alone is born Crying, he lives Complaining, and dies Disappointed.

Since we cannot escape the Pursuit of Passions, and Perplexity of Thoughts, which our Reason furnishes us, there is no Way left but to endeavour all we can, either to subdue or to divert them. This last is the common Business of common Men, who seek it by all Sorts of Sports, Pleasures, Play or Business. But because the two first are of short Continuance, soon ending with Wearineſs, or Decay of Vigour and Appetite, the Return whereof must be attended, before the others can be renewed; and because Play grows dull if it be not enlivened with the Hopes of Gain, the general Diversion of Mankind seems to be Business, or the Pursuit of Riches in one kind or other; which is an Amusement that has this one Advantage above all others, that it lasts those Men who ingage in it to the very Ends of their Lives; none ever growing too old for the Thoughts and Desires of increasing his Wealth and Fortunes, either for Himself, his Friends, or his Posterity.

In the first and most simple Ages of each Country, the Conditions and Lives of Men seem to have been very near of Kin with the rest of the Creatures;

tures; they lived by the Hour, or by the Day, and ſatisfied their Appetite with what they could get from the Herbs, the Fruits, the Springs they met with when they were hungry or dry; then, with what Fiſh, Fowl, or Beaſts they could kill, by Swifneſs or Strength, by Craft or Contrivance, by their Hands, or ſuch Inſtruments as Wit helped or Neceſſity forced them to invent. When a Man had got enough for the Day, he laid up the reſt for the Morrow, and ſpent one Day in Labour, that he might paſs the other at Eaſe; and lured on by the Pleaſure of this Bait, when he was in Vigour, and his Game fortunate, he would provide for as many Days as he could, both for himſelf and his Children, that were too young to ſeek out for themſelves. Then he caſt about, how by ſowing of Grain, and by Paſture of the tamer Cattle, to provide for the whole Year. After this, dividing the Lands neceſſary for theſe Uſes, firſt among Children, and then among Servants, he reſerved to himſelf a Proportion of their Gain, either in the Native Stock, or ſomething equivalent, which brought in the Uſe of Money; and where this once came in none was to be ſatisfied, without having enough for himſelf and his Family, and all his and their Poſterity for ever; ſo that I know a certain Lord who profeſſes to value no Leaſe, though for an Hundred or a Thouſand Years, nor any Eſtate or Poſſeſſion of Land, that is not for Ever and Ever.

From ſuch ſmall Beginnings have grown ſuch vaſt and extravagant Deſigns of poor Mortal Men: Yet none could ever anſwer the Naked *Indian*, Why one Man ſhould take Pains, and run Hazards by Sea and Land all his Life, that his Children might be ſafe and lazy all theirs: And the Precept of taking no Care for to-Morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the World, ſeems but to reduce Mankind to their Natural and Original Condition of Life. However, by theſe Ways and Degrees, the endleſs Increaſe of Riches ſeems to be grown the perpetual and general Amuſement, or Buſineſs of Mankind.

Some few in each Country make thoſe higher Flights after Honour and Power, and to theſe Ends ſacrifice their Riches, their Labour, their Thought, and their Lives; and nothing diverts nor buſies Men more than theſe Purſuits, which are uſually covered with the Pretences of ſerving a Man's Country, and of Publick Good. But the true Service of the Publick, is a Buſineſs of ſo much Labour and ſo much Care, that though a good and wiſe Man may not refuſe it, if he be called to it by his Prince or his Country, and thinks he can be of more than vulgar Uſe, yet he will ſeldom or never ſeek it; but leaves it commonly to Men, who, under the Diſguiſe of Publick Good, purſue their own Deſigns of Wealth, Power, and ſuch Baſtard Honours as uſually attend them, not that which is the true, and only true Reward of Virtue.

The Purſuits of Ambition, though not ſo general, yet are as endleſs as thoſe of Riches, and as extravagant; ſince none ever yet thought he had Power or Empire enough: And what Prince ſoever ſeems to be ſo great, as to Live and Reign without any further Deſires or Fears, falls into the Life of a Private Man, and enjoys but thoſe Pleaſures and Entertainments, which a great many ſeveral Degrees of Private Fortune will allow, and as much as Human Nature is capable of enjoying.

The Pleaſures of the Senſes grow a little more choice and refined; thoſe of Imagination are turned upon embelliſhing the Scenes he chuſes to live in; Eaſe, Conveniency, Elegancy, Magnificence, are ſought in Building firſt, and then in furniſhing Houſes or Palaces: The admirable Imitations of Nature are introduced by Pictures, Statues, Tapeſtry, and other ſuch Atchievements of Arts. And the moſt exquiſite Delights of Senſe are purſued, in the Contrivance and Plantation of Gardens; which with Fruits, Flowers, Shades, Fountains, and the Muſick of Birds that frequent ſuch happy Places, ſeem to furniſh all the Pleaſures of the ſeveral Senſes, and with the greateſt, or at leaſt the moſt natural Perfections.

Thus the firſt Race of *Aſſyrian* Kings, after the Conqueſts of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, paſſed their Lives, till their Empire fell to the *Medes*. Thus the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, till depoſed by their *Mamalukes*. Thus paſſed the latter Parts of thoſe Great Lives of *Scipio*, *Lucullus*, *Auguſtus*, *Dioceſian*. Thus turned the Great Thoughts of *Henry* the Second of *France*, after the end of his Wars with *Spain*. Thus the preſent King of *Morocco*, after having ſubdued all his Competitors, paſſes his Life in a Country Villa, gives Audience in a Grove of Orange-Trees planted among purling Streams. And thus the King of *France*, after all the Succeſſes of his Councils or Arms, and in the mighty Elevation of his preſent Greatneſs and Power, when he gives himſelf Leiſure from ſuch Deſigns or Purſuits, paſſes the ſofter and eaſier Parts of his Time in Country Houſes and Gardens, in Building, Planting, or Adorning the Scenes, or in the common Sports and Entertainments of ſuch kind of Lives. And thoſe mighty Emperors, who contented not themſelves with theſe Pleaſures of common Humanity, fell into the Frantick or the Extravagant; they pretended to be Gods, or turned to be Devils, as *Caligula* and *Nero*, and too many others known enough in Story.

Whilſt Mankind is thus generally buſied or amuſed, that Part of them, who have had either the Juſtice or the Luck to paſs in common Opinion for the wiſeſt and the beſt Part among them, have followed another and very different Scent; and inſtead of the common Deſigns of ſatisfying their Appetites and their Paſſions, and making endleſs Proviſions for both, they have choſen what they thought a nearer and a ſurer Way to the Eaſe and Felicity of Life, by endeavouring to ſubdue, or at leaſt to temper their Paſſions, and reduce their Appetites to what Nature ſeems only to ask and to need. And this Deſign ſeems to have brought Philoſophy into the World, at leaſt that which is termed Moral, and appears to have an End not only deſirable by every Man, which is the Eaſe and Happineſs of Life, but alſo in ſome degree ſuitable to the Force and Reach of Human Nature: For as to that Part of Philoſophy which is called Natural, I know no End it can have, but that of either buſying a Man's Brain's to no purpoſe, or ſatisfying the Vanity ſo natural to moſt Men of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, by ſome way or other, from thoſe that ſeem their Equals in Birth, and the common Advantages of it: and whether this Diſtinction be made by Wealth or Power, or Appearance of Knowledge, which gains Eſteem and Applauſe in the World, is all a Caſe. More than this, I know no Advantage Mankind has gained by the Progreſs of Natural Philoſophy, during ſo many Ages it has had vogue in the World, excepting always, and very juſtly, what we owe to the Mathematicks, which is in a manner all that ſeems valuable among the civilized Nations, more than thoſe we call Barbarous, whether they are ſo or no, or more ſo than our ſelves.

How ancient this Natural Philoſophy has been in the World is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient Philoſophers in this kind, among the moſt ancient now extant with us. The firſt who found out the Vanity of it ſeems to have been *Solomon*, of which Diſcovery he has left ſuch admirable Strains in *Eccleſiaſtes*. The next was *Socrates*, who made it the Buſineſs of his Life to explode it, and introduce that which we call Moral in its Place, to buſie Human Minds to better purpoſe. And indeed, whoever reads with Thought what theſe two, and *Marcus Antoninus*, have ſaid upon the Vanity of all that Mortal Man can ever attain to know of Nature, in its Originals or Operations, may ſave himſelf a great deal of Pains, and juſtly conclude, That the Knowledge of ſuch Things is not our Game; and (like the Purſuit of a Stag by a little Spaniel) may ſerve to amuſe and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think thoſe three I have named, may juſtly paſs for the wiſeſt Triumvirate that are left us upon the Records of Story or of Time.

After *Socrates*, who left nothing in Writing, many Sects of Philoſophers began to ſpead in *Greece*, who entered boldly upon both Parts of Natural and Moral Philoſophy. The firſt with the greateſt Diſagreement, and the moſt eager Contention that could be upon the greateſt Subjects: As, Whether the

World

World were eternal, or produced at ſome certain Time? Whether, if produced, it was by ſome eternal Mind, and to ſome End, or by the fortuitous Concourſe of Atoms, or ſome Particles of eternal Matter? Whether there was one World, or many? Whether the Soul of Man was a Part of ſome Etherial and Eternal Subſtance, or was Corporeal? Whether, if Eternal, it was ſo before it came into the Body, or only after it went out? There were the ſame Contentions about the Motions of the Heavens, the Magnitude of the Celeſtial Bodies, the Faculties of the Mind, and the Judgment of the Senſes. But all the different Schemes of Nature that have been drawn of old, or of late, by *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Epicurus*, *Des Cartes*, *Hobbs*, or any other that I know of, ſeem to agree but in one Thing, which is, the Want of Demonſtration or Satisfaction, to any thinking and unpoſſeſſed Man; and ſeem more or leſs probable one than another, according to the Wit and Eloquence of the Authors and Advocates that raiſe or defend them; like Jugglers Tricks, that have more or leſs Appearance of being real, according to the Dexterouſneſs and Skill of him that plays 'em; whereas perhaps, if we were capable of knowing Truth and Nature, theſe fine Schemes would prove like Rover Shots, ſome nearer and ſome further off, but all at great diſtance from the Mark; it may be, none in Sight.

Yet in the midſt of theſe and many other ſuch Diſputes and Contentions in their Natural Philoſophy, they ſeem to agree much better in their Moral; and upon their Enquiries after the ultimate End of Man, which was his Happineſs, their Contentions or Differences ſeem'd to be rather in Words, than in the Senſe of their Opinions, or in the true Meaning of their ſeveral Authors or Maſters of their Sects: All concluded that Happineſs was the chief Good, and ought to be the ultimate End of Man; that as this was the End of Wiſdom, ſo Wiſdom was the Way to Happineſs. The Queſtion then was, in what this Happineſs conſiſted? The Contention grew warmeſt between the *Stoicks* and *Epicureans*; the other Sects in this Point ſiding in a manner with one or the other of theſe in their Conceptions or Expreſſions. The *Stoicks* would have it to conſiſt in Virtue, and the *Epicureans* in Pleaſure; yet the moſt reaſonable of the *Stoicks* made the Pleaſure of Virtue to be the greateſt Happineſs; and the beſt of the *Epicureans* made the greateſt Pleaſure to conſiſt in Virtue; and the Difference between theſe two ſeems not eaſily diſcovered. All agreed, the greateſt Temper, if not the total ſubduing of Paſſion, and Exerciſe of Reaſon, to be the State of the greateſt Felicity: To live without Deſires or Fears, or thoſe Perturbations of Mind and Thought, which Paſſions raiſe: To place true Riches in wanting little, rather than in poſſeſſing much; and true Pleaſure in Temperance, rather than in ſatisfying the Senſes: To live with Indifference to the common Enjoyments and Accidents of Life, and with Conſtancy upon the greateſt Blows of Fate or of Chance; not to diſturb our Minds with ſad Reflections upon what is paſt, nor with anxious Cares or raving Hopes about what is to come; neither to diſpute Life with the Fears of Death, nor Death with the Deſires of Life; but in both, and in all Things elſe, to follow Nature, ſeem to be the Precepts moſt agreed among them.

Thus Reaſon ſeems only to have been called in, to allay thoſe Diſorders which it ſelf had raiſed, to cure its own Wounds, and pretends to make us wiſe no other Way, than by rendering us inſenſible. This at leaſt was the Profeſſion of many rigid *Stoicks*, who would have had a wiſe Man, not only without any Sort of Paſſion, but without any Senſe of Pain, as well as Pleaſure; and to enjoy himſelf in the midſt of Diſeaſes and Torments, as well as of Health and Eaſe: A Principle, in my Mind, againſt common Nature and common Senſe; and which might have told us in fewer Words, or with leſs Circumſtance, that a Man, to be wiſe, ſhould not be a Man; and this perhaps might have been eaſie enough to believe, but nothing ſo hard as the other.

The *Epicureans* were more intelligible in their Notion, and fortunate in their Expreſſions, when they placed a Man's Happineſs in the Tranquillity of Mind,

Mind, and Indolence of Body; for while we are compoſed of both, I doubt both muſt have a Share in the Good or Ill we feel. As Men of ſeveral Languages, ſay the ſame Things in very different Words; ſo in ſeveral Ages, Countries, Conſtitutions of Laws and Religion, the ſame Thing ſeems to be meant by very different Expreſſions: What is called by the *Stoicks*, Apathy, or Diſpaſſion; by the *Sceptick*s, Indiſturbance; by the *Moliniſts*, Quietiſm; by common Men, Peace of Conſcience; ſeems all to mean but great Tranquillity of Mind, though it be made to proceed from ſo diverſe Cauſes, as human Wiſdom, Innocence of Life, or Reſignation to the Will of God. An old Uſurer had the ſame Notion, when he ſaid, *No Man could have Peace of Conſcience, that run out of his Eſtate*; not comprehending what elſe was meant by that Phraſe, beſides true Quiet and Content of Mind; which, however expreſſed, is, I ſuppoſe, meant by all, to be the beſt Account that can be given of the Happineſs of Man, ſince no Man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondered how ſuch ſharp and violent Invectives came to be made ſo generally againſt *Epicurus*, by the Ages that followed him, whoſe admirable Wit, Felicity of Expreſſion, Excellence of Nature, Sweetneſs of Converſation, Temperance of Life, and Conſtancy of Death, made him ſo beloved by his Friends, admired by his Scholars, and honoured by the *Athenians*. But this Injuſtice may be faſtened chiefly upon the Envy and Malignity of the *Stoicks* at firſt, then upon the Miſtakes of ſome groſs Pretenders to his Sect (who took Pleaſure only to be ſenſual) and afterwards, upon the Piety of the primitive Chriſtians, who eſteemed his Principles of Natural Philoſophy more oppoſite to thoſe of our Religion, than either the *Platoniſts*, the *Peripateticks*, or *Stoicks* themſelves: Yet, I confeſs, I do not know why the Account given by *Lucretius* of the Gods, ſhould be thought more impious than that given by *Homer*, who makes them not only ſubject to all the weakeſt Paſſions, but perpetually buſie in all the worſt or meaneſt Actions of Men.

But *Epicurus* has found ſo great Advocates of his Virtue, as well as Learning and Inventions, that there need no more; and the Teſtimonies of *Diogenes Laertius* alone ſeem too ſincere and impartial to be diſputed, or to want the Aſſiſtance of Modern Authors: If all failed, he will be but too well defended by the Excellence of ſo many of his Sect in all Ages, and eſpecially of thoſe who lived in the Compaſs of one, but the greateſt in Story, both as to Perſons and Events: I need name no more than *Caſar*, *Atticus*, *Mecænas*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*; all admirable in their ſeveral Kinds, and perhaps unparallel'd in Story.

Caſar, if conſidered in all Lights, may juſtly challenge the firſt Place in the Regiſters we have of Mankind, equal only to himſelf, and ſurpaſſing all others of his Nation and his Age, in the Virtues and Excellencies of a Stateſman, a Captain, an Orator, an Hiſtorian; beſides all theſe, a Poet, a Philoſopher, when his Leiſure allowed him; the greateſt Man of Counſel and of Action, of Deſign and Execution; the greateſt Nobleneſs of Birth, of Perſon and of Countenance; the greateſt Humanity and Clemency of Nature, in the midſt of the greateſt Provocations, Occaſions and Examples of Cruelty and Revenge: 'Tis true, he overturned the Laws and Conſtitutions of his Country; yet 'twas after ſo many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; ſo as in what he did, he ſeems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what himſelf deſigned; for though his Ambition was vaſt, yet it ſeems to have been raiſed to thoſe Heights, rather by the Inſolence of his Enemies than by his own Temper; and that what was natural to him was only a Deſire of true Glory, and to acquire it by good Actions as well as great, by Conqueſts of barbarous Nations, Extent of the *Roman* Empire; defending at firſt the Liberties of the *Plebeians*, oppoſing the Faction that had begun in *Sylla*, and ended in *Pompey*: And in the whole Courſe of his Victories and Succeſſes, ſeeking all Occaſions of Bounty to his Friends, and Clemency to his Enemies.

Atticus

Atticus appears to have been one of the wiſeſt and beſt of the *Romans*; Learned without Pretending, Good without Affectation, Bountiful without Deſign, a Friend to all Men in Misfortune, a Flatterer to no Man in Greatneſs or Power, a Lover of Mankind, and beloved by them all; and by theſe Virtues and Diſpoſitions, he paſſed ſafe and untouched, through all the Flames of civil Diſſentions that ravaged his Country the greateſt Part of his Life; and though he never entered into any publick Affairs, or particular Factions of his State, yet he was favoured, honoured, and courted by them all, from *Sylla* to *Auguſtus*.

Mecænas was the wiſeſt Counſellor, the Trueſt Friend, both of his Prince and his Country, the Beſt Governor of *Rome*, the Happieſt and Ableſt Negotiator, the Beſt Judge of Learning and Virtue, the Choiceſt in his Friends, and thereby the Happieſt in his Converſation that has been known in Story; and I think, to his Conduct in Civil, and *Agrippa*'s in Military Affairs, may be truly aſcribed all the Fortunes and Greatneſs of *Auguſtus*, ſo much celebrated in the World.

For *Lucretius*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, they deſerve in my Opinion the Honour of the greateſt Philoſophers, as well as the beſt Poets of their Nation or Age. The two firſt, beſides what looks like ſomething more than human in their Poetry, were very great Naturaliſts, and admirable in their Morals: And *Horace*, beſides the Sweetneſs and Elegancy of his Lyricks, appears in the reſt of his Writings ſo great a Maſter of Life, and of true Senſe in the Conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean Strain of his Philoſophy, to refuſe being Secretary to *Auguſtus*, when ſo great an Emperor ſo much deſired it. But all the different Sects of Philoſophers ſeem to have agreed in the Opinion of a wiſe Man's abſtaining from Publick Affairs, which is thought the Meaning of *Pythagoras*'s Precept, *to abſtain from Beans*, by which the Affairs of Publick Reſolutions in *Athens* were managed. They thought that ſort of Buſineſs too groſs and material for the abſtracted Fineneſs of their Speculations. They eſteemed it too ſordid and too artificial for the Cleanneſs and Simplicity of their Manners and Lives. They would have no Part in the Faults of a Government; and they knew too well, that the Nature and Paſſions of Men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good; and therefore thought all the Service they could do to the State they live under, was to mend the Lives and Manners of particular Men that compoſed it. But where Factions were once entered and rooted in a State, they thought it Madneſs for good Men to meddle with Publick Affairs; which made them turn their Thoughts and Entertainments to any thing rather than this: And *Heraclitus* having upon the Factions of the Citizens quitted the Government of his City, and amuſing himſelf to play with the Boys in the Porch of the Temple, ask'd thoſe who wondered at him, *Whether 'twas not better to play with ſuch Boys, than govern ſuch Men?* But above all, they eſteemed Publick Buſineſs the moſt contrary of all others to that Tranquillity of Mind, which they eſteemed and taught to be the only true Felicity of Man.

For this Reaſon *Epicurus* paſſed his Life wholly in his Gardens; there he ſtudied, there he exerciſed, there he taught his Philoſophy; and indeed, no other ſort of Abode ſeems to contribute ſo much, to both the Tranquillity of Mind, and Indolence of Body, which he made his chief Ends. The Sweetneſs of Air, the Pleaſantneſs of Smells, the Verdure of Plants, the Cleanneſs and Lightneſs of Food, the Exerciſes of Working or Walking; but above all, the Exemption from Cares and Solicitude, ſeem equally to favour and improve both Contemplation and Health, the Enjoyment of Senſe and Imagination, and thereby the Quiet and Eaſe both of the Body and Mind.

Though *Epicurus* be ſaid to have been the firſt that had a Garden in *Athens*, whoſe Citizens before him had theirs in their Villages or Farms without the City; yet the Uſe of Gardens ſeems to have been the moſt ancient and moſt general of any ſorts of Poſſeſſion among Mankind, and to have preceded thoſe of Corn or of Cattle, as yielding the eaſier, the pleaſanter, and more

natural

natural Food. As it has been the Inclination of Kings, and the Choice of Philoſophers, ſo it has been the common Favourite of publick and private Men; a Pleaſure of the Greateſt, and the Care of the Meaneſt; and indeed an Employment and a Poſſeſſion, for which no Man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we muſt allow that God Almighty eſteemed the Life of a Man in a Garden the happieſt he could give him, or elſe he would not have placed *Adam* in that of *Eden*; that it was a State of Innocence and Pleaſure; and that the Life of Husbandry and Cities, came in after the Fall, with Guilt and with Labour.

Where Paradiſe was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what ſort of Place is meant by it, may perhaps eaſier be conjectured. It ſeems to have been a *Perſian* Word, ſince *Xenophon* and other *Greek* Authors mention it, as what was much in Uſe and Delight among the Kings of thoſe *Eaſtern* Countries. *Strabo* deſcribing *Jericho*, ſays, *Ibi eſt palmetum, cui immixtæ ſunt, etiam aliæ ſtirpes hortenſes, locus ferax, palmis abundans, ſpatio ſtadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi eſt Regia & Balſami Paradiſus.* He mentions another Place to be *prope Libanum & Paradiſum.* And *Alexander* is written to have ſeen *Cyrus*'s Tomb in a Paradiſe, being a Tower not very great, and covered with a Shade of Trees about it. So that a Paradiſe among them ſeems to have been a large Space of Ground, adorned and beautified with all Sorts of Trees, both of Fruits and of Foreſt, either found there before it was incloſed, or planted after; either cultivated like Gardens, for Shades and for Walks, with Fountains or Streams, and all Sorts of Plants uſual in the Climate, and pleaſant to the Eye, the Smell or the Taſte; or elſe employed, like our Parks, for Incloſure and Harbour of all Sorts of Wild Beaſts, as well as for the Pleaſure of Riding and Walking: And ſo they were of more or leſs Extent, and of differing Entertainment, according to the ſeveral Humours of the Princes that ordered and incloſed them.

Semiramis is the firſt we are told of in Story, that brought them in Uſe through her Empire, and was ſo fond of them, as to make one where-ever ſhe built, and in all, or moſt of the Provinces ſhe ſubdued; which are ſaid to have been from *Babylon* as far as *India*. The *Aſſyrian* Kings continued this Cuſtom and Care, or rather this Pleaſure, till one of them brought in the Uſe of ſmaller and more regular Gardens: For having married a Wife he was fond of, out of one of the Provinces, where ſuch Paradiſes or Gardens were much in Uſe, and the Country Lady not well bearing the Air or Incloſure of the Palace in *Babylon* to which the *Aſſyrian* Kings uſed to confine themſelves; he made her Gardens, not only within the Palaces, but upon Terraſes raiſed with Earth, over the arched Roofs, and even upon the Top of the higheſt Tower, planted them with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, as well as other Plants and Flowers, the moſt pleaſant of that Country; and thereby made at leaſt the moſt airy Gardens, as well as the moſt coſtly, that have been heard of in the World. This Lady may probably have been Native of the Provinces of *Chaſimir*, or of *Damaſcus*, which have in all Times been the happieſt Regions for Fruits of all the *Eaſt*, by the Excellence of Soil, the Poſition of Mountains, the Frequency of Streams, rather than the Advantages of Climate. And 'tis great Pity we do not yet ſee the Hiſtory of *Chaſimir*, which *Monſieur Bernier* aſſured me he had tranſlated out of *Perſian*, and intended to publiſh; and of which he has given ſuch a Taſte, in his excellent Memoirs of the *Mogul*'s Country.

The next Gardens we read of, are thoſe of *Solomon*, planted with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, and watered with Fountains; and though we have no more particular Deſcription of them, yet we may find, they were the Places where he paſſed the Times of his Leiſure and Delight, where the Houſes as well as Grounds were adorned with all that could be of pleaſing and elegant, and were the Retreats and Entertainments of thoſe among his Wives that he loved the beſt; and 'tis not improbable, that the Paradiſes mentioned by *Strabo*, were planted by this great and wiſeſt King. But the Idea of the Garden muſt

must be very great, if it answers at all to that of the Gardener, who must have imployed a great deal of his Care and of his Study, as well as of his Leisure and Thought in these Entertainments, since he writ of all Plants, from the Cedar to the Shrub.

What the Gardens of the *Hesperides* were, we have little or no Account, further than the Mention of them, and thereby the Testimony of their having been in Use and Request, in such Remoteness of Place, and Antiquity of Time.

The Garden of *Alcinous*, described by *Homer*, seems wholly Poetical, and made at the Pleasure of the Painter; like the rest of the Romantick Palace, in that little barren Island of *Phenicia* or *Corsu*. Yet, as all the Pieces of this Transcendent Genius are composed with excellent Knowledge, as well as Fancy; so they seldom fail of Instruction as well as Delight, to all that read him. The Seat of this Garden, joining to the Gates of the Palace, the Compass of the Inclosure being four Acres, the tall Trees of Shade, as well as those of Fruit, the two Fountains, the one for the Use of the Garden, and the other of the Palace, the continual Succession of Fruits throughout the whole Year, are, for ought I know, the best Rules or Provisions that can go towards composing the best Gardens; nor is it unlikely, that *Homer* may have drawn this Picture after the Life of some he had seen in *Ionia*, the Country and usual Abode of this Divine Poet; and indeed, the Region of the most refined Pleasures and Luxury, as well as Invention and Wit: For the Humour and Custom of Gardens may have descended earlier into the Lower *Asia*, from *Damascus*, *Assyria*, and other Parts of the *Eastern* Empires, though they seem to have made late Entrance, and smaller Improvement in those of *Greece* and *Rome*; at least in no Proportion to their other Inventions or Refinements of Pleasure and Luxury.

The long and flourishing Peace of the two first Empires, gave earlier Rise and Growth to Learning and Civility, and all the Consequences of them, in Magnificence and Elegancy of Building and Gardening; whereas *Greece* and *Rome* were almost perpetually engaged in Quarrels and Wars, either Abroad or at Home, and so were busie in Actions that were done under the Sun, rather than those under the Shade. These were the Entertainments of the softer Nations, that fell under the Virtue and Proweſs of the two last Empires, which from those Conquests brought home mighty Increases both of Riches and Luxury, and so perhaps lost more than they got by the Spoils of the *East*.

There may be another Reason for the small Advance of Gardening in those excellent and more temperate Climates, where the Air and Soil were so apt of themselves to produce the best Sorts of Fruits, without the Necessity of cultivating them by Labour and Care; whereas the hotter Climates, as well as the cold, are forced upon Industry and Skill, to produce or improve many Fruits that grow of themselves in the more temperate Regions. However it were, we have very little Mention of Gardens in *Old Greece*, or in Old *Rome*, for Pleasure or with Elegance, nor of much Curiousness or Care, to introduce the Fruits of Foreign Climates, contenting themselves with those which were Native of their own; and these were the Vine, the Olive, the Fig, the Pear, and the Apple: *Cato*, as I remember, mentions no more; and their Gardens were then but the necessary Part of their Farms, intended particularly for the cheap and easie Food of their Hinds or Slaves, imployed in their Agriculture, and so were turned chiefly to all the common Sorts of Plants, Herbs, or Legumes (as the *French* call them) proper for common Nourishment; and the Name of *Hortus* is taken to be from *Ortus*, because it perpetually furnishes some Rise or Production of something new in the World.

Lucullus, after the *Mithridatick* War, first brought Cherries from *Pontus* into *Italy*, which so generally pleas'd, and were so easily propagated in all Climates, that within the Space of about an hundred Years, having travelled *Westward* with the *Roman* Conquests, they grew common as far as the *Rhine*,

and paſſed over into *Britain*. After the Conqueſt of *Africk*, *Greece*, the Leſſer *Aſia*, and *Syria*, were brought into *Italy* all the Sorts of their *Mala*, which we interpret Apples, and might ſignifie no more at firſt, but were afterwards applied to many other Foreign Fruits: The Apricocks coming from *Epire*, were called *Mala Epirotica*; Peaches from *Perſia*, *Mala Perſica*; Citrons of *Media*, *Medica*; Pomegranates from *Carthage*, *Punica*; Quinces *Cathonea*, from a ſmall Iſland in the *Grecian* Seas; their beſt Pears were brought from *Alexandria*, *Numidia*, *Greece*, and *Numantia*; as appears by their ſeveral Appellations: Their Plums, from *Armenia*, *Syria*, but chiefly from *Damaſcus*. The Kinds of theſe are reckon'd in *Nero*'s Time, to have been near Thirty, as well as of Figs; and many of them were entertained at *Rome* with ſo great Applauſe, and ſo general Vogue, that the great Captains, and even Conſular Men, who firſt brought them over, took Pride in giving them their own Names (by which they run a great while in *Rome*) as in Memory of ſome great Service or Pleaſure they had done their Country; ſo that not only Laws and Battles, but ſeveral Sorts of Apples or *Mala*, and of Pears, were called *Manlian* and *Claudian*, *Pompeyan* and *Tiberian*; and by ſeveral other ſuch Noble Names.

Thus the Fruits of *Rome*, in about an hundred Years, came from Countries as far as their Conqueſts had reached; and like Learning, Architecture, Painting, and Statuary, made their great Advances in *Italy*, about the *Auguſtan* Age. What was of moſt Requeſt in their common Gardens in *Virgil*'s Time, or at leaſt in his Youth, may be conjectured by the Deſcription of his Old *Corician*'s Gardens in the Fourth of the *Georgicks*; which begins,

Namque ſub Oebaliæ memini me turribus alti.

Among Flowers, the Roſes had the firſt Place, eſpecially a Kind which bore twice a Year; and none other Sorts are here mentioned beſides the *Narciſſus*, tho' the Violet and the Lilly were very common, and the next in Eſteem; eſpecially the *Breve Lilium*, which was the *Tuberoſe*. The Plants he mentions, are the *Apium*, which tho' commonly interpreted *Parſly*, yet comprehends all Sorts of Smallage, whereof Sellery is one; *Cucumis*, which takes in all Sorts of Melons, as well as Cucumbers; *Olus*, which is a common Word for all Sorts of Pot-Herbs and Legumes; *Verbenas*, which ſignifies all Kinds of Sweet or Sacred Plants that were uſed for adorning the Altars; as Bays, Olive, Roſemary, Myrtle: The *Acantus* ſeems to be what we call *Pericanthe*; but what their *Hederæ* were, that deſerv'd Place in a Garden, I cannot gueſs, unleſs they had Sorts of Ivy unknown to us; nor what his *Veſcum Papaver* was, ſince Poppies with us are of no Uſe in eating. The Fruits mentioned, are only Apples, Pears, and Plums; for Olives, Vines and Figs, were grown to be Fruits of their Fields, rather than of their Gardens. The Shades were the Elm, the Pine, the Lime-Tree, and the *Platanus*, or Plane-Tree; whoſe Leaf and Shade, of all others, was the moſt in Requeſt; and having been brought out of *Perſia*, was ſuch an Inclination among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they uſually fed it with Wine inſtead of Water; they believed this Tree loved that Liquor, as well as thoſe that uſed to drink under its Shade; which was a great Humour and Cuſtom, and perhaps gave Riſe to the other, by obſerving the Growth of the Tree, or Largeneſs of the Leaves, where much Wine was ſpilt or left, and thrown upon the Roots.

'Tis great Pity the Haſte which *Virgil* ſeems here to have been in, ſhould have hindered him from entering farther into the Account or Inſtructions of Gardening, which he ſaid he could have given, and which he ſeems to have ſo much eſteemed and loved, by that admirable Picture of this Old Man's Felicity, which he draws like ſo great a Maſter, with one Stroke of a Pencil in thoſe Four Words.

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midst of these small Possessions, upon a few Acres of Barren Ground, yet he equall'd all the Wealth and Opulence of Kings, in the Ease, Content, and Freedom of his Mind.

I am not satisfied with the common Acceptation of the *Mala Aurea*, for Oranges; nor do I find any Passage in the Authors of that Age, which gives me the Opinion, that these were otherwise known to the *Romans* than as Fruits of the *Eastern* Climates. I should take their *Mala Aurea* to be rather some kind of Apples, so called from the Golden Colour, as some are amongst us; for otherwise, the Orange-Tree is too Noble in the Beauty, Taste and Smell of its Fruit; in the Perfume and Virtue of its Flowers; in the perpetual Verdure of its Leaves, and in the excellent Uses of all these, both for Pleasure and Health; not to have deserved any particular Mention in the Writings of an Age and Nation, so refined and exquisite in all Sorts of delicious Luxury.

The charming Description *Virgil* makes of the happy Apple, must be intended either for the Citron, or for some Sort of Orange growing in *Media*, which was either so proper to that Country, as not to grow in any other (as a certain Sort of Fig was to *Damascus*) or to have lost its Virtue by changing Soils, or to have had its Effect of curing some sort of Poison that was usual in that Country, but particular to it; I cannot forbear inserting those few Lines out of the Second of *Virgil*'s Georgicks, not having ever heard any body else take Notice of them.

Media fert tristes succos, tardumque saporem
Felicis Mali; quo non præsentibus ullum,
Pocula si quando sævæ infecere Novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena.
Ipsa ingens arbos, faciemque simillima lauro;
Et si non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit, folia haud ullis labentia ventis;
Flos apprima tenax: animas & lenitia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac senibus medicantur anhelis.

Media *brings pois'nous Herbs, and the flat Taste*
Of the bless'd Apple, than which ne'er was found
A Help more present, when cruel Step-Dames mix
Their mortal Cups to drive the Venom out.
'Tis a large Tree, and like a Bays in Hue;
And did it not such Odours cast about,
'Twou'd be a Bays; the Leaves with no Winds fall,
The Flowers all excel: With these the Medes
Perfume their Breaths, and cure old Purse Men.

The Tree being so like a Bays or Laurel, the slow or dull Taste of the Apple, the Virtue of it against Poison, seem to describe the Citron. The Perfume of the Flowers and Virtues of them, to cure ill Scents of Mouth or Breath, or Shortness of Wind in Purse-Old Men, seem to agree most with the Orange: If *Flos apprima tenax*, mean only the Excellence of the Flower above all others, it may be intended for the Orange: If it signifies the Flowers growing most upon the Tops of the Trees, it may be rather the Citron; for I have been so curious as to bring up a Citron from a Kernel, which at twelve Years of Age began to flower; and I observed all the Flowers to grow upon the Top Branches of the Tree, but to be nothing so high or sweet-scented, as the Orange. On the other side, I have always heard Oranges to pass for a Cordial Juice, and a great Preservative against the Plague, which is a sort of Venom; so that I know not to which of these we are to ascribe this lovely Picture of the happy Apple; but I am satisfied by it, that neither of them was at all com-

mon, if at all known in *Italy*, at that time, or long after, though the Fruit be now ſo frequent there in Fields (at leaſt in ſome Parts) and make ſo common and delicious a Part of Gardening, even in theſe *Northern* Climates.

'Tis certain thoſe Noble Fruits, the Citron, the Orange and the Lemon, are the Native Product of thoſe Noble Regions, *Aſſyria*, *Media* and *Perſia*; and tho' they have been from thence tranſplanted and propagated in many Parts of *Europe*, yet they have not arrived at ſuch Perfection in Beauty, Taſte or Virtue as in their Native Soil and Climate. This made it generally obſerved among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, That the Fruits of the *Eaſt* far excelled thoſe of the *Weſt*. And ſeveral Writers had trifled away their Time in deducing the Reaſons of this Difference, from the more Benign or Powerful Influences of the Riſing Sun. But there is nothing more evident to any Man that has the leaſt Knowledge of the Globe, and gives himſelf Leave to think, than the Folly of ſuch wiſe Reaſons, ſince the Regions that are *Eaſt* to us, are *Weſt* to ſome others; and the Sun riſes alike to all that lie in the ſame Latitude, with the ſame Heat and Virtue upon its firſt Approaches, as well as in its Progreſs. Beſides, if the *Eaſtern* Fruits were the better only for that Poſition of Climate, then thoſe of *India* ſhould excel thoſe of *Perſia*; which we do not find by comparing the Accounts of thoſe Countries: But *Aſſyria*, *Media* and *Perſia* have been ever eſteemed, and will be ever found the true Regions of the beſt and nobleſt Fruits in the World. The Reaſon of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper Soil, being there extended under the beſt Climate for the Production of all Sorts of the beſt Fruits; which ſeems to be from about Twenty-five, to about Thirty-five Degrees of Latitude. Now the Regions under this Climate in the preſent *Perſian* Empire (which comprehends moſt of the other Two, called anciently *Aſſyria* and *Media*) are compoſed of many Provinces full of great and fertile Plains, bounded by high Mountains, eſpecially to the *North*; watered naturally with many Rivers, and thoſe by Art and Labour derived into many more and ſmaller Streams, which all conſpire to form a Country in all Circumſtances, the moſt proper and agreeable for Production of the beſt and nobleſt Fruits. Whereas if we ſurvey the Regions of the *Weſtern* World, lying in the ſame Latitude between Twenty-five and Thirty-five Degrees, we ſhall find them extended either over the *Mediterranean* Sea, the Ocean, or the ſandy barren Countries of *Africa*; and that no Part of the Continent of *Europe* lies ſo *Southward* as Thirty-five Degrees. Which may ſerve to diſcover the true genuine Reaſon, why the Fruits of the *Eaſt* have been always obſerved and agreed to tranſcend thoſe of the *Weſt*.

In our *North-Weſt* Climates, our Gardens are very different from what they were in *Greece* and *Italy*, and from what they are now in thoſe Regions in *Spain*, or the *Southern* Parts of *France*. And as moſt general Cuſtoms in Countries grow from the different Nature of Climates, Soils or Situations, and from the Neceſſities or Induſtry they impoſe, ſo do theſe.

In the warmer Regions, Fruits and Flowers of the beſt Sorts are ſo common, and of ſo eaſie Production, that they grow in Fields, and are not worth the Coſt of Incloſing, or the Care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other ſide, the great Pleaſures of thoſe Climates are Coolneſs of Air, and whatever looks cool even to the Eyes, and relieves them from the unpleaſant Sight of duſty Streets, or parch'd Fields. This makes the Gardens of thoſe Countries to be chiefly valued by Largeneſs of Extent (which gives greater Play and Openneſs of Air) by Shades of Trees, by Frequency of living Streams or Fountains, by Perſpectives, by Statues, and by Pillars and Obeliſks of Stone ſcattered up and down, which all conſpire to make any Place look freſh and cool. On the contrary, the more *Northern* Climates, as they ſuffer little by Heat, make little Proviſion againſt it, and are careleſs of Shade, and ſeldom curious in Fountains. Good Statues are in the Reach of few Men, and common ones are generally and juſtly deſpiſed or neglected. But no Sorts of good Fruits or Flowers, being Natives of the Climates, or uſual among us; (nor indeed the beſt Sort of Plants, Herbs, Sallads for

our Kitchen-Gardens themſelves) and the beſt Fruits not ripening without the Advantage of Walls or Paliſadoes, by Reflection of the faint Heat we receive from the Sun, our Gardens are made of ſmaller Compaſs, ſeldom exceeding Four, Six, or Eight Acres; incloſed with Walls, and laid out in a manner wholly for Advantage of Fruits, Flowers, and the Product of Kitchen-Gardens, in all Sorts of Herbs, Sallads, Plants and Legumes, for the common Uſe of Tables.

Theſe are uſually the Gardens of *England* and *Holland*, as the firſt Sort are thoſe of *Italy*, and were ſo of old. In the more temperate Parts of *France*, and in *Brabant* (where I take Gardening to be at its greateſt Height) they are compoſed of both Sorts, the Extent more ſpacious than ours; part laid out for Flowers, others for Fruits; ſome Standards, ſome againſt Walls or Paliſades, ſome for Foreſt-trees and Groves for Shade, ſome Parts Wild, ſome Exact; and Fountains much in Requeſt among them.

But after ſo much Ramble into Ancient Times, and Remote Places, to return Home and conſider the preſent Way and Humour of our Gardening in *England*; which ſeem to have grown into ſuch Vogue, and to have been ſo mightily improved in three or four and twenty Years of His Majeſty's Reign, that perhaps few Countries are before us, either in the Elegance of our Gardens, or in the Number of our Plants; and I believe none equals us in the Variety of Fruits, which may be juſtly called good; and from the earlieſt Cherry and Strawberry, to the laſt Apples and Pears, may furniſh every Day of the circling Year. For the Taſte and Perfection of what we eſteem the beſt, I may truly ſay, that the *French*, who have eaten my Peaches and Grapes at *Shene*, in no very Ill Year, have generally concluded, that the laſt are as good as any they have eaten in *France*, on this ſide *Fountainbleau*; and the firſt as good as any they have eat in *Gaſcony*; I mean thoſe which come from the Stone, and are properly called Peaches, not thoſe which are hard, and are termed Pavies; for theſe cannot grow in too warm a Climate, nor ever be good in a Cold; and are better at *Madrid*, than in *Gaſcony* it ſelf: *Italians* have agreed, my White Figs to be as good as any of that Sort in *Italy*, which is the earlier kind of White Fig there; for in the latter Kind, and the Blue, we cannot come near the warm Climates, no more than in the *Frontignac* or *Muſcat* Grape.

My Orange-Trees are as large as any I ſaw when I was young in *France*, except thoſe of *Fountainbleau*, or what I have ſeen ſince in the *Low-Countries*, except ſome very old ones of the Prince of *Orange*'s; as laden with Flowers as any can well be, as full of Fruit as I ſuffer or deſire them, and as well taſted as are commonly brought over, except the beſt Sorts of *Sevil* and *Portugal*. And thus much I could not but ſay, in Defence of our Climate, which is ſo much and ſo generally decried Abroad, by thoſe who never ſaw it; or, if they have been here, have yet perhaps ſeen no more of it, than what belongs to Inns, or to Taverns and Ordinaries; who accuſe our Country for their own Defaults, and ſpeak ill, not only of our Gardens and Houſes, but of our Humours, our Breeding, our Cuſtoms and Manners of Life, by what they have obſerved of the Meaner and Baſer Sort of Mankind; and of Company among us, becauſe they wanted themſelves, perhaps, either Fortune or Birth, either Quality or Merit, to introduce them among the Good.

I muſt needs add one thing more in Favour of our Climate, which I heard the King ſay, and I thought New and Right, and truly like a King of *England*, that loved and eſteemed his own Country: 'Twas in Reply to ſome of the Company that were reviling our Climate, and extolling thoſe of *Italy* and *Spain*, or at leaſt of *France*: He ſaid, He thought that was the beſt Climate, where he could be abroad in the Air with Pleaſure, or at leaſt without Trouble and Inconvenience, the moſt Days of the Year, and the moſt Hours of the Day; and this he thought he could be in *England*, more than in any Country he knew of in *Europe*. And I believe it is true, not only of the Hot and the Cold, but even among our Neighbours in *France*, and the *Low-*

Countries

Countries themſelves; where the Heats or the Colds, and Changes of Seaſons, are leſs treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our Climate wants no Heat to produce excellent Fruits; and the Default of it, is only the ſhort Seaſon of our Heats or Summers, by which many of the latter are left behind, and imperfect with us. But all ſuch as are ripe before the End of *Auguſt*, are, for ought I know, as good with us as any where elſe. This makes me eſteem the true Region of Gardens in *England*, to be the Compaſs of Ten Miles about *London*; where the accidental Warmth of Air, from the Fires and Steams of ſo vaſt a Town, makes Fruits, as well as Corn, a great deal forwarder than in *Hampſhire* or *Wiltſhire*, though more *Southward* by a full Degree.

There are, beſides the Temper of our Climate, two Things particular to us, that contribute much to the Beauty and Elegance of our Gardens, which are the Gravel of our Walks, and the Fineneſs, and almoſt perpetual Greenneſs of our Turf. The firſt is not known any where elſe, which leaves all their dry Walks in other Countries, very unpleaſant and uneaſie. The other cannot be found in *France* or in *Holland* as we have it, the Soil not admitting that Fineneſs of Blade in *Holland*, nor the Sun that Greenneſs in *France*, during moſt of the Summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the Fineſt of our Soils.

Whoever begins a Garden, ought in the firſt place, and above all, to conſider the Soil, upon which the Taſte of not only his Fruits, but his Legumes, and even Herbs and Sallads, will wholly depend; and the Default of Soil is without Remedy: For although all Borders of Fruit may be made with what Earth you pleaſe (if you will be at the Charge) yet it muſt be renewed in Two or Three Years, or it runs into the Nature of the Ground where 'tis brought. Old Trees ſpread their Roots further than any body's Care extends, or the Forms of the Garden will allow; and after all, where the Soil about you is ill, the Air is ſo too in a Degree, and has Influence upon the Taſte of Fruit. What *Horace* ſays of the Productions of Kitchen-Gardens under the Name of *Caulis*, is true of all the beſt Sorts of Fruits, and may determine the Choice of Soil for all Gardens.

Caule ſuburbano qui ſiccis crevit in agris
Dulcior, irriguis nihil eſt elutius hortis.

Plants from dry Fields thoſe of the Town exceel,
Nothing more taſteleſs is than water'd Grounds.

Any Man had better throw away his Care and his Money upon any thing elſe, than upon a Garden in Wet or Moiſt Ground. Peaches and Grapes will have no Taſte but upon a Sand or Gravel; but the Richer theſe are, the better; and neither Sallads, Peaſe or Beans, have at all the Taſte upon a Clay or Rich Earth, as they have upon either of the others, though the Size and Colour of Fruits and Plants may, perhaps, be more upon the worſe Soils.

Next to your Choice of Soil, is to ſuit your Plants to your Ground, ſince of this every one is not Maſter; though perhaps *Varro's* Judgment upon this Caſe is the wiſeſt and the beſt; for to one that asked him, What he ſhould do if his Father or Anceſtors had left him a Seat in an ill Air, or upon an ill Soil? He anſwered, Why Sell it, and Buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the Worth? Why then take a Quarter; but however Sell it for any thing, rather than live upon it.

Of all ſorts of Soil, the beſt is that upon a Sandy Gravel, or a Roſiny Sand; whoever lies upon either of theſe, may run boldly into all the beſt Sort of Peaches and Grapes, how ſhallow ſoever the Turf be upon them; and whatever other Tree will thrive in theſe Soils the Fruit ſhall be of much finer Taſte than any other: A richer Soil will do well enough for Apricocks, Plums, Pears or Figs; but ſtill the more of the Sand in your Earth the bet-

ter,

ter, and the worſe the more of the Clay, which is proper for Oaks, and no other Tree that I know of.

Fruits ſhould be ſuited to the Climate among us, as well as the Soil; for there are Degrees of one and the other in *England*, where 'tis to little Purpoſe to plant any of the beſt Fruits; as Peaches or Grapes, hardly, I doubt, beyond *Northamptonſhire*, at the furtheſt *Northwards*: And I thought it very prudent in a Gentleman of my Friends in *Staffordſhire*, who is a great Lover of his Garden, to pretend no higher, though his Soil be good enough, than to the Perfection of Plums; and in theſe (by beſtowing *South* Walls upon them) he has very well ſucceeded, which he could never have done in Attempts upon Peaches and Grapes; and a good Plum is certainly better than an ill Peach.

When I was at *Caſevelt* with that Biſhop of *Munſter*, that made ſo much Noiſe in his Time, I obſerved no other Trees but Cherries in a great Garden he had made. He told me the Reaſon was, becauſe he found no other Fruit would ripen well in that Climate, or upon that Soil; and therefore inſtead of being curious in others, he had only been ſo in the Sorts of that, whereof he had ſo many, as never to be without them from *May* to the End of *September*.

As to the Size of a Garden, which will perhaps, in time, grow extravagant among us, I think from Five or Four, to Seven or Eight Acres, is as much as any Gentleman need deſign, and will furniſh as much of all that is expected from it, as any Nobleman will have occaſion to uſe in his Family.

In every Garden Four Things are neceſſary to be provided for, Flowers, Fruit, Shade, and Water; and whoever lays out a Garden without all theſe, muſt not pretend it in any Perfection: It ought to lie to the beſt Parts of the Houſe, or to thoſe of the Maſter's commoneſt Uſe, ſo as to be but like one of the Rooms out of which you ſtep into another. The Part of your Garden next your Houſe (beſides the Walks that go round it) ſhould be a Parterre for Flowers, or Graſs-plots bordered with Flowers; or if, according to the Neweſt Mode, it be caſt all into Graſs-plots and Gravel-walks, the Drineſs of theſe ſhould be relieved with Fountains, and the Plainneſs of thoſe with Statues; otherwiſe, if large, they have an ill Effect upon the Eye. However, the Part next the Houſe ſhould be open, and no other Fruit but upon the Walls. If this take up one Half of the Garden, the other ſhould be Fruit-trees, unleſs ſome Grove for Shade lie in the middle. If it take up a Third Part only, then the next Third may be Dwarf-Trees, and the Laſt Standard-fruit; or elſe the Second Part Fruit-trees, and the Third all Sorts of Winter-greens, which provide for all Seaſons of the Year.

I will not enter upon any Account of Flowers, having only pleaſed my ſelf with ſeeing or ſmelling them, and not troubled my ſelf with the Care, which is more the Ladies Part than the Mens; but the Succeſs is wholly in the Gardener. For Fruits, the beſt we have in *England*, or I believe can ever hope for, are, of Peaches, the *White* and *Red Maudlin*, the *Minion*, the *Chevreuſe*, the *Ramboullet*, the *Muſk*, the *Admirable*, which is late; all the reſt are either varified by Names, or not to be named with theſe, nor worth troubling a Garden, in my Opinion. Of the *Pavies* or Hard Peaches, I know none good here but the *Newington*, nor will that eaſily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward Peaches are to be eſteemed only becauſe they are early, but ſhould find room in a good Garden, at leaſt the White and Brown Nutmeg, the *Perſian* and the Violet Muſk. The only good Nectorins are the Murry and the *French*; of theſe there are two Sorts, one very round, and the other ſomething long, but the round is the beſt: Of the Murry there are ſeveral Sorts, but being all hard, they are ſeldom well ripened with us.

Of Grapes, the beſt are the *Chaſſelas*, which is the better Sort of our White Muſcadine (as the Name was about *Sheen*;) 'tis called the Pearl-Grape, and ripens well enough in common Years, but not ſo well as the com-

mon

mon Black, or Currand, which is ſomething a worſe Grape. The Parſley is good, and proper enough to our Climate; but all White *Frontignacks* are difficult, and ſeldom ripe unleſs in extraordinary Summers.

I have had the Honour of bringing over four Sorts into *England*; the *Arboyſe* from the *Franche Comte*, which is a ſmall White Grape, or rather runs into ſome ſmall and ſome great upon the ſame Bunch; it agrees well with our Climate, but is very choice in Soil, and muſt have a ſharp Gravel; it is the moſt delicious of all Grapes that are not Muſcat. The *Burgundy*, which is a Grizelin or Pale Red, and of all others is ſureſt to ripen in our Climate; ſo that I have never known them to fail one Summer theſe fifteen Years, when all others have; and have had it very good upon an *Eaſt* Wall. A Black Muſcat, which is called the *Dowager*, and ripens as well as the common White Grape. And the Fourth is the *Grizelin Frontignac*, being of that Colour, and the higheſt of that Taſte, and the Nobleſt of all Grapes I ever eat in *England*; but requires the hotteſt Wall and the ſharpeſt Gravel; and muſt be favoured by the Summer too, to be very good. All theſe are, I ſuppoſe, by this Time pretty common among ſome Gardeners in my Neighbourhood, as well as ſeveral Perſons of Quality; for I have ever thought all Things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of Figs there are among us the White, the Blue, and the Tawny: The laſt is very ſmall, bears ill, and I think but a Bawble. Of the Blue there are two or three Sorts, but little different, one ſomething longer than the other; but that kind which ſwells moſt, is ever the beſt. Of the White I know but two Sorts, and both excellent; one ripe in the Beginning of *July*, the other in the End of *September*, and is yellower than the firſt; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raiſe, though an excellent Fruit.

Of Apricocks, the beſt are the common old Sort, and the largeſt Maſculin; of which this laſt is much improved by budding upon a Peach Stock. I eſteem none of this Fruit but the *Bruſſel's* Apricock, which grows a Standard, and is one of the beſt Fruits we have; and which I firſt brought over among us.

The Number of good Pears, eſpecially Summer, is very great, but the beſt are the Blanquet, Robin, Rouſſelet, Roſati, Sans, Pepin, Jargonell. Of the Autumn, the Buree, the Vertelongue, and the Bergamot. Of the Winter, the Vergoluz, Chaſſeray, St. *Michael*, St. *Germain*, and Ambret: I eſteem the Bon-Cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of Plums, the beſt are St. *Julian*, St. *Catharine*, White and Blue Pedrigon, Queen-Mother, Sheen-Plum, and Cheſton.

Beyond the Sorts I have named, none I think need trouble himſelf, but multiply theſe, rather than make room for more Kinds; and I am content to leave this Regiſter, having been ſo often deſired it by my Friends upon their Deſigns of Gardening.

I need ſay nothing of Apples, being ſo well known among us; but the beſt of our Climate, and I believe of all others, is the Golden Pippin; and for all Sorts of Uſes: The next is the Kentiſh Pippin; but theſe I think are as far from their Perfection with us as Grapes, and yield to thoſe of *Normandy*, as theſe to thoſe in *Anjou*, and even theſe to thoſe in *Gaſcony*. In other Fruits the Defect of Sun is in a great Meaſure ſupplied by the Advantage of Walls.

The next Care to that of ſuiting Trees with the Soil, is that of ſuiting Fruits to the Poſition of Walls. Grapes, Peaches, and Winter-Pears, to be good, muſt be planted upon full *South*, or *South-Eaſt*; Figs are beſt upon *South-Eaſt*, but will do well upon *Eaſt* and *South-Weſt*: The *Weſt* are proper for Cherries, Plums or Apricocks; but all of them are improved by a *South* Wall both as to Early and Taſte; *North*, *North-Weſt*, or *North-Eaſt*, deſerve nothing but Greens; theſe ſhould be divided by Woodbines or Jeſſemins between every Green, and the other Walls, by a Wine between every Fruit-tree; the beſt Sorts upon the *South* Walls, the common White and Black upon *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, becauſe the other Trees being many of them (eſpecially

cially Peaches (were tranſitory; ſome apt to die with hard Winters, others to be cut down and make room for new Fruits: Without this Method the Walls are left for ſeveral Years unfurniſhed; whereas the Vines on each ſide cover the void Space in one Summer, and when the other Trees are grown, make only a Pillar between them of Two or Three Foot broad.

Whoever would have the beſt Fruits in the moſt Perfection our Climate will allow, ſhould not take care of giving them as much Sun, but alſo as much Air as he can; no Tree, unleſs Dwarf, ſhould be ſuffered to grow within Forty Foot of your beſt Walls, but the farther they lie open, is ſtill the better. Of all others, this Care is moſt neceſſary in Vines, which are obſerved abroad to make the beſt Wines, where they lie upon Sides of Hills, and ſo moſt expoſed to the Air and the Wind. The Way of pruning them too, is beſt learn'd from the Vineyards, where you ſee nothing in Winter, but what looks like a dead Stump; and upon our Walls they ſhould be left but like a Ragged Staff, not above two or three Eyes at moſt upon the Bearing Branches; and the lower the Vine and fewer the Branches, the Grapes will be ſtill the better.

The beſt Figure of a Garden is either a Square or an Oblong, and either upon a Flat or a Deſcent; they have all their Beauties, but the beſt I eſteem an Oblong upon a Deſcent. The Beauty, the Air, the View makes Amends for the Expence, which is very great in finiſhing and ſupporting the Terras-Walks, in levelling the Parterres, and in the Stone-Stairs that are neceſſary from one to the other.

The perfecteſt Figure of a Garden I ever ſaw, either at Home or Abroad, was that of *Moor-Park* in *Hertfordſhire*, when I knew it about thirty Years ago. It was made by the Counteſs of *Bedford*, eſteemed among the greateſt Wits of her Time, and celebrated by Doctor *Donne*; and with very great Care, excellent Contrivance, and much Coſt; but greater Sums may be thrown away without Effect or Honour, if there want Senſe in proportion to Money, or if Nature be not followed; which I take to be the great Rule in this, and perhaps in every thing elſe, as far as the Conduct not only of our Lives, but our Governments. And whether the greateſt of Mortal Men ſhould attempt the forcing of Nature, may beſt be judged, by obſerving how ſeldom God Almighty does it himſelf, by ſo few, true and undiſputed Miracles, as we ſee or hear in the World. For my own Part, I know not three wiſer Precepts for the Conduct either of Princes or private Men, than

——— *Servare Modum, Finemque tueri,*
Naturamque ſequi.

Becauſe I take the Garden I have named to have been in all Kinds the moſt beautiful and perfect, at leaſt in the Figure and Diſpoſition, that I have ever ſeen, I will deſcribe it for a Model to thoſe that meet with ſuch a Situation, and are above the Regards of common Expence. It lies on the Side of a Hill, (upon which the Houſe ſtands) but not very ſteep. The Length of the Houſe, where the beſt Rooms, and of moſt Uſe or Pleaſure are, lies upon the Breadth of the Garden, the great Parlours opens into the Middle of a Terras Gravel-Walk that lies even with it, and which may be, as I remember, about three hundred Paces long, and broad Proportion; the Border ſet with Standard Laurels, and at large Diſtances, which have the Beauty of Orange-Trees out of Flower and Fruit: From this Walk are Three Deſcents by many Stone Steps, in the Middle and at each End, into a very large Parterre. This is divided into Quarters by Gravel-Walks, and adorned with Two Fountains and Eight Statues in the ſeveral Quarters; at the End of the Terras-Walk are Two Summer-Houſes, and the Sides of the Parterre are ranged with two large Cloiſters, open to the Garden, upon Arches of Stone, and ending with two other Summer-Houſes even with the Cloiſters, which are paved with Stone, and deſigned for Walks of Shade, there being none other in the whole Parterre. Over theſe two Cloiſters are two Terraſſes covered with Lead, and fenced with Baluſters; and the Paſſage into theſe Airy

Walks, is out of the two Summer-Houſes at the End of the firſt Terras-Walk. The Cloiſter facing the *South* is covered with Vines, and would have been proper for an Orange-Houſe, and the other for Myrtles, or other more common Greens; and had, I doubt not, been caſt for that Purpoſe, if this Piece of Gardening had been then in as much Vogue as it is now.

From the Middle of this Parterre is a Deſcent by many Steps flying on each Side of a Grotto that lies between them (covered with Lead, and Flat) into the lower Garden, which is all Fruit trees ranged about the ſeveral Quarters of a Wilderneſs which is very ſhady; the Walks here are all green, the Grotto embelliſh'd with Figures of Shell-Rock-Work, Fountains and Water-works. If the Hill had not ended with the lower Garden, and the Wall were not bounded by a common Way that goes through the Park, they might have added a Third Quarter of all Greens; but this Want is ſupplied by a Garden on the other Side of the Houſe, which is all of that Sort, very wild, ſhady, and adorned with rough Rock-work and Fountains.

This was *Moor-Park*, when I was acquainted with it, and the ſweeteſt Place, I think, that I have ſeen in my Life, either before or ſince, at Home or Abroad; what it is now I can give little Account, having paſſed through ſeveral Hands that have made great Changes in Gardens as well as Houſes; but the Remembrance of what it was, is too pleaſant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have miſtaken the Figure of it, which may ſerve for a Pattern to the beſt Gardens of our Manners, and that are moſt proper for our Country and Climate.

What I have ſaid of the beſt Forms of Gardens, is meant only of ſuch as are in ſome ſort regular; for there may be other Forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more Beauty than any of the others; but they muſt owe it to ſome extraordinary Diſpoſitions of Nature in the Seat, or ſome great Race of Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance, which may produce many diſagreeing Parts into ſome Figure, which ſhall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have ſeen in ſome Places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chineſe*; a People, whoſe way of Thinking ſeems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their Country does. Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly in ſome certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities; our Walks and our Trees ranged ſo, as to anſwer one another, and at exact Diſtances. The *Chineſe* ſcorn this Way of Planting, and ſay a Boy that can tell an Hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in ſtrait Lines, and over againſt one another, and to what Length and Extent he pleaſes. But their greateſt Reach of Imagination, is employed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty ſhall be great, and ſtrike the Eye, but without any Order or Diſpoſition of Parts, that ſhall be commonly or eaſily obſerv'd. And though we have hardly any Notion of this Sort of Beauty, yet they have a particular Word to expreſs it; and where they find it hit their Eye at firſt Sight, they ſay the *Sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any ſuch Expreſſion of Eſteem. And whoever obſerves the Work upon the beſt *Indian* Gowns, or the Painting upon their beſt Skreens or Purcellans, will find their Beauty is all of this kind (that is) without Order. But I ſhould hardly adviſe any of theſe Attempts in the Figure of Gardens among us; they are Adventures of too hard Atchievement for any common Hands; and though there may be more Honour if they ſucceed well, yet there is more Diſhonour if they fail, and 'tis Twenty to One they will; whereas in regular Figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable Faults.

The Picture I have met with in ſome Relations of a Garden made by a *Dutch* Governour of their Colony, upon the Cape *de Buen Eſperace*, is admirable, and deſcribed to be an Oblong Figure, of very large Extent, and divided into four Quarters by long and croſs Walks, ranged with all Sorts of Orange-trees, Lemons, Limes and Citrons; each of theſe four Quarters is planted with the Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Plants that are native and proper to each of the four Parts of the World; ſo as in this one Incloſure are to

to be found the ſeveral Gardens of *Europe*, *Aſia*, *Africk* and *America*. There could not be, in my Mind, a greater Thought of a Gardener, nor a nobler Idea of a Garden, not better ſuited or choſen for the Climate, which is about Thirty Degrees, and may paſs for the *Heſperides* of our Age, whatever or where-ever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the Iſlands or Continent upon the *South-Weſt* of *Africa*, but what their Forms or their Fruits were, none, that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their Golden Apples were for Taſte, or only for Sight, as thoſe of *Montezuma* were in *Mexico*, who had large Trees, with Stocks, Branches, Leaves and Fruits, all admirably compoſed and wrought of Gold; but this was only ſtupendous in Coſt and Art, and anſwers not at all, in my Opinion, the delicious Varieties of Nature in other Gardens.

What I have ſaid of Gardening, is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, ſo as to make no great Faults, nor be much impoſed upon in the Deſigns of that Kind, which I think ought to be applauded, and encouraged in all Countries. That and Building being a Sort of Creation, that raiſe Beautiful Fabricks and Figures out of nothing, that make the Convenience and Pleaſure of all private Habitations, that employ many Hands, and circulate much Money among the poorer Sort and Artiſans, that are a publick Service to one's Country, by the Example as well as Effect, which adorn the Scene, improve the Earth, and even the Air it ſelf in ſome degree. The reſt that belongs to this Subject, muſt be a Gardener's Part; upon whoſe Skill, Diligence and Care, the Beauty of the Grounds, and Excellence of the Fruits will much depend. Though if the Soil and Sorts be well choſen, well ſuited, and diſpoſed to the Walls, the Ignorance or Careleſneſs of the Servants can hardly leave the Maſter diſappointed.

I will not enter further upon his Trade, than by three ſhort Directions or Advices: Firſt, in all Plantations, either for his Maſter or himſelf, to draw his Trees out of ſome Nurſery that is upon a leaner and lighter Soil than his own where he removes them; without this Care they will not thrive in ſeveral Years, perhaps never; and muſt make way for New, which ſhould be avoided all that can be; for Life is too ſhort and uncertain, to be renewing often your Plantations. The Walls of your Garden without their Furniture, look as ill as thoſe of your Houſe; ſo that you cannot dig up your Garden too often, nor too ſeldom cut them down.

The Second is, In all Trees you raiſe, to have ſome Regard to the Stock, as well as the Graft or Bud; for the firſt will have a Share in giving Taſte and Seaſon to the Fruits it produces, how little ſoever it is uſually obſerved by our Gardeners. I have found Grafts of the ſame Tree upon a Bon-cretien Stock, bring *Chaſſeray* Pears, that laſted till *March*, but with a Rind green and rough: And others, upon a Metre-John Stock, with a ſmooth and yellow Skin, which were rotten in *November*. I am apt to think, all the Difference between the St. *Michael* and the *Ambrette* Pear (which has puzzled our Gardeners) is only what comes from this Variety of the Stocks; and by this, perhaps, as well as by raiſing from Stones and Kernels, moſt of the new Fruits are produced every Age. So the Grafting a Crab upon a White-Thorn brings the *Lazarolli*, a Fruit eſteemed at *Rome*, tho' I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the Cidrato (or Hermaphrodite) came from Budding a Citron upon an Orange. The beſt Peaches are raiſed by Buds of the beſt Fruits upon Stocks, growing from Stones of the beſt Peaches; and ſo the beſt Apples and Pears, from the beſt Kinds grafted upon Stocks, from Kernels alſo of the beſt Sorts, with reſpect to the Seaſon, as well as Beauty and Taſte. And I believe ſo many excellent Winter-Pears, as have come into *France* ſince Forty Years, may have been found out by grafting Summer-Pears of the fineſt Taſte and moſt Water, upon Winter-Stocks.

The Third Advice is, To take the greateſt Care and Pains in preſerving your Trees from the worſt Diſeaſe, to which thoſe of the beſt Fruits are ſubject in the beſt Soils, and upon the beſt Walls. 'Tis what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to obſerve it

by the Experience of my Gardens, though I have ſince met with it in Books both Ancient and Modern. I found my Vines, Peaches, Apricocks and Plums upon my beſt South-Walls, and ſometimes upon my Weſt, apt for ſeveral Years to a Soot, or Smuttineſs upon their Leaves firſt, and then upon their Fruits, which were good for nothing the Years they were ſo affected. My Orange-trees were likewiſe ſubject to it, and never proſpered while they were ſo; and I have known ſome Collections quite deſtroyed by it. But I cannot ſay, that I ever found either my Figs or Pears infected with it, nor any Trees upon my Eaſt-Walls, though I do not well conjecture at the Reaſon. The reſt were ſo ſpoiled with it, that I complained to ſeveral of the oldeſt and beſt Gardeners of *England*, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the ſame Misfortune, and eſteemed it ſome Blight of the Spring. I obſerved after ſome Years, that the diſeaſed Trees had very frequent upon their Stocks and Brances a ſmall Inſect of a dark brown Colour, figured like a Shield, and about the Size of a large Wheat-Corn: They ſtuck cloſe to the Bark, and in many Places covered it, eſpecially about the Joints: In Winter they are dry, and thin-ſhell'd; but in Spring they begin to grow ſoft, and to fill with Moiſture, and to throw a Spawn like a Black Duſt upon the Stocks, as well as the Leaves and Fruits.

I met afterwards with the Mention of this Diſeaſe, as known among Orange-trees, in a Book written upon that Subject in *Holland*, and ſince in *Pauſanias*, as a thing ſo much taken Notice of in *Greece*, that the Author deſcribes a certain ſort of Earth which cures *Pediculos Vitis*, or, *the Lice of the Vine*. This is of all others the moſt peſtilent Diſeaſe of the beſt Fruit-trees, and upon the very beſt Soils of Gravel and Sand (eſpecially where they are too hungry:) And is ſo contagious, that it is propagated to new Plants raiſed from old Trees that are infected, and ſpreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine, that it lies in the Root, and that the beſt Cure were by Application there. But I have tried all Soil without Effect, and can preſcribe no other Remedy, than to Prune your Trees as cloſe as you can, eſpecially the tainted Wood, then to waſh them very clean with a wet Bruſh, ſo as not to leave one Shell upon them that you can diſcern: And upon your Oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every Leaf, as well as bruſhing clean the Stocks and Branches. Without theſe Cares and Diligences, you had better root up any Trees that are infected, renew all the Mold in your Borders or Boxes, and plant new ſound Trees, rather than ſuffer the Diſappointments and Vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know ſomething of this Trade, ſince I have ſo long allowed my ſelf to be good for nothing elſe, which few Men will do, or enjoy their Gardens, without often looking abroad to ſee how other Matters play, what Motions in the State, and what Invitations they may hope for into other Scenes.

For my own Part, as the Country Life, and this Part of it more particularly, were the Inclination of my Youth it ſelf, ſo they are the Pleaſure of my Age; and I can truly ſay, that among many great Employments that have fallen to my Share, I have never asked or ſought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to eſcape from them, into the Eaſe and Freedom of a private Scene, where a Man may go his own Way and his own Pace, in the common Paths or Circles of Life.

Inter cuncta leges & percunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Quid curas minuat, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An ſecretum iter, & fallentis ſemita vitæ.

But above all, the Learned read and ask
By what Means you may gently paſs your Age,
What leſſens Care, what makes thee thine own Friend.

What

What truly calms the Mind; Honour, or Wealth,
Or else a private Path of stealing Life?

These are Questions that a Man ought at least to ask himself, whether he asks others or no, and to chuse his Course of Life rather by his own Humour and Temper, than by common Accidents, or Advice of Friends; at least if the *Spanish* Proverb be true, That *a Fool knows more in his own House, than a Wise Man in another's.*

The Measure of chusing well, is, Whether a Man likes what he has chosen, which I thank God has befallen me; and though among the Follies of my Life, Building and Planting have not been the least, and have cost me more than I have the Confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompensed by the Sweetness and Satisfaction of this Retreat, where, since my Resolution taken of never entering again into any publick Employments, I have passed five Years without ever going once to Town, though I am almost in Sight of it, and have a House there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any sort of Affectation, as some have thought it, but a meer Want of Desire or Humour to make so small a Remove; for when I am in this Corner, I can truly say with *Horace*,

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid sentire putas, quid credis amice precare?
Sit mihi quod nunc est etiam minus, ut mihi vivam,
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volent Dii.
Sit bona librorum, & provisæ frugis in annum
Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem spe pendulus horæ,
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem qui donat & aufert.

Me when the cold Digentian *Stream revives,*
What does my Friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet less possess, so I may live,
Whate'er of Life remains, unto my self.
May I have Books enough, and one Year's Store,
Not to depend upon each doubtful Hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove *to pray,*
Who, as He pleases, gives and takes away.

That which makes the Cares of Gardening more necessary, or at least more excusable, is, that all Men eat Fruit that can get it; so as the Choice is, only whether one will eat Good or Ill; and between these the Difference is not greater in Point of Taste and Delicacy, than it is of Health: For the first, I will only say, That whoever has used to eat good, will do very great Penance when he comes to Ill: And for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe Fruit is extreamly unwholsome, and causes so many untimely Deaths, or so much Sickness about Autumn, in all great Cities where 'tis greedily sold as well as eaten; so no part of Dyet, in any Season, is so Healthful, so Natural, and so Agreeable to the Stomach, as good and well-ripen'd Fruits; for this I make the Measure of their being good; and let the Kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our Climate, they are better never planted, or never eaten. I can say it for my self at least, and all my Friends, that the Season of Summer Fruits is ever the Season of Health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of *June* to the End of *September*, and for all Sicknesses of the Stomach (from which most others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are like me, the most subject to them, shall complain, whenever they eat Thirty or Forty Cherries before Meals, or the like Proportion of Strawberries, white Figs, soft Peaches, or Grapes perfectly ripe. But these after *Michaelmas* I do not think wholesome with us, unless attended by some Fit of Hot and Dry Weather, more than is usual after that Season; when the Frosts or the Rain have taken them, they

they grow dangerous, and nothing but the Autumn and Winter-Pears are to be reckon'd in Seaſon, beſides Apples, which, with Cherries, are of all others the moſt innocent Food, and perhaps the beſt Phyſick. Now, whoever will be ſure to eat good Fruit, muſt do it out of a Garden of his own; for beſides the Choice ſo neceſſary in the Sorts, the Soil, and ſo many other Circumſtances that go to compoſe a good Garden, and produce good Fruits, there is ſomething very nice in gathering them, and chuſing the beſt, even from the ſame Tree. The beſt Sorts of all among us, which I eſteem the white Figs and the ſoft Peaches, will not carry without ſuffering. The beſt Fruit that is bought, has no more of the Maſter's Care, than how to raiſe the greateſt Gains; His Buſineſs is to have as much Fruit as he can upon as few Trees; whereas the way to have it Excellent, is to have but little upon many Trees. So that for all Things out of a Garden, either of Sallads or Fruits, a Poor Man will eat better, that has one of his own, than a Rich Man that has none. And this is all I think of, Neceſſary and Uſeful to be known upupon this Subject.

FO

OF

HEROICK VIRTUE.

AMONG all the Endowments of Nature, or Improvements of Art wherein Men have excelled and diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt in the World, there are Two only that have had the Honour of being called Divine, and of giving that Eſteem or Appellation to ſuch as poſſeſſed them in very eminent Degrees; which are, Heroick Virtue, and Poetry: For Prophecy cannot be eſteemed any Excellency of Nature or of Art, but wherever it is true, is an immediate Gift of God, and beſtowed according to his Pleaſure, and upon Subjects of the meaneſt Capacity; upon Women or Children, or even Things intimate; as the Stones placed in the High-Prieſt's Breaſt-Plate, which were a Sacred Oracle among the *Jews*.

I will leave Poetry to an Eſſay by it ſelf, and dedicate this only to that antiquated Shrine of Heroick Virtue, which, however forgotten or unknown in latter Ages, muſt yet be allowed to have produced in the World the Advantages moſt valued among Men, and which moſt diſtinguiſh their Underſtandings, and their Lives, from the reſt of their Fellow-Creatures.

Though it be eaſier to deſcribe Heroick Virtue, by the Effects and Examples, than by Cauſes or Definitions; yet it may be ſaid to ariſe from ſome great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius tranſcending the common Race of Mankind, in Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Fortitude. Theſe Ingredients advantaged by Birth, improved by Education, and aſſiſted by Fortune, ſeem to make that noble Compoſition, which gives ſuch a Luſtre to thoſe who have poſſeſt it, as made them appear to common Eyes ſomething more than Mortals, and to have been born of ſome Mixture between Divine and Human Race; to have been honoured and obey'd in their Lives, and after their Deaths bewailed and adored.

The Greatneſs of their Wiſdom appeared in the Excellency of their Inventions; and theſe, by the Goodneſs of their Nature, were turned and exerciſed upon ſuch Subjects, as were of general Good to Mankind in the common Uſes of Life, or to their own Countries in the Inſtitutions of ſuch Laws, Orders or Governments, as were of moſt Eaſe, Safety and Advantage to Civil Society. Their Valour was employed in defending their own Countries from the Violence of ill Men at Home, or Enemies Abroad; in reducing their barbarous Neighbours to the ſame Forms and Orders of Civil Lives and Inſtitutions; or in relieving others from the Cruelties and Oppreſſions of Tyranny and Violence. Theſe are all comprehended in Three Verſes of *Virgil*, deſcribing the Bleſſed Seats in *Elyſium*, and thoſe that enjoyed them.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

Here ſuch, as for their Country Wounds receiv'd,
Or who by Arts invented Life improv'd,
Or by deſerving made themſelves remembred.

And

And indeed, the Character of Heroick Virtue ſeems to be, in ſhort, The deſerving well of Mankind. Where this is chief in Deſign, and great in Succeſs, the Pretence to a Hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have ſaid, that this Excellency of Genius muſt be Native, becauſe it can never grow to any great Height, if it be only acquired or affected: But it muſt be ennobled by Birth, to give it more Luſtre, Eſteem and Authority; it muſt be cultivated by Education and Inſtruction, to improve its Growth, and direct its End and Application; and it muſt be aſſiſted by Fortune, to preſerve it to Maturity; becauſe the nobleſt Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, though never ſo bravely, in its firſt Enterprizes, cannot deſerve enough of Mankind, to pretend to ſo great a Reward, as the Eſteem of Heroick Virtue. And yet perhaps, many a Perſon has died in the firſt Battle or Adventure he atchieved, and lies buried in Silence and Oblivion; who, had he out-lived as many Dangers as *Alexander* did, might have ſhined as bright in Honour and Fame. Now ſince ſo many Stars go to the making up of this Conſtellation, 'tis no Wonder it has ſo ſeldom appeared in the World; nor that, when it does, it is received and followed with ſo much Gazing, and ſo much Veneration.

Among the ſimpler Ages or Generations of Men, in ſeveral Countries, thoſe who were the firſt Inventors of Arts generally received and applauded as moſt neceſſary or uſeful to Human Life, were honoured alive, and after Death worſhipped as Gods. And ſo were thoſe, who had been the firſt Authors of any good and well inſtituted Civil Government in any Country, by which the Native Inhabitants were reduced from Savage and Brutiſh Lives, to the Safety and Convenience of Societies, the Enjoyment of Property, the Obſervance of Orders, and the Obedience of Laws; which were followed by Security, Plenty, Civility, Riches, Induſtry, and all Kinds of Arts. The evident Advantages and common Benefits of theſe Sorts of Inſtitutions, made People generally inclined at Home to obey ſuch Governours, the Neighbour Nations to eſteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their Protection, or eaſily yield to the Force of their Arms and Proweſs. Thus Conqueſts began to be made in the World, and upon the ſame Deſigns of reducing barbarous Nations unto civil and well-regulated Conſtitutions and Governments, and of ſubduing thoſe by Force to obey them, who refuſed to accept willingly the Advantages of Life or Condition that were thereby offered them. Such Perſons of old, who excelling in thoſe Virtues, were attended by theſe Fortunes, and made great and famous Conqueſts, and left them under good Conſtitutions of Laws and Governments; or who inſtituted excellent and laſting Orders and Frames of any Political State, in what Compaſs ſoever our Country, or under what Names ſoever of Civil Government, were obeyed as Princes or Law-Givers in their own Times, and were called in After-ages by the Name of Heroes.

From theſe Sources, I believe, may be deduced all or moſt of the Theology or Idolatry of all the Ancient Pagan Countries, within the Compaſs of the Four great Empires, ſo much renowned in Story, and perhaps of ſome others, as great in their Conſtitutions, and as extended in their Conqueſts, though not ſo much celebrated or obſerved by Learned Men.

From all I can gather, upon the Surveys of ancient Story, I am apt to conclude, that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*, and expelled that Kingdom by his Son. That *Jupiter* having driven out his Father from *Crete*, conquered *Greece*, or at leaſt the *Peloponneſus*; and having among theſe Inhabitants introduced the Uſe of Agriculture, of Poetry and Civility, and eſtabliſh'd a juſt and regular Kingdom, was by them adored as Chief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nulli ſubigebant arva coloni.

That

That his Brothers, Sisters, Sons and Daughters, were worshipped likewise, for the Inventions of Things chiefly useful, necessary, or agreeable to human Life. So *Neptune*, for the Art or Improvement of *Navigation*; *Vulcan*, for that of forging Brass and Iron; *Minerva*, of Spinning; *Apollo*, of Musick and Poetry; *Mercury*, of Manual Arts and Merchandize; *Bacchus*, for the Invention of Wine; and *Ceres* of Corn.

I do not find any Traces left by which a probable Conjecture may be made of the Age, wherein this Race of *Saturn* flourished in the World, nor consequently, what Length of Time they were adored; for as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those Names, in very different Times, and perhaps Countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt*; and that the last, who was Son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonauts*, was very modern, in respect of the other more ancient, who was contemporary with the Race of *Jupiter*. But the Story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are said to have conquered *India*, is grown too obscure, by the dark Shades of so great Antiquity, or disguised by the Mask of Fables, and Fiction of Poets.

The same divine Honours were rendered by the *Egyptians* to *Osyris*; in whose Temple was inscribed on a Pillar, That he had gone through all Countries, and every where taught Men all that he found necessary for the common Good of Mankind; by the *Assyrians* to *Belus*, the Founder of that Kingdom, and great Inventor or Improver of Astronomy among the *Chaldeans*; by the Original *Latins* or *Hetruscans*, to *Janus*, who introduced Agriculture into *Italy*; and these three were worshipped as Gods by those ancient and learned Nations.

Ninus and *Sesostris* were renowned for their mighty Conquests, and esteemed the two great Heroes of *Assyria* and of *Egypt*; the first having extended his Victories to the River *Indus*, and the other, those of the *Egyptians*, over *Asia*, as far as *Pontus*. The Time of *Ninus* is controverted among Historians, being by some placed thirteen, by others eight hundred Years before *Sardanapalus*: But that of *Sesostris* is, in my Opinion, much harder to be affirmed. For I do not see how their Opinion can be allowed, who make him to be *Sesack*, that took *Jerusalem* in the Time of *Rehoboam*, since no more is said in Scripture of the Progress of that Expedition: Nor is the Time of it mentioned in the *Grecian* Story, though some Records are there found, of all that passed after the *Trojan* War, and with Distinction enough. But the most ancient among them, speak of the Reign of *Sesostris*, and his mighty Conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the Kingdom of *Cholcos* to have descended from a Colony there established by this famous King, as a Monument how far Northward his Victories had extended. Now this Kingdom flourished in the Time of the *Argonauts*, and excelled in those Arts of Magick and Enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of *Egypt*; so as I think the Story of this King must be reckoned as almost covered with the Ruins of Time.

The two next Heroes that enter the Scene, are the *Theban Hercules*, and *Theseus*, both renowned among the *Greeks*, for freeing their Country from fierce wild Beasts, or from fiercer and wilder Men that infested them; from Robbers and Spoilers, or from cruel and lawless Tyrants. *Theseus* was besides honoured as Founder of the more civil State or Kingdom of *Athens*, which City first began to flourish and grow great by his Institutions, though his Father had been King of the scattered Villages or Inhabitants of *Attica*.

In the same Age flourished *Minos* King of *Crete*, reputed to be Son of *Jupiter*; who, by the Force and Number of his Fleets, became Lord of the *Ægæan* Islands, and most of the Coasts of *Greece*, and was renowned as a Heroe, for the Justness of his Laws, and the Greatness of his Reign.

For the Heroes, in the Time of the *Trojan* Wars, so much celebrated in those two charming Poems, which from them were called Heroical, though 'tis easie to take their Characters from those admirable Pictures drawn of

them by *Homer* and *Virgil*, yet 'tis hard to find them in the Relations of any Authentick Story. That which may be observed, is, that all the Conduct and Courage of *Hector*, were imployed in the Defence of his Country and his Father against a Foreign Invasion: The Valour of *Achilles* was exercised in the common Cause, wherein his whole Nation were engaged upon the fatal Revenge of the Rape of *Helen*, though he had been assured by certain Prophecies, that he should die before the Walls of *Troy*; and *Æneas* having imployed his utmost Prowess in defence of his Country, saved his Father and the *Trojan* Gods, gathered up the Remainders of his ruined Country, sailed to *Italy*, and there founded a Kingdom, which gave Rise to the greatest Empire of the World.

About two hundred and fifty Years after these, *Lycurgus* instituted the *Spartan* State, upon Laws and Orders so different from those usual in those Times and Countries, that more than human Authority seemed necessary to establish them; and the *Pythian* Priestess told him, she did not know whether she should call him a God or a Man. And indeed no Civil or Politick Constitutions have been more celebrated than his, by the best Authors of ancient Story and Times.

The next Heroes we meet with upon Record, were *Romulus* and *Numa*, of which the first founded the *Roman* City and State, and the other polished the civil and religious Orders of both in such a degree, that the original Institutions of these two Law-givers continued as long as that glorious State.

The next Heroe that came upon the Stage, was *Cyrus*, who freed his Country from their Servitude to the *Medes*, erected the *Persian* Empire upon the Ruins of the *Assyrian*; adorned it with excellent Constitutions and Laws, and extended it Westward, by the Conquest of all the Lesser *Asia* and *Lydia*, to the very Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea. Whether the Picture of *Cyrus* drawn by *Xenophon*, be after the Life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the truest Character that can be given of Heroick Virtue; And 'tis certain his Memory was always celebrated among the *Persians*, though not prosecuted by Divine Honours, because that Nation adored one Supream God, without any Representation or Idol; and in the next Place the Sun, to whom alone they offered Sacrifices.

Alexander was the next renowned in Story, having founded the *Grecian* Monarchy, by the Intire Conquest of the *Persian*, and extended it by the Addition of *Greece* and *Macedon*. But he attained not the Esteem or Appellation of an Heroe, thoug he affected and courted it by his Mother's Stories of his Birth, and by the Flatteries of the Priest and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. His Pretence was justly excluded by his Intemperance in Wine, in Anger, and in Lust; and more yet by his Cruelties and his Pride: For true Honour has something in it so humorous, as to follow commonly those who avoid and neglect it, rather than those who seek and pursue it. Besides, he instituted no Orders or Frame of Government, in the Kingdoms either of *Macedon* or *Persia*; but rather corrupted and disordered those he found: And seems to have owed the Success of his Enterprizes, to the Counsels and Conduct of his Father's old Officers; after whose Disgrace and Fall, immediately succeeded that of his Fortune and his Life. Yet he must be allowed to have much contributed to his own Glory and Fame, by a great native Genius and unlimited Bounty, and by the greatest Boldness of Enterprize, Scorn of Danger, and Fearlessness of Death, that could be in in any Mortal Man. He was a Prodigy of Valour and of Fortune, but whether his Virtues or his Faults were greatest, is hard to be decided.

Cæsar, who is commonly esteemed to have been Founder of the *Roman* Empire, seems to have possessed very eminently all the Qualities, both Native and Acquired, that enter into the Composition of an Heroe, but failed of the Attribute or Honour, because he overthrew the Laws of his own Country, and Orders of his State, and raised his Greatness by the Conquest of his Fellow-Citizens, more than of their Enemies; and after he came to the Empire, lived

not

not to perfect the Frame of ſuch a Government, or atchieve ſuch Conqueſts as he ſeems to have had in Deſign.

Theſe four great Monarchies, with the ſmaller Kingdoms, Principalities and States, that were ſwallowed up by their Conqueſts and Extent, make the Subject of what is called Ancient Story, and are ſo excellently related by the many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, ſtill extant and in common Vogue, ſo commented, enlarged, reduced into Order of Time and Place, by many more of the Modern Writers, that they are known to all Men, who profeſs to ſtudy or entertain themſelves with Reading. The Orders and Inſtitutions of theſe ſeveral Governments, their Progreſs and Duration, their Succeſſes or Decays, their Events and Revolutions, make the common Themes of Schools and Colleges, the Study of Learned, and the Converſation of Idle Men, the Arguments of Hiſtories, Poems and Romances. From the Actions and Fortunes of theſe Princes and Law-givers, are drawn the common Examples of Virtue and Honour, the Reproaches of Vice, which are illuſtrated by the Felicities or Misfortunes that attend them. From the Events and Revolutions of theſe Governments are drawn the uſual Inſtructions of Princes and Stateſmen, and the Diſcourſes and Reflections of the greateſt Wits and Writers upon the Politicks. From the Orders and Inſtitutions, the Laws and Cuſtoms of theſe Empires and States, the Sages of Law and of Juſtice, in all Countries, endeavour to deduce the very common Laws of Nature and of Nations, as well as the particular Civil or Municipal of Kingdoms and Provinces. From theſe they draw their Arguments and Precedents in all Diſputes concerning the pretended Excellencies or Defaults of the ſeveral Sorts of Governments that are extolled or decried, accuſed or defended; concerning the Rights of War and Peace, of Invaſion and Defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of Authority and Obedience, of Prerogative and Liberty in civil Contetions.

Yet the Stage of all theſe Empires, and Revolutions of all theſe Heroick Actions, and theſe famous Conſtitutions (how Great or how Wiſe ſoever any of them are eſteemed) is but a limited Compaſs of Earth, that leaves out many vaſt Regions of the Word, the which, though accounted Barbarous, and little taken Notice of in Story, or by any celebrated Authors, yet have a Right to come in for their Voice, in agreeing upon the Laws of Nature and Nations (for ought I know) as well as the Reſt, that have arrogated it wholly to themſelves; and beſides, in my Opinion, there are ſome of them, that upon Enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the Wiſdom of their Conſtitutions, the Extent of their Conqueſts, and the Duration of their Empires or States.

The famous Scene of the four great Monarchies, was that Midland Part of the World, which was bound on the *Eaſt* by the River *Indus*, and on the *Weſt* by the *Atlantick* Ocean; on the *North* by the River *Oxus*, the *Caſpian* and the *Euxine* Seas, and the *Danube*; on the *South* by the Mountain *Atlas*, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and from thence to the Mouth of *Indus*, by the Southern Ocean.

'Tis true, that *Semiramis* and *Alexander* are ſaid to have conquered *India*; but the firſt ſeems only to have ſubdued ſome Parts of it, that lie upon the Borders of that River; and *Alexander*'s Atchievements there, ſeem rather like a Journey than a Conqueſt; and though he pierced through the Country, from *Indus* to *Ganges*, yet he left even undiſcovered the greateſt Parts of that mighty Region, which by the Ancients was reported to contain an hundred and eighteen Great and Populous Nations, and which, for ought I know, were never conquer'd but by the *Tartars*.

I reckon neither *Scythia* nor *Arabia* for Parts of that ancient Scene of Action and Story; for tho' *Cyrus* and *Darius* entred the firſt, yet they ſoon left it, one with Loſs of his Honour, and the other of his Life. And for *Arabia*, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well diſcovered or ſurveyed; nor much more known, than by the Commerce of their Spices and Perfumes. I mean that part of it, which is called *Arabia Fœlix*, and is environed on three

Sides by the Sea; for the Northern Skirts, that join to *Syria*, have entred into the Conqueſts or Commerce of the four great Empires; but that which ſeems to have ſecured the other, is the ſtony and ſandy Deſarts, thro' which no Armies can paſs for want of Water.

Now, if we conſider the Map of the World, as it lies at preſent before us, ſince the Diſcoveries made by the Navigations of theſe three laſt Centuries, we ſhall eaſily find what vaſt Regions there are, which have been left out of that ancient Scene on all Sides: And tho' paſſing for Barbarous, they have not been eſteemed worth the Pens of any good Authors, and are known only by common and poor Relations of Traders, Seamen or Travellers; yet by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that ſome of theſe out-lying Parts of the World, however unknown by the Ancients, and overlook'd by the Modern Learned, may yet have afforded as much Matter of Action and Speculation, as the other Scene ſo much celebrated in Story. I mean not only in their vaſt Extent, and Variety of Soils and Climates, with their natural Productions, but even in the excellent Conſtitutions of Laws and Cuſtoms, the wiſe and laſting Foundations of States and Empires, and the mighty Flights of Conqueſts that have riſen from ſuch Orders and Inſtitutions.

Now, becauſe the firſt Scene is ſuch a beaten Road, and this ſo little known or traced, I am content to take a ſhort Survey of our four great Schemes of Government or Empire, that have ſprung and grown to mighty Heights, lived very long, and flouriſhed much in theſe remote (and, as we will have it, more ignoble) Regions of the World: Whereof one is at the fartheſt Degree of our *Eaſtern* Longitude, being the Kingdom of *China*. The next is at the fartheſt *Weſtern*, which is that of *Peru*. The third is the utmoſt of our *Northern* Latitude, which is *Scythia* or *Tartary*. And the fourth is *Arabia*, which lies very far upon the *Southern*.

For that vaſt Continent of *Africa*, that extends between Mount *Atlas*, and the *Southern* Ocean; though it be found to ſwarm in People; to abound in Gold; to contain many great Kingdoms, and infinite ſmaller Principalities; to be pierced by thoſe two famous Rivers of the *Nile*, and the *Niger*; to produce a Race of Men that ſeem hardly of the ſame Species with the reſt of Mankind; yet I cannot find any Traces of that Heroick Virtue, that may entitle them to any Share in this Eſſay. For whatever remains in Story of *Atlas* or his Kingnom of old, is ſo obſcured with Age or Fables, that it may go along with thoſe of the *Atlantick* Iſlands; though I know not whether theſe themſelves were by *Solon* or *Plato* intended for Fables or no, or for Relations they had met with among the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and which perhaps were by them otherwiſe eſteemed.

SECT. II.

THE Great and Ancient Kingdom of *China* is bounded to the *Eaſt* and *South* by the Ocean, to the *North* by a Stone Wall of twelve hundred Miles long, raiſed againſt the Invaſion of the *Tartars*; and to the *Weſt*, by vaſt and unpaſſable Mountains or Deſarts, which the Labour or Curioſity of no Mortal Man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any Account of. When *Alexander* would have paſſed the River *Ganges*, he was told by the *Indians*, that nothing beyond it was Inhabited, and that all was either impaſſable Marſhes, lying between great Rivers, or ſandy Deſarts or ſteep Mountains, full only of wild Beaſts, but wholly deſtitute of Mankind. So as *Ganges* was eſteemed by Ancients the Bound of the *Eaſtern* World: Since the Uſe of the Compaſs, and Extent of Navigation, it is found that there are ſeveral populous Kingdoms lie between *Ganges* and the Deſarts or Mountains that divide them from *China*; as *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cirote*, and others, lie

lie in this Space, coasting along the Borders of great Rivers *Northwards*; which are said to run about the Length of *Indus* and *Ganges*, and all of them to rise from one mighty Lake in the Mountains of *Tartary*. But from none of these Kingdoms is known any other Way of Passage or Commerce into *China*, than by Sea.

From *Indostan*, or the *Mogul*'s Country, there is none other usual; and such as travel from thence by Land, are forced to go many Degrees Northward before they turn to the East, to pass many Savage Kingdoms or Countries of the *Tartars*, to travel through vast Sandy Deserts, and other prodigious High and Steep Mountains, where no Carriage or Beast is able to pass, but only Men on Foot; and over one Mountain particularly esteemed the highest in the World; where the Air is so thin, that Men cannot travel over it without Danger of their Lives; and never in Summer without being poisoned by the Scent of certain Herbs that grow upon it; which is Mortal when they are in Flower. After Eight or Nine Months Journey from the *Mogul*'s Court, several Persons have travelled this Way, till they came to the Wall that defends or divides *China* from *Tartary*, and so to the Imperial City of *Peking*, situate in the Northern Parts of this mighty Region, which the *Chinese* call a World by it self; and esteem themselves the only reasonable and civilized People, having no Neighbours on three Sides; and to the North, only the *Tartars*, whom they esteem but another sort of wild or brutish Men; and therefore they say in common Proverb, *That the* Chinese *only see with Two Eyes, and all other Men but with One.*

But this Situation, and by a Custom or Law very ancient among them, of suffering no Stranger to come into their Country, or if they do, not permitting him to go out, or return any more to his own, this vast Continent continued very long, and wholly unknown to the rest of the World; and forasmuch as I can find, was first discovered to us by *Paulus Venetus*; who about Four hundred Years ago, made a Voyage from *Venice*, though *Armenia*, *Persia*, and several Parts of *Tartary*, to that which he names the Kingdom of *Cataya*, and to the famous City of *Cambalu* (as he calls them) and after Seventeen Years Residence of his Father and himself, in that Court of the Great *Cham*, returned to *Venice*, and left the World a large Account of this Voyage.

Since his Time, and within Two or Three Hundred Years, several Missionary Friers and Jesuits have upon Devotion or Command of their Superiors, pierced with infinite Pains and Dangers through these vast and savage Regions, some from the *Mogul*'s Country, some through *Armenia* and *Persia*, and arrived at *Peking*; which I make no Question (by comparing all their several Accounts and Relations) is the same famous City that is called *Cambalu* by *Paulus Venetus*, seated in the Northern Provinces of *China*, which is by him called *Cataya*. The Reason of this Difference in Names, was, that when *Paulus Venetus* was there, the *Cham* of *East Tartary*, called *Cataya*, had possessed himself by Conquest, of several Northern Provinces of *China*, as well as that of *Peking*, where he made his Residence, and which was like the rest of his Empire, called *Cataya*, and the chief City *Cambalu*, by a *Tartar* Name. After some time all these Provinces were again recovered by the *Chinese*, from the *Tartars*, and returned to their old *Chinese* Appellations; and the King of *China*, who then expelled the *Tartars*, fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Peking* (which had been formerly at *Nanking* and at *Quinsay*) that the Force of his Armies lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that Frontier against the furious Invasions of the *Tartars*, whereof they had several times felt the Rage and Danger,

After this Recovery, *China* continued in Peace, and prosperous under their own Emperors, till about the Year 1616, when the *Tartars* again invaded them, and after a long and bloody War, of above Thirty Years, in the End made themselves absolute Masters of the whole Kingdom, and so it has ever since continued.

This

This Region, commonly known by the Name of *China*, extends about Eighteen hundred Miles, or Thirty Degrees of Northern and Southern Latitude. It is not eſteemed ſo much of Longitude; but this is more uncertain, the Journey thro' the whole Country from Eaſt to Weſt having not, that I find, been ever performed by any *European*; and the Accounts taken only from Report of the Natives. Nor is it eaſily agreed, where the Habitable Parts of *China* determine Weſtward, ſince ſome Authors ſay, they end in Mountains, ſtored only with wild Beaſts and wild Men, that have neither Laws nor Language, nor other Commerce with the *Chineſe*, than by Deſcents ſometimes made upon them, for Rapines or for Rapes: And other Authors ſay, There are ſuch inacceſſible Mountains even in the midſt of *China*, ſo as the firſt Accounts may have left out great Countries beyond theſe Mountains, which they took for the utmoſt Border of this Kingdom.

Whatever Length it has, which by none is eſteemed leſs than Twelve or Thirteen hundred Miles; it muſt be allowed to be the greateſt, richeſt and moſt populous Kingdom now known in the World; and will perhaps be found to owe its Riches, Force, Civility and Felicity, to the admirable Conſtitution of its Government, more than any other.

This Empire conſiſts of Fifteen ſeveral Kingdoms, which at leaſt have been ſo of old, though now governed as Provinces, by their ſeveral Viceroys, who yet live in Greatneſs, Splendor and Riches, equal to the great and Sovereign Kings. In the whole Kingdom, are one hundred and forty five Capital Cities, of mighty Extent and magnificent Building, and one thouſand three hundred twenty and one leſſer Cities, but all walled round; the Number of Villages is infinite, and no Country in the known World ſo full of Inhabitants, nor ſo improved by Agriculture, by infinite Growth of numerous Commodities, by Canals of incredible Length, Conjunctions of Rivers, Convenience of Ways for the Tranſportation of all Sorts of Goods and Commodities from one Province to another, ſo as no Country has ſo great Trade, though till very lately they never had any but among themſelves; and what there is now Foreign among them, is not driven by the *Chineſe* going out of their Country to manage it, but only by the Permiſſion of the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* to come and Trade in ſome Skirts of their Southern Provinces.

For Teſtimonies of their Greatneſs, I ſhall only add what is agreed of their famous Wall, and of their City *Peking*. The Stone-Wall which divides the Northern Parts of *China* from *Tartary*, is reckoned by ſome Twelve, by others Nine hundred Miles long, running over Rocks and Hills, through Marſhes and Deſerts, and making way for Rivers by mighty Arches. It is forty five Foot high, and twenty Foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain Spaces by great Towers. It was built above two thouſand Years ago, but with ſuch admirable Architecture, that where ſome Gaps have not been broken down by the *Tartars* upon their Irruptions, the reſt is ſtill as entire, as when it was firſt built. The King that raiſed this Wall, appointed a Million of Soldiers, who were liſted and paid for the Defence of it againſt the *Tartars*, and took their Turns by certain Numbers at certain Times, for the Guard of this Frontier.

The Imperial City of *Peking* is nothing ſo large as ſeveral other Cities of *China* (whereof *Nanking* is eſteemed the greateſt) but is a regular Four-Square; the Wall of each Side is Six Miles in length. In each of theſe Sides are three Gates, and on each Side of each Gate are great Palaces or Forts for the Guards belonging to them, which are a thouſand Men to each Gate. The Streets run quite croſs, with a thorough View and Paſſage from each Gate to that which is over-againſt it in the oppoſite Side; and theſe Streets are ranged full of ſtately Houſes.

The Palace of the Emperor is three Miles in Compaſs, conſiſting of three Courts, one within the other, whereof the laſt (where the Emperor lodges) is four hundred Paces ſquare. The other two are filled with his Domeſticks, Officers and Guards, to the Number of ſixteen thouſand Perſons.

ſons. Without the Courts are large and delicious Gardens, many artificial Rocks and Hills, Streams of Rivers drawn into ſeveral Canals faced with ſquare Stone, and the whole atchieved with ſuch admirable Invention, Coſt and Workmanſhip, that nothing Ancient or Modern ſeems to come near it; and all ſerved with ſuch Magnificence, Order and Splendour, that the Audience of a Foreign Ambaſſador at *Peking*, ſeems a Sight as Great and Noble, as one of the Triumphs at *Rome*.

As other Nations are uſually diſtinguiſh'd into Noble and Plebeian, ſo that of *China* may be diſtinguiſh'd into Learned and Illiterate. The laſt makes up the Body or Maſs of the People who are govern'd; the firſt comprehends all the Magiſtrates that govern, and thoſe who may in Time or Courſe ſucceed them in the Magiſtracy; for no other than the Learned are ever imployed in the Government, nor any in the greateſt Charges, that are not of thoſe Ranks or Degrees of Learning, that make them termed Sages or Philoſophers, or Doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this Government of *China* is, and what the Perſons employed in it, there will be a Neceſſity of knowing what their Learning is, and how it makes them fit for Government, very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is obſerved to do, and the Reaſon of ſuch different Effects from the ſame Cauſe.

The two great Heroes of the *Chineſe* Nation were *Fohu* and *Confuchu*, whoſe Memories have always continued among them Sacred and Adored. *Fohu* lived about four thouſand Years ago, and was the firſt Founder of their Kingdom; the Progreſs whereof has ever ſince continued upon their Records ſo clear, that they are eſtemed by the Miſſionary Jeſuits unqueſtionable and infallible. For after the Death of every King, the Succeſſor appoints certain Perſons to write the Memorable Actions of his Predeceſſor's Reign, and of theſe, an Epitome is afterwards drawn and entred into their Regiſters. *Fohu* firſt reduced them from the common Original Lives of Mankind, introduced Agriculture, Wedlock, Diſtinction of Sexes by different Habits, Laws and Orders of Government: He invented Characters, and left ſeveral ſhort Tables or Writings of Aſtronomy, or Obſervations of the Heavens, of Morality, of Phyſick, and Political Government. The Characters he uſed, ſeem to have been partly ſtrait Lines of different Lengths, and diſtinguiſh'd by different Points; and partly Hieroglyphicks; and theſe in time were followed by Characters, of which each expreſſed one Word.

In theſe ſeveral Ways were for many Centuries compoſed many Books among the *Chineſe*, in many ſorts of Learning, eſpecially Natural and Moral Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, Aſtrology, Phyſick and Agriculture.

Something above Two thouſand Years ago lived *Confuchu*, the moſt Learned, Wiſe and Virtuous of all the *Chineſe*; and for whom both the King and Magiſtrates, in his own Age, and all of them in the Ages ſince, ſeem to have had the greateſt Deference that has any where been rendered to any Mortal Man. He writ many Tracts, and in them digeſted all the Learning of the Ancients, even from the firſt Writing or Tables of *Fohu*, at leaſt all that he thought neceſſary or uſeful to Mankind, in their Perſonal, Civil or Political Capacities; which were then received, and ſince proſecuted with ſo great Eſteem and Veneration, that none has queſtioned whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the trueſt and beſt Rules of Opinion and Life; ſo that 'tis enough in all Argument, that *Confuchu* has ſaid it.

Some time after lived a King, who to raiſe a new Period of Time from his own Name and Reign, endeavoured to aboliſh the Memory of all that had paſſed before him, and cauſed all Books to be burnt, except thoſe of Phyſick and Agriculture. Out of this Ruin to Learning, eſcaped, either by Chance, or ſome Private Induſtry, the Epitomes or Regiſters of the ſeveral Succeſſions of their Kings ſince *Fohu*, and the Works of *Confuchu*, or at leaſt a Part of them, which have lately in *France* been Printed in the Latin Tongue, with a Learned Preface, by ſome of the Miſſionary Jeſuits, under the Title of the Works of *Confutius*.

After

After the Death of this Tyrannous and Ambitious King, these Writings came abroad; and being the only Remainders of the Ancient *Chineſe* Learning, were received with general Applauſe, or rather Veneration: Four Learned Men having long addicted themſelves to the Study of theſe Books, writ Four ſeveral Tracts or Comments upon them; and one of the ſucceeding Kings made a Law, that no other Learning ſhould be taught, ſtudied or exerciſed, but what was extracted out of theſe Five Books; and ſo Learning has ever ſince continued in *China*, wholly confined to the Writings of theſe Five Men, or rather to thoſe of their Prince of Philoſophers, the Great and Renowned *Confutius*.

The Sum of his Writings ſeems to be a Body or Digeſtion of Ethicks, that is, of all Moral Virtues, either Perſonal, Oeconomical, Civil or Political; and framed for the Inſtitution and Conduct of Mens Lives, their Families and their Governments, but chiefly of the laſt; the Bent of his Thoughts and Reaſonings running up and down this Scale, that no People can be happy but under good Governments, and no Governments happy but over good Men; and that for the Felicity of Mankind, all Men in a Nation, from the Prince to the meaneſt Peaſant, ſhould endeavour to be Good, and Wiſe, and Virtuous, as far as his own Thoughts, the Precepts of others, or the Laws of his Country can inſtruct him.

The chief Principle he ſeems to lay down for a Foundation, and builds upon, is, That every Man ought to ſtudy and endeavour the improving and perfecting of his own Natural Reaſon to the greateſt Height he is capable, ſo as he may never (or as ſeldom as can be) err and ſwerve from the Law of Nature, in the Courſe and Conduct of his Life: That this being not to be done without much Thought, Inquiry and Diligence, makes Study and Philoſophy neceſſary; which teaches Men what is Good and what is Bad, either in its own Nature or for theirs; and conſequently what is to be done and what to be avoided, by every Man in his ſeveral Station or Capacity. That in this Perfection of Natural Reaſon conſiſts the Perfection of Body and Mind, and the utmoſt or ſupreme Happineſs of Mankind. That the Means and Rules to attain this Perfection, are chiefly not to will or deſire any thing but what is conſonant to his Natural Reaſon, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the Good and Happineſs of other Men, as well as our own. To this end is preſcribed the conſtant Courſe and Practice of the ſeveral Virtues, known and agreed ſo generally in the World; among which, Courteſie or Civility, and Gratitude, are Cardinal with them. In ſhort, the whole Scope of all *Confutius* has writ, ſeems aimed only at teaching Men to live well, and to govern well; how Parents, Maſters and Magiſtrates ſhould rule, and how Children, Servants and Subjects ſhould obey.

All this, with the many particular Rules and Inſtructions, for either Perſonal, Oeconomical, or Political Wiſdom and Virtue, is diſcourſed by him, with great Compaſs of Knowledge, Excellence of Senſe, Reach of Wit, and illuſtrated with Elegance of Stile and Aptneſs of Similitudes and Examples, as may be eaſily conceived by any that can allow for the Lameneſs and Shortneſs of Tranſlations out of Language and Manners of Writing infinitely differing from ours. So as the Man appears to have been of a very extraordinary Genius, of mighty Learning, admirable Virtue, excellent Nature, a true Patriot of his Country, and Lover of Mankind.

This is the Learning of the *Chineſe*, and all other Sorts are either diſuſed or ignoble among them; all that which we call Scholaſtick or Polemick, is unknown or unpractiſed, and ſerves, I fear, among us, for little more than to raiſe Doubts and Diſputes, Heats and Feuds, Animoſities and Factions in all Controverſies of Religion or Government. Even Aſtrology and Phyſick, and Chymiſtry, are but ignoble Studies, though there are many among them that excel in all theſe; and the Aſtrologers are much in Vogue among the Vulgar, as well as their Predictions; the Chymiſts apply themſelves chiefly to the Search of the Univerſal Medicine, for Health and Length of Life, pretending to make Men Immortal, if they can find it out: The Phyſicians ex-

cel

cel in the Knowledge of the Pulſe, and of all ſimple Medicines, and ſo little further; but in the firſt are ſo skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many Hours or Days a ſick Man can laſt, but how many Years a Man in perfect ſeeming Health may live, in caſe of no Accident or Violence. And by Simples they pretend to relieve all Diſeaſes that Nature will allow to be cured. They never Let Blood, but ſay, if the Pot boils too faſt, there is no need of lading out any of the Water, but only of taking away the Fire from under it; and ſo they allay all Heats of the Blood, by Abſtinence, Diet, and cooling Herbs.

But all this Learning is Ignoble and Mechanical among them, and the *Confutian* only Eſſential and Incorporate to their Government; into which none enters without having firſt paſſed through the ſeveral Degrees. To attain it, is firſt neceſſary the Knowledge of their Letters or Characters; and to this muſt be applied at leaſt ten or twelve Years Study and Diligence, and Twenty for great Perfection in it: For by all I can gather out of ſo many Authors as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only ſo many Characters, expreſſing ſo many Words: Theſe are ſaid by ſome to be Sixty, by others Eighty, and by others Sixſcore thouſand; and upon the whole, their Writing ſeems to me to be like that of Short-hand among us, in caſe there were a different Character invented for every Word in our Language. Their Writing is neither from the Left Hand to the Right like the *European*, nor from Right to Left like the *Aſiatick* Languages, but from Top to Bottom of the Paper in one ſtrait Line, and then beginning again at the Top till the Side be full.

The Learning of *China* therefore conſiſts firſt in the Knowledge of their Language, and next in the Learning, Study and Practice of the Writings of *Confutius* and his four great Diſciples; and as every Man grows more perfect in both theſe, ſo he is more eſteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read *Confutius*, unleſs it be diſcovered by retaining the principal Parts of him in their Memories, and the Practice of him in their Lives.

The Learned among them are promoted by Three Degrees: The firſt may reſemble that of Sophiſters in our Colleges after two or three Years ſtanding; and this Degree is conferred by Publick Examiners appointed for that Purpoſe; who go through the Chief Cities of each Province once a Year, and upon Scrutiny, admit ſuch of the Candidates as they appprove, to this Degree, regiſter their Names, and give them a Badge belonging to this firſt Form of the Learned.

The Second Degree is promoted with more Form, and performed once in three Years, in a great College built for that Purpoſe in the Chief City of each Kingdom; by ſeveral Examiners appointed by the King, and ſtrict Enquiries and Queſtions both of Language and Learning, and much Critick upon the ſeveral Writings, produced by the ſeveral Pretenders, and ſubmitted to the Examiners. This Degree may reſemble that of Maſters of Arts in our Colleges, and is conferred with a New Badge belonging to it.

The Third Degree may be compared to that of Doctors among us in any of our Sciences, and is never conferred but in the Imperial City of *Peking*, with great Forms and Solemnities, after much Examining, and Deliberation of the Perſons appointed for that Purpoſe; and of this Degree there are never to be above Three hundred at a Time in the whole Empire, beſides ſuch as are actually in the Magiſtracy or Government; who are all choſen out of the Perſons that have commenced or attained this Degree of Learning. Upon the taking each Degree, they repair to a Temple of *Confutius*, which is erected in each City, and adjoins to the Colleges; and there they perform the Worſhip and Ceremonies appointed in Honour of his Memory, as the Great Prince or Hero of the Learned.

Of theſe Perſons their Councils, and all their Magiſtracies are compoſed; out of theſe are choſen all their Chief Officers and Mandarines, both Civil and Military. With theſe the Emperors and Viceroys of Provinces, and Generals of Armies adviſe upon all great Occaſions; and their Learning

and Virtue make them eſteemed more able for the Execution and Diſcharge of all Publick Employments, than the longeſt Practice and Experience in other Countries; and when they come into Armies, they are found Braver and more Generous in expoſing their Lives upon all great Occaſions, than the boldeſt Soldiers of their Troops.

Now for the Government, it is abſolute Monarchy, there being no other Laws in *China*, but the King's Orders and Commands; and it is likewiſe Hereditary, ſtill deſcending to the next of Blood.

But all Orders and Commands of the King proceed through his Councils, and are made upon the Recommendation or Petition of the Council proper and appointed for that Affair; ſo that all Matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the ſeveral Councils, and then upon their Advices or Requeſts made to the King, they are ratified and ſigned by him, and ſo paſs into Laws.

All great Officers of State are likewiſe conferred by the King, upon the ſame Recommendations or Petitions of his ſeveral Councils; ſo that none are preferred by the Humour of the Prince himſelf, nor by Favour of any Miniſter, by Flattery or Corruption, but by Force or Appearance of Merit, or Learning, and of Virtue; which obſerved by the ſeveral Councils, gain their Recommendations or Petitions to the King.

The Chief Officers are either thoſe of State reſiding conſtantly at Court, and by whom the whole Empire is governed, or the Provincial Officers, Viceroys, and Magiſtrates or Mandarines: For the firſt, there are in the Imperial City at *Peking*, Six ſeveral Councils; or, as ſome Authors affirm, one great Council, that divides it ſelf into Six ſmaller, but diſtinct Branches. Some Difference is alſo made by Writers, concerning the Nature or the Buſineſs of theſe Councils. But that which ſeems moſt generally agreed, is, That the Firſt of theſe Six is a Council of State, by whom all Officers through the whole Kingdom are choſen according to their Learning and Merit. The Second is the Council of Treaſury, which has Inſpection into the whole Revenue, and Receipts and Payments that are made in or out of it. The Third takes care of the Temples, Offerings, Feaſts and Ceremonies belonging to them; as likewiſe of Learning, and the Schools of Colleges deſigned for it. The Fourth is the Council of War, which diſpoſes of all Military Offices and Honours, and all Matters of War and Peace, that is by the King's Command iſſued upon their Repreſentations. The Fifth takes care of all the Royal or Publick Buildings, and of their Fleets. And the Sixth is a Council or Court of Juſtice or Judicature, in all Cauſes both Civil and Criminal.

Each of theſe Councils has a Preſident, and two Aſſiſtants or chief Secretaries, whereof one ſits at his Right, and the other on his Left Hand; who digeſt and regiſter the Debates and Orders of the Council. And beſides theſe, there are in each Council Ten Counſellors.

By theſe Councils the whole Empire of *China* is govern'd through all the ſeveral Kingdoms that compoſe it; and they have in each Province particular Officers, Intendants and Notaries; from whom they receive conſtant Accounts, and to whom they ſend conſtant Inſtructions concerning all Paſſages or Affairs of Moment in any of the ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom.

There are, beſides theſe Six, ſeveral ſmaller Councils; as one for the Affairs of the King's Women, for his Houſhold, and his Domeſtick Chancery or Juſtice. But above all, is the Council of the *Colaos*, or chief Miniſters, who are ſeldom above Five or Six in Number, but Perſons of the moſt conſummate Prudence and Experience; who after having paſſed, with great Applauſe, through the other Councils or Governments of Provinces, are at laſt advanced to this Supreme Dignity, and ſerve as a Privy-Council, or rather a *Junto*, ſitting with the Emperor himſelf; which is allowed to none of the others. To theſe are preſented all the Reſults or Requeſts of the other Councils; and being by their Advice approved, they are by the Emperor ſigned and ratified, and ſo diſpatched.

Theſe

These are always attended by some of the chiefest and most renowned Philosophers or Sages of the Kingdom; who attend the Emperor, and serve him in receiving all Petitions, and give their Opinions upon them to the Emperor or the *Colaos*; as also upon any Matters of great Moment and Difficulty, when they are consulted: And these are chosen out of two Assemblies residing at *Peking*, and consisting of Sixty Men each; but all choice Persons, whose Wisdom and Virtue are generally known and applauded. They are imployed in all Matters of Learning, and giving necessary Orders therein; keeping all the Publick Writings, and ordering and digesting them; registering all Laws and Orders of State; and out of these are appointed by each succeeding King, some Persons to relate and register the Times and Actions of his Predecessor. They are at their Leisure much given to Poetry; in which they compile the Praises of virtuous Men and Actions, Satyrs against Vice, Inscriptions for Monuments and Triumphal Arches, and such-like Compositions. And lastly, out of these (as they grow in Esteem and Fame of Wisdom and Virtue) are chosen and advanced by degrees, the Officers of State, and Counsellors in the several Councils; and none ever arrives to be a *Colao*, that has not been of these two Assemblies.

Each particular Kingdom of the Empire has the same Councils, or some very like them, for the Government of that particular Province; but there is besides in each, a Surintendant, sent more immediately from Court, to inspect the Course of Affairs; a Censor of Justice and Manners, without whose Approval, no Capital Sentences are to be executed; and a Third Officer imployed by the Empress, in the Nature of an Almoner; whose Business is only that of Charity, and Relief of the Poor and Distressed, and setting free Prisoners upon small Debts or Offences; there is besides, in each Province, a particular Council, to take care of Learning, and to appoint Rules and Examiners for the several Degrees thereof.

It were endless to enumerate all the excellent Orders of this State, which seem contrived by a Reach of Sense and Wisdom, beyond what we meet with in any other Government of the World; but by some few the rest may be judged.

Each Prince of the Royal Blood has a Revenue assigned him, and a City where he is bound to reside, and never to stir out of it, without the Emperor's Leave. All Degrees of People are distinguish'd by their Habit, and the several Officers by several Badges upon them: And the Colour worn by the Emperor, which is yellow, is never used by any other Person whatsoever. Every House has a Board over the Door, wherein is written the Number, Sex and Quality of the Persons living in it; and to a certain Number of Houses, one is appointed to inspect the rest, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear Office in any Province where he was born, unless it be Military; which is grounded upon the Belief, that in Matters of Justice Men will be partial to their Friends, but in those of War, Men will fight best for their own Country. None ever continues in any Office above three Years, unless upon a New Election; and none put out for Miscarriage in his Office, is again admitted to any Imployment. The two great Hinges of all Governments, Reward and Punishment, are no where turned with greater Care, nor exercised with more Beauty and Severity. Their Justice is rigorous upon all Offences against the Law, but none more exemplary, than upon Corruption in Judges. Besides this, Inquisition is made into their Ignorance and Weakness, and even into Carelessness and Rashness in their Sentences; and as the first is punished with Death, so these are with Dismission and Disgrace. The Rewards of Honour (besides those of Advancement) are conferred by Patents from the Emperor, expressing Merits and granting Privileges, by Pillars of Marble with elegant and honorary Inscriptions: And to Merit extraordinary towards the Prince and Country, even by erecting Temples, offering Incense, and appointing Priests for the Service of them. Agriculture is encouraged by so many special Privileges from the Crown, and the common Laws or Customs of the Country, that

whatever Wars happen, the Tillers of the Ground are untouched, as if they were facred, like Priests in other Places; so as no Country in the World was ever known to be so cultivated, as the whole Kingdom of *China*. Honour and Respect is no where paid to Nobility and Riches so much, as it is here to Virtue and Learning, which are equally regarded, both by the Prince and the People. And the Advancement to Office of Persons only for excelling in those Qualities, prevents the Cankers of Envy and Faction, that corrupt and destroy so many other Governments. Every one seeking Preferment here, only by Merit, attributes to it that of other Men. Tho' the King be the most absolute in the World, since there are no other Laws in *China* but what he makes; yet all Matters being first digested and represented by his Councils, the Humours and Passions of the Prince enter not into the Forms or Conduct of the Government; but his personal Favours to Men or Women are distributed in the Preferments of his Houshold, or out of the vast Revenue that is particularly applied to it, for Support of the greatest Expence and Magnificence that appears in any Palace of the World. So that it may truly be said, that no King is better served and obeyed, more honoured or rather adored; and no People better govern'd, nor with greater Ease and Felicity.

Upon these Foundations and Institutions, by such Methods and Orders, the Kingdom of *China* seems to be framed and policed with the utmost Force and Reach of Human Wisdom, Reason and Contrivance; and in Practice to excel the very Speculations of other Men, and all those imaginary Schemes of the *European* Wits, the Institutions of *Xenophon*, the Republick of *Plato*, the *Utopia's* or *Oceana's* of our Modern Writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the Vastness, the Opulence, the Populousness of this Region, with the Ease and Facility wherewith 'tis govern'd, and the Length of Time this Government has run. The last is three times longer than that of the *Assyrian Monarchy*, which was thirteen hundred Years, and the longest Period of any Government we meet with in Story. The Numbers of People and of their Forces, the Treasures and Revenues of the Crown, as well as Wealth and Plenty of the Subjects, the Magnificence of their publick Buildings and Works would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring Testimonies of *Paulus Venetus*, *Martinius Kircherus*, with several other Relations, in *Italian*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch*; either by Missionary Friars, or Persons imploy'd thither upon Trade, or Embassies upon that Occasion: Yet the whole Government is represented as a Thing managed with as much Facility, Order and Quiet, as a common Family; though some Writers affirm the Number of People in *China*, before the last *Tartar* Wars, to have been above Two hundred Millions. Indeed the Canals cut through the Country, or made by Conjunctions of Rivers, are so infinite, and of such Lengths, and so perpetually filled with Boats and Vessels of all Kinds, that one Writer believes there are near as many People in these, and the Ships wherewith their Havens are filled, who live upon the Water, as those upon the Land.

'Tis true, that as Physicians say, the highest Degree of Health in a Body, subjects it to the greatest Danger and Violence of some Disease; so the Perfection of this Government or Constitution has had the same Effect, joined with the Accident of their Situation, upon such a Neighbour as the *Tartars*. For these, by the Hardness and Poverty of their Country and their Lives, are the boldest and the fiercest People in the World, and the most enterprizing. On t'other side, the Excellence of the *Chinese* Wit and Government, renders them, by great Ease, Plenty and Luxury, in time effeminate, and thereby exposes them to frequent Attempts and Invasions of their savage Neighbours. Three several times, upon their Records, the *Tartars* have conquered great Parts of the Kingdom of *China*, and after long Establishments there, have been expelled. Till (as we said before) about the Year 1650, they atchieved the compleat and intire Conquest of the whole Empire, after a bloody War of above Thirty Years. But the Force of this Constitution

tution and Government appears in no Circumstance or Light so great as in this, that it has waded safe through so great Tempests and Inundations, as six Changes of Race among their Kings by Civil Wars, and four Conquests by foreign and barbarous Forces. For under the present *Tartar* Kings, the Government continues still the same, and in the Hands of the *Chinese* learned; and all the Change that appears to have been made by such a Storm or Revolution, has been only, That a *Tartar* Race sits in the Throne instead of a *Chinese*; and the Cities and strong Places are garrison'd by *Tartar* Soldiers, who fall by degrees into the Manners, Customs and Language of the *Chinese*. So great a Respect, or rather Veneration, is paid to this wise and admirable Constitution, even by its Enemies and Invaders, that both Civil Usurpers, and Foreign Conquerors, view with Emulation, who shall make greatest Court, and give most Support to it, finding no other Means to secure their own Safety and Ease, by the Obedience of the People, than the Establishment and Preservation of their Ancient Constitutions and Government.

The great Idea which may be conceived of the *Chinese* Wisdom and Knowledge, as well as their Wit, Ingenuity and Civility, by all we either read or see of them, is apt to be lessened by their gross and sottish Idolatry; but this it self is only among the Vulgar or Illiterate, who worship after their Manner, whatever Idols belong to each City, or Village, or Family; and the Temples and Priests belonging to them, are in usual Request among the common People and the Women. But the Learned adore the Spirit of the World, which they hold to be Eternal; and this without Temples, Idols or Priests. And the Emperor only is allowed to Sacrifice at certain Times, by himself or his Officers, at two Temples in the two Imperial Cities of *Peking* and *Nanking*; one dedicated to Heaven, and t'other to the Earth.

This I mention, to shew how the furthest *East* and *West* may be found to agree in Notions of Divinity, as well as in Excellence of Civil or Politick Constitutions, by passing at one Leap from these of *China*, to those of *Peru*.

SECT. III.

'TIS known enough, that about the Year 1484, *Alonso Sanchez*, Master of a *Spanish* Vessel, that usually traded from those Coasts to the *Canaries* and *Madera's*, was in his Passage between these Islands surprized with a furious Storm at *East*, so violent, that he was forced to let his Ship drive before it without any Sail; and so black, that within twenty eight Days he could not take the Height of the Sun. That he was at length cast upon a Shore, but whether Island or Continent he could not tell, but full of savage People. That after infinite Toils, Dangers and Miseries of Hunger and Sickness, he made at length one of the *Tercera* Islands, with only Five Men left of Seventeen he carried out; and meeting there with the famous *Columbus*, made him such Relations, and so pertinent Accounts of his Voyage, as gave Occasion for the Discovery of *America*, or the *West-Indies*, by this Man so renowned in our Modern Story.

Whatever Predictions have been since found out, or applied towards the Discovery of this New World, or Stories told of a certain Prince in *Wales* having run the same Fortune, or of the ancient *Carthaginians*, I do not find, by all I have read upon this Subject, any Reason to believe, that any Mortals, from *Europe* or *Africa*, had ever traced these unknown Paths of that *Western* Ocean, or left the least Foot-steps of having discovered those Countries before *Alonso Sanchez* and his Crew. Upon the Arrival of the *Spaniards* there with *Columbus*, they found Nature as naked as the Inhabitants; in most Parts no Thought of Business, further than the most natural Pleasures or Necessities

ceſſities of Life; Nations divided by natural Bounds of Rivers, Rocks or Mountains, or Difference of Language; Quarrels among them, only for Hunger or Luſt; the Command in Wars given to the Strongeſt or the Braveſt; and in Peace, taken up or exerciſed by the Boldeſt among them; and their Lives commonly ſpent in the moſt innocent Entertainments of Hunting, Fiſhing, Feaſting, or in the moſt careleſs Leiſure.

There were among them many Principalities, that ſeemed to have grown up, from the Original of Paternal Dominion, and ſome Communities with Orders and Laws; but the two great Dominions were thoſe of *Mexico* and *Peru*, which had arrived to ſuch Extent of Territory, Power and Riches, that amazed thoſe, who had been enough acquainted with the Greatneſs and Splendor of the *European* Kingdoms. And I never met with any Story ſo entertaining, as the Relations of the ſeveral Learned *Spaniſh* Jeſuits and others, concerning theſe Countries and People, in their Native Innocence and Simplicity. *Mexico* was ſo vaſt an Empire, that it was well repreſented by the common Anſwer of the *Indians*, all along that Coaſt, to the *Spaniards*, when they came to any Part, and asked the People whether they were under *Montezuma*, *Quien neos eſclavo de Montezuma?* Or, *Who is not a Slave of* Montezuma? As if they thought the whole World was ſo. They might truly call it Slave, for no Dominion was ever ſo abſolute, ſo tyrannous, and ſo cruel as his. Among other Tributes impoſed on the People, one was of Men to be ſacrificed every Year to an ugly deformed Idol, in the great Temple of *Mexico*. Such Numbers as the King pleaſed of poor Victims, were laid upon ſuch Extents of Cities or Villages, or Numbers of Inhabitants, and there choſen by Lot, to ſatisfy ſuch bloody and inhuman Taxes. Theſe were often influenced by the Prieſts, who when they ſaw Men grow negligent, either in Reſpect to themſelves, or Devotion to their Idols, would ſend to tell the King, That the Gods were hungry, and thereupon the common Tribute was raiſed; ſo as that Year, the *Spaniards* landed and invaded *Mexico*, there had been above thirty thouſand Men ſacrificed to this cruel Superſtition. And this was ſaid to have given great Occaſion for the eaſy Conqueſts of the *Spaniards*, by the willing Revolts and Submiſſions of the Natives to any new Dominion.

The ſame was obſerved to happen in *Peru*, by the general Hatred and Averſion of the People in that Empire to *Atahualpa*, who being a Baſtard of the *Inca*'s Family, had firſt by Practices and Subtilty, and afterwards by Cruelty and Violence, raiſed himſelf to the Throne of *Peru*, and cut off with mercileſs Cruelty all the Maſculine Race of the true Royal Blood, that were at Man's Eſtate, or near it, after that Line had laſted pure and ſacred, and reigned with unſpeakable Felicity, both to themſelves and their Subjects, for above eight hundred Years.

This Kingdom is ſaid to have extended near ſeven hundred Leagues in length, from *North* to *South*, and about an hundred and twenty in breadth: 'Tis bounded on the *Weſt* by the *Pacifick* Ocean; on the *Eaſt* by Mountains impaſſable for Men or Beaſts, and, as ſome write, even Birds themſelves; the Height being ſuch, as makes their Tops always covered with Snow, even in that warm Region. On the *North* 'tis bounded with a great River, and on the *South* with another, which ſeparates it from the Province of *Chili*, that reaches to the *Megellan* Straits.

The Kingdom of *Peru* deduced its Original from their great Heroes, *Mango Copac*, and his Wife and Siſter *Coya Mama*, who are ſaid to have firſt appeared in that Country, near a mighty Lake, which is ſtill ſacred with them upon this Occaſion.

Before this Time, the People of theſe Countries are reported to have lived like the Beaſts among them, without any Traces of Orders, Laws or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Proviſion than for preſent Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houſes, but dwelt in Rocks, or Caves, or Trees, to be ſecure from wild Beaſts, or in Tops of Hills, if they were in fear of fierce Neigh-

Neighbours. When *Mango Copac*, and his Sister, came first into these naked Lands, as they were Persons of excellent Shape and Beauty, so they were adorned with such Cloaths as continued afterwards the usual Habit of the *Inca's*, by which Name they called themselves. They told the People who came first about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the *Sun*, and that their Father, taking pity of the miserable Condition of Mankind, had sent them down to reclaim them from those bestial Lives, and to instruct them how to live happily and safely, by observing such Laws, Customs and Orders, as their Father the *Sun* had commanded these his Children to teach them. The great Rule they first taught was, That every Man should live according to Reason, and consequently, neither say nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others should say or do to them, because it was against all common Reason, to make one Law for our selves, and another for other People. And this was the great Principle of all their Morality. In the next place, that they should worship the *Sun*, who took care of the whole World, gave Life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to maintain them; and was so careful and so good, as to spare no Pains of his own, but to go round the World every Day, to inspect and provide for all that was upon it, and had sent these his two Children down on purpose, for the Good and Happiness of Mankind, and to rule them with the same Care and Goodness that he did the World. After this, they taught them the Arts most necessary for Life, as *Mango Copac*, to sow *Maiz* (or the common *Indian* Grain) at certain Seasons; to preserve it against others; to build Houses against Inclemencies of Air, and Danger of wild Beasts; to distinguish themselves by Wedlock into several Families; to cloath themselves, so as to cover at least the Shame of Nakedness; to tame and nourish such Creatures as might be of common Use and Sustenance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to spin and weave, both Cotton, and certain coarse Wools of some Beast among them.

With these Instructions and Inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common Utility, that they were followed by great Numbers of People, observ'd and obey'd like Sons of the *Sun*, sent down from Heaven to instruct and to govern them. *Mango Copac* had in his Hand a Rod of Gold, about two Foot long, and five Inches round. He said, that his Father, the *Sun*, had given it him, and bid him when he travelled *Northward* from the Lake, he should every time he rested strike this Wand down into the Ground, and where at the first Stroke it should go down to the very Top, he should there build a Temple to the *Sun*, and fix the Seat of his Government.

This fell out to be in the Vale of *Cozco*, where he founded that City, which was Head of this great Kingdom of *Peru*.

Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the *High Casco*, and t'other the *Low*, and began here to be a Law-giver to these People. In each of these were at first a thousand Families, which he caused all to be registered, with the Numbers in each. This he did by Strings of several Colours, and Knots of several Kinds and Colours upon them, by which, both Accounts were kept of Things and Times, and as much expressed of their Minds, as was necessary in Government, where neither Letters nor Money, nor consequently Disputes or Avarice, with their Consequences, ever entered.

He instituted Decurions thro' both these Colonies, that is, one over every Ten Families, another over Fifty, a third over a Hundred, a fourth over Five Hundred, and a fifth over a Thousand; and to this last, they gave the Name of a Curaca or Governour. Every Decurion was a Censor, a Patron, and a Judge or Arbiter in small Controversies among those under his Charge. They took care that every one cloathed themselves, laboured, and lived according to the Orders given them by the *Inca's*, from their Father the *Sun*; among which one was, That none who could work, should be idle, more than to rest after Labour; and that none who could not work, by Age, Sickness, or Inva-

Invalidity, ſhould want, but be maintain'd by the others Pains. Theſe were ſo much obſerved, that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and during the long Race of the *Inca* Kings, no Beggar was ever known, and no Woman ever ſo much as went to ſee a Neighbour, but with their Work in their Hands, which they followed all the Time the Viſit laſted. Upon this, I remember a Strain of refin'd Civility among them, which was, That when any Woman went to ſee another of equal, or ordinary Birth, ſhe worked at her own Work in the other's Houſe, but if ſhe made a Viſit to any of the *Palla's*, (which was the Name by which they called all the Women of the true Royal Blood, as *Inca's* was that of the Men) then they immediately deſired the *Palla* to give them a Piece of her own Work, and the Viſit paſſed in working for her. Idleneſs, ſentenced by the Decurions, was puniſhed by ſo many Stripes in Publick, and the Diſgrace was more ſenſible than the Pain. Every Colony had one ſupream Judge, to whom the lower Decurions remitted great and difficult Caſes, or to whom (in ſuch caſe) the Criminals appealed. But every Decurion that concealed any Crime of thoſe under his Charge above a Day and a Night, became guilty of it, and liable to the ſame Puniſhment. There were Laws or Orders likewiſe againſt Theft, Mutilations, Murthers, Diſobedience to Officers, and Adulteries (for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the Liberty of keeping other Women, as he could.) The Puniſhment of all Crimes, was either corporal Pains, or Death, but commonly the laſt, upon theſe two Reaſons which they gave; firſt, That all Crimes, whether great or ſmall, were of the ſame Nature, and deſerved the ſame Puniſhment, if they were committed againſt the Divine Commands, which were ſent them down from the *Sun:* Next, That to puniſh any Man in his Poſſeſſions or Charges, and leave him alive, and in Strength and Liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incenſed, or neceſſitated to commit new Crimes. On t'other Side, they never forfeited the Charge or Poſſeſſions of a Son for his Father's Offences, but the Judges only remonſtrated to him the Guilt and Puniſhment of them for his Warning or Example. Theſe Orders had ſo great Force and Effect, that many times a whole Year paſſed without the Execution of one Criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great Order in the State, was the Diſuſe of other Poſſeſſions than what were neceſſary to Life, and the eminent Virtue of their firſt great Heroe, or Legiſlator, which ſeemed to have been entailed upon their whole Race, in the Courſe of their Reign: So as in the whole Length of it 'tis reported among them, that no true *Inca* was ever found guilty or puniſhed for any Crime. Thus particular Qualities have been obſerved in *Old Rome* to be conſtant in the ſame Families for ſeveral hundred Years, as Goodneſs, Clemency, Love of the People, in that of the *Valerii*; Haughtineſs, Pride, Cruelty, and Hatred of the People, in that of the *Appii*; which may come from the Force of Blood, of Education, or Example. 'Tis certain no Government was ever eſtabliſhed and continued by greater Examples of Virtue and Severity, nor any ever gave greater Teſtimonies, than the *Inca's*, of an excellent Inſtitution, by the Progreſſes and Succeſſes, both in the Propagation and Extent of Empire, in Force and Plenty, in Greatneſs and Magnificence of all publick Works, as Temples, Palaces, High-ways, Bridges, and in all Proviſions neceſſary to common Eaſe, Safety, and Utility of human Life: So as ſeveral of the Jeſuits, and particularly *Acoſta*, are either ſo juſt or ſo preſuming, as to prefer the civil Conſtitutions of *Mango Copac* before thoſe of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other Law-givers ſo celebrated in the more known Parts of the World.

To every Colony was aſſigned ſuch a Compaſs of Land, whereof one Part was appropriated to the *Sun*; a ſecond to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old or Maimed; a third to the peculiar Maintenance of every Family, according to their Number; and a fourth to the *Inca*. In this Order the whole was tilled, and the Harveſt or Product laid up in ſeveral Granaries; out of which it was diſtributed by Officers to that Purpoſe, according to the ſeveral

ral Uſes for which it was deſigned, and new Seed iſſued out at the Seaſon for the new Tillage.

Every Decurion, beſides the Office of a Cenſor and Judge, had that likewiſe of a Patron or Solicitor, for Relief of the Neceſſities or Wants of thoſe under his Charge. They were bound to give in to the Publick Regiſters, an Account of all that were born, and of all that died under their Charge. None was ſuffered to leave the Colony or People he was born in, without Leave, nor to change the Habit commonly uſed in it (by ſome Parts or Marks whereof thoſe of each Province were diſtinguiſhed.) None to Marry out of it, no more than the *Inca's* out of their own Blood.

The *Inca* that Reigned, was called *Capa Inca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Sennor*, or *Only Lord*. He ever married the firſt of his Female Kindred, either Siſter, Niece, or Couſin, to preſerve the Line the pureſt they could. Once in two Years he aſſembled all the unmarried *Inca's*, Men above Twenty, and Women above Sixteen Years Old, and there in Publick Married all ſuch as he thought fit, by giving each of their Hands one to the other. The ſame was done among the Vulgar, by the *Curaca* of each People.

Every Family at their Time of Meals, eat with their Doors open, ſo that all might ſee their Temperance and Order.

By theſe and other ſuch Laws and Inſtitutions, *Mango Copac* firſt ſettled his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Cozco*, which were in time multiplied into many others, by the willing Confluence and Recourſe of many ſeveral People round about him, allured by the Divine Authority of his Order, by the Sweetneſs and Clemency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole Government of this Race of the *Inca's* was rather like that of a tender Father over his Children, or a juſt, careful, and well-natur'd Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they came to be ſo honoured or adored, that it was like Sacrilege for any common Perſon ſo much as to touch the *Inca* without his Leave; which was given as a Grace to thoſe who ſerved him well, or to new Subjects that ſubmitted to him.

After the Extent of his Kingdom into great Compaſſes of Territory round *Cozco*, by voluntary Submiſſion of the People, as to ſome Evangelical, rather than legal Doctrines or Inſtitutions; *Mango Copac* aſſembled all his *Curaca's*, and told them, That his Father the *Sun* had commanded him to extend his Inſtitutions and Orders as far as he was able, for the Good and Happineſs of Mankind; and for that purpoſe, with armed Troops to go to thoſe remoter Parts that had not yet received them, and to reduce them to their Obſervance. That the *Sun* had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would ſubmit to him, and thereby accept of the Good and Happineſs that was offered him by ſuch Divine Bounty, but to diſtreſs only ſuch as refuſed, without killing any that did aſſail them, and then to do it juſtly in their own Defence.

For this Deſign, he formed and aſſembled Troops of Men, armed both with Offenſive, and chiefly with Defenſive Weapons. He caſt them into the Order of Decurions, in the ſame manner as he had done Families; to every Ten Men was one Officer, another to Fifty, and another to one Hundred, a Fourth to five Hundred, and a Fifth to a Thouſand. There was a Sixth over five Thouſand, and a Seventh as a General over ten Thouſand; of which number his firſt Army was compoſed.

With this and other ſuch Armies, he reduced many new Territories under his Empire, declaring to every People he approached, the ſame Things he had done firſt to thoſe who came about him near the great Lake; and offering them the Benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he had Inſtituted, the Protection he had given his Subjects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Thoſe who ſubmitted were received into the ſame Rights and Enjoyments with the reſt of his Subjects. Thoſe who refuſed were diſtreſſed, and purſued by his Forces till they were neceſſitated to accept of his Offers and Conditions. He uſed no Offenſive Weapons againſt any till they attacked

them, and then Defenſive only at firſt, till the Danger and Slaughter of his Men grew otherwiſe unavoidable; then he ſuffered his Forces to fall upon them, and kill without Mercy, and not to ſpare even thoſe that yielded themſelves, after having ſo long and obſtinately Reſiſted. Thoſe who ſubmitted after the firſt Threats, or Diſtreſſes, or bloodleſs Oppoſition, he received into Grace, ſuffered them to touch his Sacred Perſon, made great and common Feaſts for them and his own Soldiers together for ſeveral Days, and then incorporated them into the Body of his Empire, and gave to each of them Cloaths to wear, and Corn to ſow.

By theſe Ways, and ſuch Heroick Virtues, and by the Length of his Reign, he ſo far extended his Dominions, as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Inca* to be a *Viceroy* (having many Sons grown fit to command;) and in each of them eſtabliſhed three Supream Councils, the Firſt of Juſtice, the Second of War, and the Third of the Revenue, of which an *Inca* was likewiſe Preſident, which continued ever after.

At the end of a long and adored Reign, *Mango Copac* fell into the laſt Period of his Life; upon the Approach whereof, he called together all his Children and Grand-children, with his eldeſt Son to whom he left his Kingdom; and told them, That for his own part he was going to repoſe himſelf with his Father the *Sun*, from whom he came; that he adviſed and charged them all, to go on in the Paths of Reaſon and Virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the ſame Journey; that by this Courſe only they would prove themſelves to be true Sons of the *Sun*, and be as much Honoured and Eſteemed. He gave the ſame Charge more eſpecially and more earneſtly to the *Inca* his Succeſſor, and commanded him to govern his People according to his Example, and the Precepts he had received from the *Sun*; and to do it always with Juſtice, Mercy, Piety, Clemency, and Care of the Poor; and when he the Prince ſhould go in time to reſt with his Father the *Sun*, that he ſhould give the ſame Inſtructions and Exhortations to his Succeſſor. And this Form was accordingly uſed in all the Succeſſions of the Race of the *Inca's*, which laſted eight hundred Years, with the ſame Orders, and the greateſt Felicity that could be of any State.

I will ſay nothing of the Greatneſs, Magnificence and Riches of their Buildings, Palaces, or Temples, eſpecially thoſe of the *Sun*; of the Splendour of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their Huntings and Feaſts, their military Exerciſes and Honours. But as Teſtimonies of their Grandeur, mention only two of their High-ways, whereof one was five hundred Leagues, plain and levelled through Mountains, Rocks and Valleys, ſo that a Carriage might drive through that whole Length without Difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or ſquared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each ſide, and ſet with Trees, whoſe Branches gave Shade, and the Fruits Food, to all that paſſed.

I ſhall end this Survey of their Government, with one Remark upon their Religion, which is, that though the Vulgar worſhipped only the *Sun*, yet the *Amauta's*, who were their Sages or Philoſophers, taught, that the *Sun* was only the great Miniſter of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored in the firſt place, and to whom a great and ſumptuous Temple was dedicated. This Word is interpreted by the *Spaniard*, *Animador del Mundo*: Or, *He that animates or enlivens the World*, and ſeems to be yet a more refined Notion of the Deity, than that of the *Chineſe*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the World. By this Principle of their Religion, as all the others of their Government and Policy, it muſt, I think, be allowed, that human Nature is the ſame in theſe remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated Parts of the World. That the different Governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great Reaches and Strength of Reaſon and of Wiſdom, as any of ours, and ſome of their Frames leſs ſubject to be ſhaken by the Paſſions, Factions, and other Corruptions, to which thoſe in the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Aſia* have been ſo often and ſo much expoſed. That the ſame Cauſes produce every where the

ſame

ſame Effects, and that the ſame Honours and Obedience, are in all places but Conſequences or Tributes paid to the ſame Heroick Virtue, or Tranſcendent Genius, in what Parts ſoever, or under what Climates of the World it fortunes to appear.

SECT. IV.

THE Third Survey I propoſed to make in this Eſſay upon Heroick Virtue, was that of the *Northern* Region, which lies without the Bounds of the *Euxine* and the *Caſpian* Seas, the River *Oxus* to the *Eaſt*, and the *Danube* to the *Weſt*, which by the *Greeks* and *Romans* was called all by one general Name of *Scythia*, and little known to any Princes or Subjects of the four great Monarchies, otherwiſe than by the Defeats or Diſgraces received in their Expeditions againſt theſe fierce Inhabitants of thoſe barren Countries. Such was the fatal Overthrow of *Cyrus* and his Army, by the *Eaſtern Scythians*, and the ſhameful Flight of *Darius* from the *Weſtern*.

This vaſt Region, which extends from the *North-Eaſt* Ocean, that bounds *Cataya* and *China* to the *North-Weſt*, that waſhes the Coaſts of *Norway*, *Jutland*, and ſome *Northern* Parts of *Germany*, tho' compriſed by the Ancients under the common Name of *Scythia*, was diſtinguiſhed into the *Aſiatick* and the *European*, which were divided by the River *Tanais*, and the Mountains out of which it riſes. Thoſe numerous Nations may be called the *Eaſtern Scythians*, who lie on that ſide of the *Tanais*, or at leaſt the *Volga*, and thoſe the *Weſtern* that lie on this. Among the firſt the *Maſſagetæ* were the moſt known or talked of by the ancient Writers; and among the laſt, the *Getæ* and the *Sarmetæ*. The firſt is now comprehended under the general Name of *Great Tartary*, and the ſecond under thoſe of the *Leſſer Tartary*, *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*; the two laſt ſtyling themſelves Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

How far this vaſt Territory is inhabited *Northward* by any Race of Mankind, I think none pretend to know, nor from how remote Corners of thoſe Frozen Mountains, ſome of thoſe fierce Nations firſt crept out, whoſe Force and Arms have been ſo known and felt by all the reſt of what was of old called the Habitable World.

Whether it be that the Courſe of Conqueſt has run generally from the *North* to the *South*, as from the harder upon the ſofter, or from the poorer upon the richer Nations, becauſe Men commonly Attack with greater Fierceneſs and Courage than they Defend, being in one ſpirited by Deſire, and in the other uſually damped by Fear, I cannot tell; but certain it is, how celebrated ſoever the four great Monarchies have been, by the Writings of ſo many famous Authors, who have Eternized their Fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no Part of the World that was ever ſubject to *Aſſyrian*, *Perſian*, *Greek*, or *Roman* Empires (except perhaps ſome little Iſlands) that has not been ravaged and conquered by ſome of thoſe *Northern* Nations, whom they reckoned and deſpiſed as Barbarous: Nor where new Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, or Governments, have not been by them erected upon the Ruins of the Old; which may juſtly mortifie the Pride of Mankind, the Depths of their Reaſonings, the Reach of their Politicks, the Wiſdom of their Laws, and Force of their Diſcipline, and may be allowed for a great and undiſputed Triumph of Nature over Art.

'Tis agreed in Story, that the *Scythians* conquered the *Medes*, during the Period of that Race in the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and were Maſters of *Aſia* for fifteen Years, till they returned home upon Domeſtick Occaſions That *Cyrus* was beaten and ſlain by their Fury and Revenge, under the leading of a Woman, whoſe Wit and Conduct made a great Figure in ancient Story;

that the *Romans* were defeated by the *Parthians*, who were of the *Scythian* Race.

But the great Heroe of the *Eaſtern Scythians* or *Tartars*, I eſteem to have been *Tamerlane*, and, whether he was Son of a Shepherd or a King, to have been the greateſt Conqueror that was ever in the World, at leaſt that appears upon any preſent Records of Story. His Atchievements were great upon *China*, where he ſubdued many Provinces, and forced their King to ſuch Conditions of a Peace, as he was content to impoſe. He made War againſt the *Muſcovites* with the ſame Succeſs, and partly by Force, partly by Conſent, gained a Paſſage through their Territories for that vaſt Army, which he led againſt *Bajazet* (then the Terror of the World.) He conquered this proud *Turk* and his whole Empire, as far as the *Helleſpont*, which he croſſed, and made a Viſit to the poor *Greek* Emperor at *Conſtantinople*, who had ſent to make Alliance with him upon his firſt Invaſion of *Bajazet*, at whoſe Mercy this Prince then almoſt lay, with the ſmall remainders of the *Grecian* Empire. Nothing was greater or more Heroical in this Victorious *Tamerlane*, than the Faith and Honour wherewith he obſerved this Alliance with the *Greeks*; for having been received at *Conſtantinople* with all the Submiſſions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the Greatneſs and Structure of that noble City, and ſaid, it was fit to make the Seat for the Empire of the World, and having the Offer of it freely made him by the *Greeks* to poſſeſs it for his own; yet after many Honours exchanged between theſe two Princes, he left this City in the Freedom, and the *Greek* Emperor in the Poſſeſſions he found them, went back into *Aſia*, and in his Return conquered *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *India*, where the *Great Moguls* have ever ſince boaſted to be the Race of *Tamerlane*. After all theſe Conqueſts he went home, and paſſed the reſt of his Age in his own Native Kingdom, and died a fair and natural Death, which was a Strain of Felicity as well as Greatneſs, beyond any of the Conquerors of the Four Renowned Monarchies of the World. He was without Queſtion, a Great and Heroick Genius, of great Juſtice, exact Diſcipline, generous Bounty, and much Piety, adoring one God, though he was neither Chriſtian, Jew, nor Mahometan, and deſerved a Nobler Character than could be allowed by Modern Writers to any Perſon of a Nation ſo unlike themſelves.

The *Turks* were another Race of theſe *Eaſtern Scythians*, their original Countries being placed by ſome upon the *North-Eaſt*, by others upon the *North-Weſt* Coaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furniſh ſuch Numbers as have over-run ſo great a Part of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. But I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of them and their Conqueſts in the next Section.

That Part of *Scythia* that lies between the two Rivers of the *Volga* and *Boriſthenes*, whereof the one runs into the *Caſpian* and t'other into the *Euxine* Sea, was the Seat of the *Getæ*, whom *Herodotus* mentions, as then known by the Name of *Getæ Immortales*, becauſe they believed that when they died, they ſhould go to *Zamolxis*, and enjoy a new Life in another World, at leaſt ſuch of them as lived according to his Orders and Inſtitutions, who had been a great Prince or Law-giver among them. From this Name of *Getæ* came that of *Gothæ*; and this Part of *Scythia*, in its whole *Northern* Extent, I take to have been the vaſt Hive out of which iſſued ſo many mighty Swarms of Barbarous Nations, who under the ſeveral Names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Lombards*, *Huns*, *Bulgars*, *Francs*, *Saxons*, and many others, broke in at ſeveral Times and Places upon the ſeveral Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, like ſo many Tempeſts, tore in Pieces the whole Fabrick of that Government, framed many new ones in its room, changed the Inhabitants, Language, Cuſtoms, Laws, the uſual Names of Places and of Men, and even the very Face of Nature where they came, and planted new Nations and Dominions in their room. Thus *Italy*, after many Spoils and Invaſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, came to be poſſeſſed by the *Lombards*, *Pannonia* by the *Huns*, *Thracia* by the *Bulgars*, the *Southern* Parts of *Spain* or *Andaluzia* by the *Vandals*, the *Eaſt* or *Catalonia*

talonia by the *Catti* and *Alani*; the reſt of that Continent by the *Goths*. *Gaul* was ſubdued by the *Francs*, and *Britain* by the *Saxons*; both which Nations are thought to have come anciently from the more Northern Regions, and ſeated themſelves in thoſe Parts of *Germany* that were afterwards called by their Names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their later Conqueſts. The *Scutes* who conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and poſſeſſed them under the Names of *Albin Scutes*, and *Irin Scutes*, I gueſs to have come from *Norway*, and to have retained more of the ancient *Scythians* (before the *Goths* came into thoſe Parts) both in their Language and Habit, as that of Mantles, and in the Cuſtom of removing from one Part to another, according to the Seaſons or Conveniences of Paſture. The *Normans* that came into *France*, I take likewiſe to be a later Race from *Norway*, but after the *Gothick* Orders and Inſtitutions have gained more Footing in that Province.

The Writers of thoſe Times content themſelves to lay the Diſgraces and Ruins of their Countries, upon the Numbers and Fierceneſs of theſe ſavage Nations that invaded them, or upon their own Diſunions and Diſorders, that made way for ſo eaſy Conqueſts: But I cannot believe, that the ſtrange Succeſſes and victorious Progreſſes of theſe Northern Conquerors, ſhould have been the Effect only of Tumultuary Arms and Numbers, or that Governments erected by them, and which have laſted ſo long in *Europe*, ſhould have been framed by unreaſonable or unthinking Men. 'Tis more likely, that there was among them ſome Force of Order, ſome Reach of Conduct, as well as ſome Principle of Courage above the common Strain; that ſo ſtrange Adventures could not be atchieved, but by ſome enchanted Knights.

That which firſt gave me this Thought, was the Reflection upon thoſe Verſes in *Lucan*.

——— *Populus quos deſpicit Arctos*
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animiq; capaces
Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ.

Happy in their Miſtake thoſe People whom
The Northern Pole aſpects, whom Fear of Death
(The greateſt of all Human Fears) ne'er moves;
From hence their Courage prone to ruſh on Steel,
Their Minds deſpiſing Death, they think it mean
To ſpare a Life that muſt again return.

By this Paſſage it appears, that ſixteen hundred Years ago thoſe Northern People were diſtinguiſh'd from all others, by a Fearleſneſs of Death, grounded upon the Belief of another Life, which made them deſpiſe the Care of preſerving this.

Whether ſuch an Opinion were firſt infuſed among them by *Zamolxis*, and propagated by *Odin* among his Followers, or by him invented, I will not conjecture; it may have been either one or t'other, ſince the *Goths* he led into the North-weſt Parts of *Europe* are agreed to have come from the *Getæ*, who are placed near the River *Tanais*. For thoſe vaſt *Scythian* Regions were divided into infinite ſeveral Nations, ſeparated by the common natural Bounds of Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Woods or Marſhes. Each of theſe Countries was like a mighty Hive, which by the Vigour of Propagation, and Health of Climate, growing too full of People, threw out ſome new Swarm at certain Periods of Time, that took Wing, and ſought out ſome new Abode, expelling or ſubduing the old Inhabitants, and ſeating themſelves in their Rooms, if they liked the Conditions of Place and Commodities of Life they met with; if not, going on till they found ſome other more agreeable to their preſent Humours or Diſpoſitions. Sometimes the expelled Nations took

Heart,

Heart, and when they fled from one Country, invaded another, and revenged the Injuries of ſome cruel Neighbours, upon others that were weaker, but more innocent; and ſo, like Waves, thruſt on one the other, for mighty Length Space or Countries. Sometimes the Conquerors augmented their Numbers and Forces with the ſtrongeſt and moſt adventurous of thoſe Nations they firſt invaded, by their voluntary Acceſſion into the Shares or Hopes of their future Fortunes, and ſo went on to further Conqueſts.

The uſual Manner of theſe Expeditions, was, That when a Country grew too full of People for the Growth of it to ſupply, they aſſembled together all that were fit to bear Arms, and divided themſelves into two Bands, whereof one ſtay'd at home to inhabit and defend their own, and t'other went to ſeek new Adventures, and poſſeſs ſome other they could gain by Force of Arms, and this was done ſometimes by Lot, and ſometimes by Agreement between the two Diviſions. That Band or Colony that went abroad, choſe their Leader among thoſe in ſome Repute and Eſteem for Wiſdom or for Courage, and theſe were their Commanders or Generals in War; and if they lived and ſucceeded, were the firſt Princes of thoſe Countries they conquer'd, and choſe for the Seat of their new Colony or Kingdom.

† It ſeems agreed by the curious Enquiries into the Antiquities of the *Runick* Language and Learning, that *Odin* or *Woden* or *Goden* (according to the different Northern Dialects) was the firſt and great Hero of the Weſtern *Scythians*. That he led a mighty Swarm of the *Getes* under the Name of *Goths*, from the *Aſiatick Scythia*, into the fartheſt North-weſt Parts of *Europe*: That he ſeated and ſpread his Kingdom round the whole *Baltick* Sea, and over all the Iſlands in it, and extended it Weſtward to the Ocean, and Southward to the *Elve* (which was anciently eſteemed the Bound between the *Scythians* and the *Germans*.) That this vaſt Country was in the ancient *Gothick* Term called *Biarmia*, and is by ſome Authors termed *Officina Gentium*, having furniſhed all thoſe Swarms of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Jutes*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, which ſo often infeſted, and at length ſubdued all the Weſtern Provinces of *Europe*. Some write, that he extended his Conqueſts even as far as *Franconia* it ſelf; but all agree, that this *Odin* was the firſt Inventor of, at leaſt the firſt Engraver of the *Runick* Letters or Characters, ſometime ſo famous, and at laſt ſo infamous in the World, by the vulgar Opinion and Imputation of all ſorts of Charms, Enchantments or Witchcrafts.

Excerpta ex Edda.

† *Hic Odinus Fatidicus erat, ut & ejus Conjux unde nomen ſuum in Septentrione præ cunctis Regibus maxime celebratum iri prævidit. Hâc motus cauſâ ex Turcia iter molitus erat, adjuncto ſibi magno numero militum Juvenum & Seniorum utriuſq; ſexûs. Quaſcunq; terras peragrarunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, Diis quam hominibus ſimiliores ab univerſis judicati, nec prius ſubſiterunt quam terram ingreſſi eſſent quæ nunc Saxonia appellatur, ubi per multos annos Odinus vixit, iſtamq; Regionem late poſſedit, quam cum diſtribuiſſet inter Filios, ita ut Vagdeggo Orientalem Saxoniam, Begdego Weſtphaliam, Siggo Franconiam determinavit; Ipſe in aliam migravit regionem, quæ tunc Reidgotolandia dicebatur, & quicquid ibi placuit ſibi vindicavit. Huic terræ præfecit filium Skioldam ex quo Freidlefus genitus eſt cujus poſteri Skioldungar ſive Skioldiades nominantur à quo ſtirpe Daniæ Reges deſcenderunt, iſta Reidgotolandia, nunc Jutlandia appellatur.*

Ex Snorronæ.

Odinus Heros in Aſgordia prope Tanaim, Sacrorum Gentilium Summus Antiſtes, duodecim Senatores qui cæteris pietate & ſapientia præſtarent Religioni curandæ & Juri dicundo præfecit. Hic magnanimus & fortis bellator innumera regna ditioneſq; ſuam redegit in poteſtatem. Manus ducum ſuorum vertici imponens eos conſecrabat, qui in pugnam euntes nomen Odini nuncupabant. Othinus fratribus ſuis Regnum Aſgardia commiſit, ipſe in Ruſſiam profectus & inde in Saxoniam, eam ſibi ſubjugavit, & filiis in regendum commiſit. Inauditi generis miracula variis exercuit præſtigiis. Magiſterium publicum Magiæ præcipiendæ inſtituit: In varias formarum ſpecies ſe tranſmutare noverat, tantâ eloquii dulcedine audientes demulcere poterat, ut dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter loquendum crebrò prolatis miram ſermoni gratiam conciliabat: Tantâ ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut ſæpe corpus ſuum velut ſpiritu ſuppreſſo humi proſterneret, Evigilans ſe longinquas oras peragraſſe, & quid ibi rerum gereretur comperiſſe aſſevarabat. Ad ſummum Runis ſuis & incantationibus incredibilia patrando tam clarum ſibi nomen peperit, ut ſapientiæ & potentiæ ſuæ & Aſianorum per omnes brevi nationes ſit debitum, quo evenit ut Sueci aliiq; populi Boreales Odino Sacrificia dependerent. Poſt obitum multis apparuit, multis Victoriam contulit, alios in Walhalde, id eſt, aulam Plutonis invitavit.

Witchcrafts, to the Uſe and Force of thoſe ſtrange Characters. That he inſtituted many excellent Orders and Laws, made the Diſtinction of Seaſons, the Diviſions of Time, was an invincible Warrior, a wiſe Law-giver, loved and obeyed during Life by his Subjects, and after his Death adored as one of their three chief Gods, amongſt which he was the God of War, *Thor* of Thunder and Tempeſts, *Freq* of Pleaſure; by whoſe Names, for an eternal Memory, three Days of the Week are called.

I will not enter into his Story, nor that of his Succeſſion, or the infinite and famous Revolutions it produced in the World, nor into the more curious Search of the Time of his Expedition, which muſt have been very ancient, and is thereby left undoubted and undetermined: But if it be true, that he was Inventor of the *Runick* Characters, ſome Writers of that Language will make him older than *Evander*, by affirming their *Runick* Letters to have been more ancient than the *Latin*, which were firſt brought into *Italy* in his Time. For my own part, I ſhould gueſs, by all I have peruſed of thoſe Antiquities, that this Expedition may have been made two Thouſand Years ago, or thereabouts. So much is true, that the *Runes* were for long Periods of Time in uſe, upon Materials more laſting than any others imployed to that Purpoſe; for inſtead of Leaves or Barks, or Wax or Parchments, theſe were engraven upon natural Rocks, in great Numbers and Extent of Lines. But more of this *Runick* Subject will occur upon that of Poetry; and I ſhall only obſerve, among the Conſtitutions of theſe Norther People, three Principles of a Strain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themſelves, and which extended very far into the Fortunes and Conqueſts of their Arms, and into the Force and Duration of their Kingdoms. The firſt of theſe is a Principle of Religion or Superſtition, the next of Learning, and the laſt of Policy or Civil Government.

Whether the firſt were deduced from that of *Zamolxis* among the *Getes*, ſtiled of old, Immortals, or introduced by *Odin* among the Weſtern *Goths*, 'tis certain, that an Opinion was fixed and general among them, That Death was but the Entrance into another Life; that all Men who lived lazy and inactive Lives and died natural Deaths, by Sickneſs or by Age, went into vaſt Caves under Ground, all dark and miry, full of noiſom Creatures uſual in ſuch Places, and there for ever groveled in endleſs Stench and Miſery. On the contrary, all who gave themſelves to warlike Actions and Enterpriſes, to the Conqueſt of their Neighbours and Slaughter of Enemies, and died in Battle, or of violent Deaths upon bold Adventures or Reſolutions, they went immediately to the vaſt Hall or Palace of *Odin*, their God of War, who eternally kept open Houſe for all ſuch Gueſts, where they were entertained at infinite Tables, in perpetual Feaſts and Mirth, carouſing every Man in Bowls made of the Sculls of their Enemies they had ſlain, according to which Numbers every one in theſe Manſions of Pleaſure was the moſt honoured and the beſt entertained.

How this Opinion was printed in the Minds of theſe fierce Mortals, and what Effect it had upon their Thoughts and Paſſions, concerning Life and Death, as it is touched elegantly in thoſe Verſes of *Lucan* before recited, ſo it is livelily repreſented in the Twenty Fifth and Twenty Ninth *Stanza* of that Song or Epicedium of *Regner Lodbrog*, one of their famous Kings, which he compoſed in the *Runick* Language, about eight hundred Years ago, after he was mortally ſtung by a Serpent, and before the Venom ſeiz'd upon his Vitals. The whole Sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deſerved from the Common-wealth of Learning) and is very well worth reading, by any that love Poetry; and to conſider the ſeveral Stamps of that Coin, according to ſeveral Ages and Climates. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that ſuch an Alacrity or Pleaſure in dying was never expreſs'd in any other Writing, nor imagined among any other People. The two Stanza's are thus tranſlated into *Latin* by *Olaus*.

Stanza

Stanza XXV.

Pugnavimus enſibus,
Hoc ridere me facit ſemper
Quod Balderi Patris Scamna
Parata ſcio in aula,
Bibemus cereviſiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio deſperabundus
Verbis ad Othini aulam.

Stanza XXIX.

Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dyſæ
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi miſit
Lætus cereviſiam cum Aſis
In ſumma ſede bibam
Vitæ elapſæ ſunt horæ,
Ridens Moriar.

I am deceived, if in this Sonnet, and a following Ode of *Scallogrim* (which was likewiſe made by him after he was condemned to dye, and deſerved his Pardon for a Reward) there be not a Vein truly poetical, and in its kind Pindarick, taking it with the Allowance of the different Climates, Faſhions, Opinions, and Languages of ſuch diſtant Countries.

I will not trouble my ſelf with more Paſſages out of theſe *Runick* Poems, concerning this ſuperſtitious Principle, which is ſo perfectly repreſented in theſe, with the Poſſeſſion it had taken of the nobleſt Souls among them; for ſuch this *Ladbrog* appears to have been, by his perpetual Wars and Victories in thoſe Northern Continents, and in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But I will add a Teſtimony of it, which was given me at *Nimeguen*, by Count *Oxenſtern* the firſt of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors in that Aſſembly. In Diſcourſe upon this Subject, and Confirmation of this Opinion having been general among the *Goths* of thoſe Countries; he told me, there was ſtill in *Sweden* a Place which was a Memorial of it, and was called *Odin*'s-*Hall*. That it was a great Bay in the Sea, encompaſſed on three Sides with ſteep and ragged Rocks; and that in the Time of the *Gothick* Paganiſm, Men that were either ſick of Diſeaſes they eſteemed mortal or incurable, or elſe grown invalid with Age, and thereby paſt all Military Action, and fearing to die meanly and baſely (as they eſteemed it) in their Beds, they uſually cauſed themſelves to be brought to the neareſt Part of theſe Rocks, and from thence threw themſelves down into the Sea, hoping by the Boldneſs of ſuch a violent Death, to renew the Pretence of Admiſſion in the Hall of *Odin*, which they had loſt, by failing to die in Combat and by Arms.

What Effect ſuch a Principle (ſuck'd in with Inſtruction and Education, and well believed) muſt have upon the Paſſions and Actions of a People naturally ſtrong and brave, is eaſy to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the Strains of the boldeſt and firmeſt Philoſophy; for this reached no farther than Conſtancy in Death, or Indifferency in the Opinion of that or of Life; but the other infuſed a Scorn of Life, and a Deſire of Death; nay,

Fear

Fear and Averſion even for a natural Death, with Purſuit and Longing for a violent one (contrary to the general Opinions of all other Nations;) ſo that they took great Delight in War and Dangers, as others did in Hunting, or ſuch active Sports, and thought as much for the Hopes of Death as of Victory, and found as much Pleaſure in the ſuppoſed Advantages and Conſequences of one, as in the real Enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new Motions or Deſigns, fearleſs and fierce in the Execution of them, and never caring in Battle to preſerve their Lives, longer than to increaſe the Slaughter of their Enemies, and thereby their own Renown here, and Felicity hereafter.

Their Deciſions of Right and Juſt were by Arms, and mortal Combats allowed by Laws, approved by Princes, aſſiſted by formal Judges, and determined by Death or Victory. From hence came all thoſe Jouſts, and Tiltings and Tournaments, ſo long in uſe, and ſo much celebrated in theſe Parts of the World; their Marriage-Feaſts were ſolemnized by Launces and Swords, by Blows, by Wounds, and ſometimes by Death, till that Cuſtom was diſgraced by the deplorable End of *Henry* the Second of *France*, and the fatal Lance of *Montgomery*. From hence came the long Uſe of legal and of ſingle Combats, when the Right of Titles or Lands was difficult; or when a Perſon accuſed of any Crime denied abſolutely what his Accuſer poſitively affirmed, and no other Proof could on either Side be produced. 'Tis known in Story how long and how frequent this was in uſe among all the *Gothick* Races, and in the ſeveral Kingdoms or Principalities erected by them, even after the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity among 'em. When it grew too infamous upon the Entrance of Learning and Civility, and the Laws were aſhamed of allowing Tryals of Blood and Violence, yet the Cuſtom could not be extinguiſh'd, but made way for that of private Duels, and for the Lye being accounted a juſt Ground of Fighting in Point of Honour, becauſe it had been ſo in Point of Law, during the barbarous Ages. This ſeems to have begun upon the famous Challenge, that paſſed between *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. which tho' without Effect, yet 'tis enough known and lamented how much of the braveſt Blood of Chriſtendom has been ſpilt by that Example, eſpecially in *France*, during the ſeveral ſucceeding Reigns, till it ſeems to have been extinguiſh'd by the juſt Severity, and to the juſt Honour of the preſent King.

But to return to the bold Authors of theſe Cuſtoms (unknown to the *Greek* and *Roman* Nations.) Their Bodies indeed were hard and ſtrong, their Minds rough and fierce, their Numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their Climate. But beſides theſe Advantages, their Courage was undaunted, their Buſineſs was War, their Pleaſures were Dangers, their very Sports were Martial: Their Diſputes and Proceſſes were decided by Arms; they feared nothing but too long Life, Decays of Age, and a natural or ſlothful Death; any Violent or Bloody they deſired and purſued, and all this from their Opinion of one being ſucceeded by Miſeries, the other by Felicities of a future and a longer Life.

For my part, when I conſider the Force of this Principle, I wonder not at the Effects of it, their numerous Conqueſts, nor Immenſity of Countries they ſubdued, nor that ſuch ſtrange Adventures ſhould have been finiſhed by ſuch enchanted Men. But when Chriſtianity, introduced among them, gave an End to theſe Deluſions, the reſtleſs Humour of perpetual Wars and Actions was likewiſe allayed, and they turned their Thoughts to the Eſtabliſhment of their ſeveral Kingdoms, in the Provinces they had ſubdued and choſen for their Seats, and applied themſelves to the Orders and Conſtitutions of their civil or political Governments.

Their Principle of Learning was, That all they had among them was applied to the Knowledge and Diſtinction of Seaſons, by the Courſe of the Stars, and to the Prognoſticks of Weather, or elſe to the Praiſes of Virtue, which conſiſted among them only, in Juſtice to their own Nation, and Valour againſt their Enemies; and the reſt was employ'd in diſplaying

the Brave and Heroick Exploits of their Princes and Leaders, and the Proweſs and Conqueſts of their Nation: All their Writings were compoſed in Verſe, which were called *Runes* or *Viiſes*, and from thence the Term of Wiſe came: And theſe Poets or Writers being eſteemed the Sages among them, were as ſuch always employed in the Attendance upon their Princes, both in Courts and Camps, being uſed to adviſe in their Conduct, and to record their Actions, and celebrate their Praiſes and Triumphs. The Traces of theſe Cuſtoms have been ſeen within the Compaſs of this very Age, both in *Hungary* and *Ireland*, where, at their Feaſts, it was uſual to have theſe kind of Poets entertain the Company with their rude Songs, or Panegyricks of their Anceſtors bold Exploits, among which, the Number of Men that any of them had ſlain with their own Hands, was the chief Ingredient in their Praiſes. By theſe, they rewarded the Proweſs of the Old Men among them; and inflamed the Courage of the Young, to equal the Boldneſs and Atchievements of thoſe that had travelled before them in theſe Paths of Glory.

The Principle of Politick or Civil Government in theſe *Northern* Nations, ſeemed derived from that which was Military among them. When a new Swarm was upon the Wing, they choſe a Leader or General for the Expedition, and at the ſame time the chief Officers to command the ſeveral Diviſions of their Troops; theſe were a Council of War to the General, with whom they adviſed in the whole Progreſs of their Enterpriſe; but upon great Occaſions, as a pitch'd Battle, any military Exploit of great Difficulty and Danger, the Choice of a Country to fix their Seat, or the Conditions of Peace that were propoſed, they aſſembled their whole Troops, and conſulted with all the Soldiers or People they commanded. This *Tacitus* obſerves to have been in uſe among the *German* Princes in his Time, to conſult of ſmaller Affairs with the chief Officers, but *De Majoribus omnes.*

If a Leader of theſe Colonies ſucceeded in his Attempts, and conquer'd a new Country, where by common Conſent they thought fit to reſide, he grew a Prince of that Country, while he lived; and when he died, another was choſen to ſucceed him by a general Election. The Lands of the ſubdued Territory were divided into greater and ſmaller Shares, beſides that reſerved to the Prince and Government. The Great were given to the chief Officers of the Army, who had beſt deſerved, and were moſt eſteemed; the Smaller to the common or private Soldiers. The Natives conquered, were wholly deſpoiled of their Lands, and reckoned but as Slaves by the Conquerors, and ſo uſed for Labour and ſervile Offices, and thoſe of the conquering Nation were the Freemen. The great Sharers, as chief Officers, continued to be the Council of the Prince in Matters of State, as they had been before in Matters of War; but in the great Affair, and of common Concernment, all that had the ſmaller Shares in Land were aſſembled and adviſed with. The firſt great Shares were in Proceſs of Time called Baronies, and the ſmall, Fees.

I know very well how much Critick has been employed, by the moſt Learned, as *Eraſmus*, *Selden*, *Spelman*, as well as many others, about the two Words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much Pains have been taken, to deduce them from the *Latin*, *Greek*, and even the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* Tongues; but I find no Reaſon, after all they have ſaid, to make any doubt of their having been both the Original of the *Gothick* or *Northern* Language; or of *Baron* having been a Term of Dignity, of Command, or of Honour among them; and *Feudum*, of a Soldiers Share of Land. I find the firſt uſed above eight hundred Years ago, in the Verſes mentioned of King *Lodbrog*, when one of his Exploits was, to have conquered eight Barons. And tho' *Fees* or *Feuda* were in uſe under later *Roman* Emperors, yet they were derived from the *Gothick* Cuſtoms, after ſo great Numbers of thoſe Nations were introduced into the *Roman* Armies, and employed upon the Decline of that Empire againſt other more barbarous Invaſions. For of all the *Northern* Nations, the *Goths* were eſteemed the moſt civil, orderly, and virtuous,

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and are for ſuch commended by St. *Auſtin* and *Salvian*, who make their Conqueſts to have been given them by the Juſtice of God, as a Reward of their Virtue, and a Puniſhment upon the *Roman* Provinces for the Viciouſneſs and Corruptions of their Lives and Governments. So as it is no Wonder if many *Gothick* Words and Cuſtoms enter'd early into the *Roman* Empire.

As to the Word *Baro*, it is not, that I find, at all agreed among the Learned, from whence to derive it, and the Objections raiſed againſt their ſeveral Conjectures, ſeem better grounded than the Arguments for any of them. But what that Term imported, is out of their ſeveral Accounts eaſy to collect, and confirmed by what ſtill remains in all the Conſtitutions of the *Gothick* Governments. For tho' by Barons are now meant in *England*, ſuch as are created by Patent, and thereby called to the Houſe of Lords: And Baron in *Spaniſh* ſignify only a Man of Note or Worth; and the Quality denoted by that Title be different in the ſeveral Countries of Chriſtendom; yet there is no Queſtion, but they were originally ſuch Perſons as, upon the Conqueſt of a Country, were by the conquering Prince inveſted in the Poſſeſſion of certain Tracts or Proportions of Free Lands, or at leaſt ſuch as they held by no other Tenure, but that of military Service, or Attendance upon the Prince in his Wars, with a certain Number of armed Men. Theſe in *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, ſeem to have had, and ſome ſtill to retain, a ſoveraign Power in their Territories, by the Exerciſe of what is called high and low Juſtice, or the Power of judging criminal as well as civil Cauſes, and inflicting capital Puniſhments among thoſe that held under them, either as Vaſſals or in Fee. But I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in *England*, tho' the great Barons had not only great Numbers of Knights, but even petty Barons holding under them.

I think the whole Realm of *England* was by *William* the Conqueror divided into Baronies, however the Diſtinctions may have been long ſince worn out: But in *Ireland* they ſtill remain, and every County there is divided into ſo many Baronies, which ſeem to have been the Shares of the firſt Barons. And ſuch as theſe great Proprietors of Land, compoſed in all theſe *North-Weſt* Regions, one Part in the States of the Country or Kingdom.

Now for the Word *Barons*, tho' it be a Preſumption to aſſert any thing after the Doubts or unreſolved Diſputes of ſuch learned Men: Yet I ſhall adventure to give my own Opinion, how different ſoever from any that has been yet advanced. I find in *Guagnini's* Deſcription of *Sarmatia*, Printed in the Year 1581, that in the ſeveral Dukedoms, Palatinates, or Principalities, which then compoſed the mighty Empire of *Muſcovy*, thoſe Perſons who were the chief in Poſſeſſions of Lands, Offices, or Dignities among them next to the Prince, Duke, or Palatine, were by one common Appellation called his *Boiarons*, as thoſe of the ſame Sort or Quality in the preſent Court of the Great Dukes are now termed his *Boiars*, which may be a corrupt or particular Dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any Man, that tries how an eaſy Change is made in the Contraction of *Boiarons* into *Barons*, which is but of the two firſt Syllables into one, and that with an A long, as *Barons* is commonly uſed: And thoſe Countries above mentioned, having been the Seats of our conquering *Goths*, I am apt to think their *Boiarons* grew, with their Conqueſts, to be the original Barons in all thoſe ſeveral Nations or Dominions where they were extended.

From the Diviſions, Forms and Inſtitutions already deduced, will naturally ariſe and plainly appear the Frame and Conſtitution of the *Gothick* Government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before known or obſerved in Story; but ſo univerſal among theſe *Northern* Nations, that it was under the Names of King, or Prince, or Duke and his Eſtates, eſtabliſh'd in all Parts of *Europe* from the *North-Eaſt* of *Poland* and *Hungary* to the *South-Weſt* of *Spain* and *Portugal*, tho' theſe vaſt Countries had been ſubdued by ſo many ſeveral Expeditions of theſe *Northern* People, at ſuch diverſe Times, and under ſo different Appellations, and it ſeems to have been invented or inſtituted by the Sages of the *Goths*, as a Government of Free-

men, which was the Spirit or Character of the *North West* Nations, distinguishing them from those of the *South* and the *East*, and gave the Name to the *Franks* among them.

I need say nothing of this Constitution, which is so well known in our Island, and was anciently the same with ours in *France* and *Spain*, as well as *Germany* and *Sweden*, where it still continues, consisting of a King or a Prince who is Soveraign both in Peace and War, of an Assembly of Barons (as they were originally called) whom he uses as his Council, and another of the Commons, who are the Representative of all that are possessed of Free-Lands, whom the Prince assembles and consults with, upon the Occasions or Affairs of the greatest and common Concern to the Nation. I am apt to think that the Possession of Land was the original Right of Election or Representative among the Commons, and that Cities and Boroughs were entituled to it, as they were possess'd of certain Tracts of Land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And so it is still in *Friesland*, the Seat from whence our *Gothick* or *Saxon* Ancestors came into these Islands. For the ancient Seat of the *Gothick* Kingdom was of small or no Trade; nor *England* in their Time. Their Humours and Lives were turned wholly to Arms, and long after the *Norman* Conquest, all the Trade of *England* was driven by *Jews*, *Lombards* or *Milaners*; so as the Right of Boroughs seem not to have risen from Regards of Trade, but of Land, and were Places where so many Freemen inhabited together, and had such a Proportion of Land belonging to them. However it be, this Constitution has been celebrated, as framed with great Wisdom and Equity, and as the truest and justest Temper that has been ever found out between Dominion and Liberty; and it seems to be a Strain of what *Herodotus* said was the only Skill or Knowledge of any Value in the Politicks, which was the Secret of governing all by all.

This seems to have been intended by these *Gothick* Constitutions, and by the Election and Representation of all that possessed Lands; for since a Country is composed of the Land it contains, they esteemed a Nation to be so, of such as were the Possessors of it. And what Prince soever can hit of this great Secret, needs know no more, for his own Safety and Happiness, or that of the People he governs. For no State or Government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private Factions, which is grounded upon the general Consent and Satisfaction of the Subjects, unless it be wholly subdued by the Force of Armies; and then the standing Armies have the Place of Subjects, and the Government depends upon the contented or discontented Humours of the Soldiers in general, which has more sudden and fatal Consequences upon the Revolutions of State, than those of Subjects in unarmed Governments. So the *Roman*, *Egyptian*, and *Turkish* Empires, appear to have always turned upon the arbitrary Wills, and wild Humours of the *Prætorian* Bands, the *Mamalukes*, and the *Janizaries*. And so I pass from the *Scythian* Conquests and *Gothick* Constitutions, to those of the *Arabians* or *Mahometans* in the World.

SECT. V.

THE last Survey I proposed of the Four out-lying (or, if the Learned so please to call them, barbarous) Empires, was that of the *Arabians*, which was indeed of a very different Nature from all the rest, being built upon Foundations wholly Enthusiastick, and thereby very unaccountable to common Reason, and in many Points contrary even to human Nature; yet few others have made greater Conquests or more sudden Growths, than this *Arabian* or *Saracen* Empire; but having been of later Date, and the Course of it engaged

gaged in perpetual Wars with the Christian Princes, either of the East or West, of the Greek or the Latin Churches, both the Original and Progress of it have been easily observed, and are most vulgarly known, having been the Subject of many modern Writers, and several well digested Histories of Patriarchs; and therefore I shall give but a very summary Account of both.

About the Year 600, or near it, lived *Mahomet*, a Man of mean Parentage and Condition, illiterate, but of great Spirit and subtil Wit, like those of the Climate or Country where he was born or bred, which was that Part of *Arabia* called the *Happy*, esteemed the loveliest and sweetest Region of the World, and like those blessed Seats so finely painted by the Poet,

Quas neque concussum Veni, nec nubilus Auster
Aspergine, neque hiemi corrumpit pruina
Cana cadens vicina, semperque innubibus æther
Condigit, & lætæ diffusa luminis videt.

He was Servant to a rich Merchant of this Country, and after his Master's Death, having married his Widow, came to be possessed of great Wealth, and of a numerous Family: Among others, he had entertained in it a *Nestorian* Monk, or at least called by that Name, whose vicious and libertine Dispositions of Life had made him leave his Inclosure and Profession, but otherwise a Man of great Learning. *Mahomet* was subject to Fits of an Epilepsie or Falling-Sickness, and either by the Customs of that Climate, or the Necessity of that Disease, very temperate and abstaining from Wine, but in the rest voluptuous and dissolute. He was ashamed of his Disease, and to disguise it from his Wife and Family, pretended his Fits were Trances into which he was cast at certain Times by God Almighty, and in them instructed in his Will, and his true Worship and Laws, by which he would be served; and that he was commanded to publish them to the World, to teach them, and see them obey'd.

About this Age all the Christian Provinces of the *East* were over-run with *Arianism*, which, however refined or disguised by its Learned Professors and Advocates, either denied or undermined the Divinity of *Christ*, and allowed only his Prophetical Office. The Countries of *Arabia* and *Egypt* were filled with great Numbers of the scattered *Jews*, who upon the last Destruction of their Country in *Adrian*'s Time, had fled into these Provinces, to avoid the Ruin and even Extinction which was threatned their Nation by that Emperor, who after the Desolations he made in *Judea*, transported what he could of their remaining Numbers into *Spain*. The rest of *Arabia* and *Egypt* was inhabited by *Gentiles*, who had little Sense left of their decayed and derided Idolatry, and had turned their Thoughts and Lives to Luxury and Pleasure, and to the Desires and Acquisition of Riches, in order to those Ends. *Mahomet*, to humour and comply with these three Sorts of Men, and by the Assistance of the Monk his only Confident, framed a Scheme of Religion he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock, the common Opinions and Dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own Temper and Designs.

He professed one God Creator of the World, and who governed all Things in it. That God had in ancient Times sent *Moses* his first and great Prophet to give his Laws to Mankind, but that they were neither received by the *Gentiles*, nor obeyed by the *Jews* themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent. That this was the Occasion of the Misfortunes and Captivities that so often befell them. That in the later Ages he had sent Christ, who was the second Prophet, and greater than *Moses*, to preach his Laws and Observation of them, in greater Purity, but to do it with Gentleness, Patience and Humility, which had found no better Reception or Success among Men than *Moses* had done. That for this Reason God had now sent his last and greatest Prophet *Mahomet*, to publish his Laws and Commands with more Power, to subdue those to them by Force and Violence who should not willingly

willingly receive them, and for this end to eſtabliſh a Kingdon upon Earth that ſhould propagate this Divine Law and Worſhip throughout the World: That as God had deſigned utter Ruin and Deſtruction to all that refuſed them, ſo to thoſe that profeſſed and obeyed them He had given the Spoils and Poſſeſſions of his and their Enemies, as a Reward in this Life, and had provided a Paradiſe hereafter, with all ſenſual Enjoyments, eſpecially of beautiful Women new created for that purpoſe; but with more tranſcendent Degrees of Pleaſure and Felicity to thoſe that ſhould die in the Purſuit and Propagation of them, through the reſt of the World, which ſhould in time ſubmit or be ſubdued under them. Theſe, with the ſevere Prohibition of drinking Wine, and the Principle of Predeſtination, were the firſt and chief Doctrines and Inſtitutions of *Mahomet*, and which were received with great Applauſe, and much Confluence of *Arians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles* in thoſe Parts; ſome contributing to the Riſe of his Kingdom, by the Belief of his divine Miſſion and Authority; many, by finding their chief Principles or religious Opinions contained or allowed in them; but moſt, by their Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury, their Paſſions of Avarice, Ambition and Revenge being thereby complied with. After his Fits or Trances, he writ the many ſeveral Parts or Chapters of his *Alcoran*, as newly inſpired and dictated from Heaven, and left in them, that which to us, and in its Tranſlations, looks like a wild Fanatick Rhapſody of his Viſions or Dreams, or rather of his Fantaſtical Imaginations and Inventions, but has ever paſſed among all his Followers, as a Book Sacred and Divine; which ſhews the ſtrange Difference of Conceptions among Men.

To be ſhort, this Contagion was ſo violent, that it ſpread from *Arabia* into *Egypt* and *Syria*, and his Power increaſed with ſuch a ſudden Growth as well as his Doctrine, that he lived to ſee them overſpread both thoſe Countries, and a great Part of *Perſia*; the Decline of the Old *Roman* Empire making eaſy Way for the powerful Aſcent of this new Comet, that appeared with ſuch Wonder and Terror in the World, and with a flaming Sword made way where-ever it came, or laid all deſolate that oppoſed it.

Mahomet left two Branches of his Race for Succeſſion, which was in both eſteemed Divine among his *Muſſulmans* or Followers; the one was continued in the *Caliphs* of *Perſia*, and the other of *Egypt* and *Arabia*. Both theſe, under the common Appellation of *Saracens*, made mighty and wonderful Progreſs, the one to the *Eaſt*, and the other to the *Weſt*.

The *Roman* Empire, or rather the Remainders of it, ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, and afterwards called the *Greek*, was for ſome Times paſt moſt cruelly infeſted, and in many Parts ſhaken to Pieces, by the Invaſions or Incurſions of many barbarous *Northern* Nations, and thereby diſabled from any vigorous Oppoſition to this new and formidable Enemy. Beſides, the Diviſions among Chriſtians made way for their Conqueſts, and the great Increaſe of *Proſelytes*, to this new Religion. The *Arians*, perſecuted in the *Eaſtern* Provinces by ſome of the *Greek* Emperors (of the ſame Faith with the *Weſtern* or *Roman* Church) made eaſy Turns to the *Mahometan* Doctrines, that profeſſed Chriſt to have been ſo great and ſo divine a Prophet, which was all in a manner that they themſelves allowed him. The cruel Perſecutions of other *Grecian* Princes againſt thoſe Chriſtians, that would not admit the Uſe of Images, made great Numbers of them go over to the *Saracens*, who abhorred that Worſhip as much as themſelves. The *Jews* were allured by the Profeſſion of Unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Chriſtian Faith, and by the great Honour that was paid by the *Saracens* to *Moſes*, as a Prophet and a Law-giver ſent immediately from God into the World. The Pagans met with an Opinion of the old Gentiliſm, in that of Predeſtination, which was the *Stoick* Principle, and that whereinto unhappy Men commonly fell, and ſought for Refuge in the uncertain Conditions or Events of Life, under tyrannical and cruel Governments. So as ſome *Roman* Authors obſerve, that the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero*, made more *Stoicks* in *Rome*, than the Precepts of *Zeno*, *Chryſippus* and *Cleanthes*.

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The great Extent and Power of the *Perſian* Branch or Empire, continued long among the *Saracens*, but was over-run at length by the *Turks* firſt, and then by the *Tartars* under *Tamerlane*, whoſe Race continued there till the Time of *Iſhmael*, from when the preſent Sophies are derived. This *Iſhmael* was an Enthuſiaſt, or at leaſt a Pretender to new Revelations in the *Mahometan* Religion. He profeſſed to reform both their Doctrines and their Manners, and taught, That *Haly* alone of *Mahomet's* Followers ought to be owned and believed as his true Succeſſor, which made the *Perſians* ever ſince eſteem the *Turks* for Hereticks, as the *Turks* do them. He gained ſo many Followers by his new and refined Principles, or Profeſſions of Devotion, that he made himſelf King of *Perſia*, by the ſame Way that the *Xeriffs* came to be Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez*, about *Charles* the Fifth's Time, and *Cromwell* to be Protector of *England*, and *Oran Zeb* to be Great Mogul in our Age, which were the four great Dominions of the Fanatick Strain.

The *Arabian* Branch of the *Saracen* Empire, after a long and mighty Growth in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, ſeems to have been at its Height under the great *Almanzor*, who was the illuſtrious and renowned Heroe of this Race, and muſt be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in Learning, Virtue, Piety, and Native Goodneſs, as in Power, in Valour, and in Empire. Yet this was extended from *Arabia* through *Egypt* and all the *Northern* Tracts of *Africa*, as far as the *Weſtern* Ocean, and over all the conſiderable Provinces of *Spain*. For it was in his Time, and by his Victorious Enſigns, that the *Gothick* Kingdom in *Spain* was conquered, and the Race of thoſe famous Princes ended in *Rodrigo*. All that Country was reduced under the *Saracen* Empire (except the Mountains of *Leon* and *Oviedo*) and were afterwards divided into ſeveral *Mooriſh* Kingdoms, whereof ſome laſted to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. Nay, the *Saracen* Forces, after the Conqueſt of *Spain*, invaded the *Southern* Parts of *France*, and proceeded with the ſame Succeſs as far as *Tours*, 'till they were beaten and expelled by *Charles Martel*, who by thoſe Exploits raiſed his Renown ſo high, as to give him the Ambition of leaving the Kingdom of *France* to his own Line, in *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, by the Depoſition and Extinction of the firſt Race, which had laſted from *Pharamond*.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler Character of any Prince, than of this great *Almanzor*, in ſome *Spaniſh* Authors or Tranſlators of his Story out of the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein the Learning then remaining in the World flouriſh'd moſt; and that of ancient *Greece*, as it had been tranſlated into their Language, ſo it ſeems to have been by the Acuteneſs and Excellency of thoſe more *Southern* Wits, in ſome Parts very much improved.

This Kingdom continued great under the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, who degenerating from the Example and Virtues of *Almanzor*, came to be hated of their Subjects, and to ſecure themſelves from them, by a mighty Guard of *Circaſſian* Slaves. Theſe were brought young from the Country now called *Mengrelia*, between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* Seas, the ancient Seat of the *Amazons*, and which has, in paſt and preſent Times, been obſerved to produce the braveſt Bodies of Men, and more beautiful of Women, in all the *Eaſtern* Regions. Theſe Slaves were called *Mamalucs* when they came into *Egypt*, and were brought up with Care, and in all Exerciſes and Diſcipline, that might render them the moſt martial Troops or Bands of Soldiers, that could any where be compoſed, and ſo they proved. The Commander of this mighty Band or Guard of *Mamalucs*, was called their *Sultan*, who was abſolute over them, as the General of an Army is in Time of War. They ſerved for ſome time to ſupport the Government of the *Caliphs*, and enſlave the *Egyptians*, till one of the *Sultans* finding his own Power, and the general Diſeſteem wherein the *Caliph* was fallen, by the effeminate Softneſs or Luxury of his Liſe, depoſed him firſt, then ſlew him, and took upon himſelf the Government of *Egypt*, under the Name of *Sultan*, and reigned by the ſole Force and Support of his *Mamaluc* Troops, which were continually increaſed by the Merchandiſe,

chandiſe, and Tranſportation of *Circaſſian* Slaves. This Government laſted, with great Terror in *Egypt*, between two and three hundred Years, during which Time the new *Sultans* were elected, upon the Death or deposing of the old, by the Choice of the *Mamalucs*, and always out of their own Bands. The Sons of the deceaſed *Sultans* enjoyed the Eſtates and Riches left by their Fathers, but by the Conſtitutions of the Government no Son of a *Sultan* was ever either to ſucceed, or even to be elected *Sultan*: So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the World, to be born of a Prince, was a certain and unalterable Excluſion from the Kingdom; and none was ever to be choſen *Sultan*, that had not been actually ſold for a Slave, brought from *Circaſſia*, and trained up a private Soldier in the *Mamaluc* Bands. Yet of ſo baſe Metal were formed ſeveral Men who made mighty Figures in their Age, and no Nation made ſo brave a Reſiſtance againſt the growing Empire of the *Turks*, as their *Mamalucs* did under their *Sultans*, till they were conquered by *Selim*, after a long War, which looked in Story like the Combat of ſome fierce Tyger with a ſavage Boar, while the Country that is waſted by them are Lookers on, and little concerned under whoſe Dominion and Cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed among Authors, whether the *Turks* were firſt called into *Aſia* by the *Greek* or the *Perſian* Emperors; but 'tis by all, that falling down in great Numbers, they revolted from the Aſſiſtance of their Friends, ſet up for themſelves, embraced the *Mahometan* Religion, and improved the Principles of that Sect; by new Orders and Inventions (caſt wholly for Conqueſt and Extent of Empire) they framed a Kingdom, which under the *Ottoman* Race ſubdued both the *Greek* Empire, and that of the *Arabians*, and rooted it ſelf in all thoſe vaſt Dominions as it continues to this Day, with the Addition of many other Provinces to their Kingdom, but yet many more to the *Mahometan* Belief. So this Empire of the *Turks*, like a freſh Graft upon one Branch of a vigorous Stock, covered wholly that upon which it was grafted, and out-grew in time the other which was natural, as the *Perſian* Branch.

The chief Principles upon which this fierce Government was founded and raiſed to ſuch a Height, were firſt thoſe of *Mahomet*, already deduced, which by their ſenſual Paradiſe and Predeſtination, were great Incentives of Courage and of Enterprize, joined to the Spoils of the Conquered, both in their Lands, their Goods and their Liberties, which were all ſeized at the Pleaſure of the Conqueror.

A ſecond was, a Belief infuſed of divine Deſignation of the *Ottoman* Line to reign among them for Extent of their Territories, and Propagation of their Faith. This made him eſteemed, at leaſt by Adoption, as a Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, and both a Soveraign Law-giver in Civil, and (with the Aſſiſtance of his Mufti) a ſupream Judge in all Religious Matters. And this Principle was ſo far improved among theſe People, that they held Obedience to be given in all Things to the Will of their *Ottoman* Prince as to the Will of God, by whom they thought him deſigned; and that they were bound not only to obey his Commands with any Hazard of their Lives againſt Enemies, but even by laying down their own whenever he commanded, and with the ſame Reſignation that is by others thought due to the Decrees of Deſtiny, or the Will and Pleaſure of Almighty God. This gives ſuch an abandoned Submiſſion to all the frequent and cruel Executions among them by the Emperor's Command, tho' upon the meer Turns of his own Humour, the Suggeſtions of the Miniſters, or the Flatteries and Revenges of thoſe Women he moſt truſteth, or loveth beſt.

A Third was, the Diviſion of all Lands in conquered Countries into Timariots or Soldier's Shares, beſides what was reſerved and appropriated to the Emperor; and theſe Shares being only at Pleaſure or for Life, leave him the ſole Lord of all Lands in his Dominion, which by the common Suppoſition of Power following Land, muſt by conſequence leave him the moſt abſolute of any Soveraign in the World.

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A Fourth, the Allowance of no Honours nor Charges, no more than Lands, to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the Will of the Prince. This applies every Man's Ambition and Avarice to court his preſent Humour, ſerve his preſent Deſigns, and obey his Commands, of how different Nature ſoever they are, and how frequently changed.

A Fifth was, the Suppreſſion, and in a manner Extinction of all Learning among the Subjects of their whole Empire, at leaſt the natural *Turks* and Janizaries, in whom the Strength of it conſiſts. This Ignorance makes Way for the moſt blind Obedience, which is often ſhaken by Diſputes concerning Religion and Government, Liberty and Dominion, and other Arguments of that or ſome ſuch Nature.

A Sixth was, the Inſtitution of that famous Order of the Janizaries, than which a greater Strain of true and deep Politick will hardly be obſerved in any Conſtitution. This conſiſted of the arbitrary Choice of ſuch Chriſtian Children, throughout their Dominions, as were eſteemed moſt fit for the Emperor's peculiar Service; and the Promiſe was made by the Shews or Promiſes of the greateſt Growth or Strength of Body, Vigour or Conſtitution, and Boldneſs of Courage. Theſe were taken into the Emperor's Care, and trained up in certain Colleges, or Chambers, as they are called, and by Officers for that Purpoſe, who endeavoured to improve all they could the Advantages of Nature by thoſe of Education and of Diſcipline. They were all diligently inſtructed in the *Mahometan* Religion, and in the Veneration of the *Ottoman* Race. Such of them as proved weak of Body, ſlothful, or puſillanimous, were turned to labour in Gardens, Buildings, or Drudgeries of the Palace; but all that were fit for Military Service, were at a certain Age entered into the Body of Janizaries, who were the Emperor's Guards.

By this Means the Number of Chriſtians was continually leſſened throughout the Empire, and weakened by the Loſs of ſuch as were like to prove the braveſt and ſtrongeſt of their Races. That of *Muſſulmans* was increaſed in the ſame Proportion, and a mighty Body of choſen Men kept up perpetually in Diſcipline and Pay, who eſteemed themſelves not only as Subjects or Slaves, but even Pupils and domeſtick Servants of the Grand Seignior's Perſon and Family.

A Seventh was, the great Temperance introduced into the general Cuſtoms of the *Turks*, but more particularly of the Janizaries, by the ſevere Defence and Abſtinence of Wine, and by the Proviſion of one only ſort of Food for their Armies, which was Rice. Of this Grain, as every Man is able to carry upon Occaſion enough for ſeveral Days, ſo the Quantity provided for every Expedition is but according to the Number, with no Diſtinction for the Quality of Men; ſo that upon a March, or in a Camp, a Colonel has no more allowed him than a private Soldier. Nor are any but General Officers encumbered with Train or Baggage, which gives them mighty Advantages in their *German* Wars, among whom every Officer has a Family in Proportion to his Command during the Campania, as well as in his Quarters; and the very Soldiers uſed to carry their Wives with them into the Field; whereas a *Turkiſh* Army conſiſts only of fighting Men.

The laſt I ſhall mention, is the Speedineſs as well as Severity of their Juſtice both Civil and Military, which tho' often ſubject thereby to Miſtakes, and deplored by the Complaints and Calamities of innocent Perſons, yet it is maintained upon this Principle fixt among them, *That 'tis better two innocent Men ſhould die, than one guilty live.* And this indeed agrees with the whole Caſt or Frame of their Empire, which ſeems to have been in all Points the fierceſt, and that of the *Inca's* was the gentleſt, that of *China* the wiſeſt, and that of the *Goths* the braveſt in the World.

The Growth and Progreſs of this *Turkiſh* Empire, under the *Ottoman* Race, was ſo ſudden and ſo violent, the two or three firſt Centuries, that it raiſed Fear and Wonder throughout the World; but ſeems at a Stand for theſe laſt hundred Years, having made no Conqueſt ſince that of *Hungary*, except the Remainder of *Candia*, after a very long War ſo bravely maintain-

ed by the ſmall *Venetian* State againſt ſo mighty Powers. The Reaſon of this may be drawn not only from the Periods of Empire, that, like natural Bodies, grow for a certain Time, and to a certain Size, which they are not to exceed; but from ſome other Cauſes, both within and without, which ſeem obvious enough.

The Firſt, a Neglect in the Obſervance of ſome of theſe Orders, which were eſſential to the Conſtitutions of their Government. For after the Conqueſt of *Cyprus*, and the Example of *Selim*'s Intemperance in thoſe and other Wines, that Cuſtom and Humour prevailed againſt their Laws of Abſtinence, in that Point ſo ſeverely enjoined by *Mahomet*, and ſo long obſerved among all his Followers. And tho' the *Turks* and Janizaries endeavoured to avoid the Scandal and Puniſhment by drinking in private, yet they felt the Effects in their Bodies and in their Humours, whereof the laſt needs no inflaming among ſuch hot Tempers, and their Bodies are weakened by their Intemperance, joined to their abandoned Luxury in Point of Women.

Beſides, the Inſtitution of Janizaries has been much alter'd by the Corruption of Officers, who have long ſuffer'd the Chriſtians to buy off that Tribute of their Children, and the *Turks* to purchaſe the Preferment of theirs into that Order for Money; by which Means the Choice of this Militia is not made from the ſtrongeſt and moſt warlike Bodies of Men, but from the Purſes of the Parents or Friends.

Theſe two Diſtempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous Humour of this Body of Janizaries, who finding their own Strength, began to make what Changes they pleaſed in the State, till having been long fluſh'd with the Blood of the Baſha's and Viziers, they made bold at laſt with that of their Princes themſelves; and having depoſed and ſtrangled *Ibrahim*, they ſet up his Son, the preſent Emperor, then a Child. But the Diſtemper ended not there; they fell into new Factions, changed and murthered ſeveral Viziers, and divided into ſo powerful Parties, and with ſo fierce Contentions, that the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, with an Army of an hundred thouſand Men, ſet up for himſelf (tho' under Pretence of a counterfeit Son of *Morat*) and cauſed ſuch a Convulſion in this mighty State, that the *Ottoman* Race had ended, if this bold Adventurer had not, upon Confidence in the Faith of a Treaty, been ſurprized and ſtrangled by Order of old *Caperly*, then newly come to be Grand Vizier, and abſolute in the Government. This Man entering the Miniſtry at fourſcore Years old, cruel by Nature, and hardened by Age, to allay the Heat of Blood in that diſtemper'd Body of the Janizaries, and the other Troops, cut off near forty thouſand of them in three Years time by private, ſudden, and violent Executions, without Form of Laws or Tryals, or hearing any ſorts of Pleas or Defences. His Son, ſucceeding in the Place of Grand Vizier, found the Empire ſo diſpirited by his Father's Cruelty, and the Militia remaining ſo ſpited and diſtemper'd, breathing new Commotions and Revenges, that he diverted the Humour by an eaſy War upon the *Venetians*, *Tranſylvanians*, or the Remainders of *Hungary*, till by Temper and Conduct he had cloſed the Wounds which his Father had left bleeding, and reſtored the Strength of the *Ottoman* Empire to that degree, that the ſucceeding Vizier invaded *Germany*, though againſt the Faith of Treaties, or of a Truce not expired, and at laſt beſieged *Vienna*, which is a Story too freſh and too known to be told here.

Another Reaſon has been the Neglect of their Marine Affairs, or of their former Greatneſs at Sea, ſo as for many Years they hardly pretend to any Succeſſes on that Element, but commonly ſay, *That God has given the Earth to the* Muſſulmans, *and the Sea to the* Chriſtians.

The laſt I ſhall obſerve is the exceſſive Uſe of Opium, with which they ſeek to repair the Want of Wine, and to divert their melancholy Reflections upon the ill Condition of their Fortunes and Lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the Will or Caprice of the Grand Seignior's or of the Grand Vizier's Humour and Commands. But the Effect of this Opium is very

tranſitory;

transitory; and though it allays for the present all melancholy Fumes and Thoughts, yet when the Operation is past, they return again, which makes the Use of it so often repeated; and nothing more dispirits and enervates both the Body and the Mind of those that frequently use it.

The external Reason of the Stand made this last Century, in the Growth of the Turkish Empire, seems to have been, their having before extended it, till they came to such strong Bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the *Persian* Empire to the *East*, upon the *Tartar* to the *North*, upon the *Ethiopian* to the *South*, and upon the *German* Empire to the *West*, and turned their Prospect this way, as the easiest and most plausible, being against a Christian State.

Now this Empire of *Germany*, consisting of such large Territories, such Numbers of Bodies of Warlike Men, when united in any common Cause or Quarrel, seems as strongly constituted for Defence, as the *Turkish* is for Invasion or Conquest. For being composed of many Civil and Moderate Governments, under Legal Princes, or Free States, the Subjects are all fond of their Liberties and Laws, and abhor the falling under any Foreign or Arbitrary Dominions, and in such common Cause seem to be invincible. On the contrary, the *Turkish* Territories being all enslaved, and thereby in a manner depolated, have no Force but that of their standing Armies, and their People in general care not either for the Progress of their Victories Abroad, nor even for the Defence of their own Countries, since they are sure to lose nothing, but may hope reasonably to gain by any Change of Master, or of Government, which makes that Empire the worse constituted that can be for Defence, upon any great Misfortune to their Armies.

The Effect of these two different Constitutions had been seen and felt (in all Probability) to the wonder of the whole World, in these late Revolutions, if the Divine Decrees had not crossed Human Appearances. For the Grand Visier might certainly have taken *Vienna*, before the Confederate Princes could have united for its Relief, if the Opinion of vast Treasures (there assembled for Shelter from all the adjacent Parts) had not given him a passionate Desire to take the Town by Composition rather than by Storm, which must have left all its Wealth a Prey to the Soldiers, and not to the General.

If the *Turks* had possessed this Bulwark of *Christendom*, I do not conceive what could have hinder'd them from being Masters immediately of *Austria*, and all its depending Provinces; nor in another Year of all *Italy*, or of the Southern Provinces of *Germany*, as they should have chosen to carry on their Invasion, or of both, in two or three Years Time; and how fatal this might have been to the rest of *Christendom*, or how it might have inlarged the *Turkish* Dominions, is easy to conjecture.

On the other Side, after the Defeat of the Grand Visier's Army, his Death, and that of so many brave Bassa's, and other Captains, by the usual Humour and Faction of that bloody Court: After such Slaughters of the Janizaries, in so many Encounters, and such an Universal Discouragement of their Troops, that could no where withstand the *German* Arms and Bravery; if upon the taking of *Belgrade*, the Emperor had been at the Head of the Forces then in his Service, united under one great Commander, and without dependance upon the several Princes by whom they were raised, I do not see what could have hinder'd them from conquering all before them in that open Country of *Bulgaria* and *Romania*, nor from taking *Constantinople* it self, upon the Course of an easy War, in such a Decline of the *Turkish* Empire, with so weak and dispirited Troops as those that remained, a Treasure so exhausted, a Court so divided, and such a general Consternation as appeared in that great and tumultuous City, upon these Occasions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any so great Revolution, either for the Ruin or Advantage of *Christendom*, and seems to have left both Empires at a Bay, and not likely to make any great Enterprises on either Side, but rather to fall into the Designs of a Peace which may probably leave *Hungary*

to the Poſſeſſion as well as Right of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the *Turks* in a Condition of giving no great Fears or Dangers, in our Age, to the reſt of *Chriſtendom*.

Although the *Mahometan* Empires were not raiſed like others, upon the Foundations, or by the Force of Heroick Virtue, but rather by the Practices of a ſubtil Man, upon the Simplicity of credulous People; yet the Growth of them has been influenced by ſeveral Princes, in whom ſome Beams at leaſt of that Sun have ſhined, ſuch as *Almanzor*, *Saladine*, *Ottoman*, and *Soliman the Great*. And becauſe I have named the moſt Heroick Perſons of that Sect, it will be but Juſtice to Nobler Nations, to mention at the ſame Time thoſe who appear to have ſhined the brighteſt in the ſeveral Ages or Countries, and the Luſtre of whoſe Virtues, as well as Greatneſs, has been ſullied with the feweſt noted Blemiſhes or Defaults, and who for deſerving well of their own Countries by their Actions, and of Mankind by their Examples, have eternized their Memories in the true Records of Fame, which is ever juſt to the Dead, how partial ſoever it may be to the Living, from the forced Applauſes of Power, or fulſom Adulations of ſervile Men.

Such as theſe were among the ancient *Grecians*, *Epaminondas*, *Pericles*, and *Ageſilaus*. Of the Old *Roman* State, the firſt *Scipio*, *Marcellus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*. Of the *Roman* Emperors, *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antonimus*. Among the *Goths*, *Alaric*, and *Theodorick*. Of the Weſtern Emperors, *Charlemain*, *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, and *Charles* the Fifth. Of the *French* Nation, *Pharamond*, *Charles Martel*, and *Henry* the Fourth, who began three of their Nobleſt Races. Of the *Swedes*, *Guſtavus Adolphus*. And of our own, *Richard* the Firſt, the *Black Prince*, and *Harry* the Fifth. To theſe I may add ſeven famous Captains, or ſmaller Princes, whoſe Exploits and Virtues may juſtly allow them to be ranked with ſo great Kings and Emperors. *Ætius* and *Belliſarius*, the two laſt great Commanders of the *Roman* Armies, after the Diviſion and Decay of that Mighty State, who did ſet up the laſt Trophies, and made the braveſt Defences againſt the Numbers and Fury of thoſe barbarous Nations, that invaded, and after their Time tore in Pieces that whole Empire. *George Caſtriot*, commonly call'd *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epire*, and *Huniades*, Viceroy of *Hungaria*, who were two moſt victorious Captains, and excellent Men, the true Champions of *Chriſtendom*, whilſt they lived, and Terror of the *Turks*; who with ſmall Forces held at a Bay for ſo many Years, all the Powers of the *Ottoman* Empire. *Ferdinand Gonzalvo*, that Noble *Spaniard*, worthily ſurnamed the Great Captain, who by his ſole Proweſs and Conduct conquered a Crown for his Maſter, which he might have worn for himſelf, if his Ambition had been equal to his Courage and Virtues. *William* Prince of *Orange*, who reſtored the *Belgick* Liberties, and was the Founder of their State, eſteemed generally the beſt and wiſeſt Commander of his Age, and who at the ſudden Point of his Death, as well as in the Courſe of his Life, gave ſuch Teſtimonies of his being a true Lover of the People and Country he govern'd. *Alexander Ferneſe*, Prince of *Parma*, who, by his Wiſdom, Courage and Juſtice, recovered Ten of the Seventeen Provinces, that were in a manner loſt to the Crown of *Spain*; made two famous Expeditions for Relief of his Confederates, into the Heart of *France*, and ſeemed to revive the ancient *Roman* Virtue and Diſcipline in the World, and to bring the Noble Genius of *Italy* to appear once more upon the Stage.

Who has a mind to trace the Paths of Heroick Virtue, which lead to the Temple of true Honour and Fame, need ſeek them no further, than in the Stories and Examples of thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons here aſſembled. And ſo I leave this Crown of never-fading Laurel, in full view of ſuch great and noble Spirits, as ſhall deſerve it, in this or in ſucceeding Ages. Let them win it and wear it

SECT.

SECT. VI.

UPON the Survey of all the Great Actions and Revolutions, occaſioned in the World by the Conqueſts and Progreſſes of theſe four mighty Empires, as well as the other four, ſo much renowned in Story: It may not be impertinent, to reflect upon the Cauſes of Conqueſts as well as the Effects, and deduce them from their natural Sources, as far as they can be diſcovered; tho', like thoſe of great Rivers, they are uſually obſcure or taken little Notice of, until their Streams increaſing by the Influence of many others, make ſo mighty Inundations, as to grow famous in the Stories, as well as Maps of the World.

To this End I ſhall obſerve three Things upon the general Courſe of Conqueſts, the moſt renowned and beſt recorded, in what remains of ancient as well as modern Hiſtories.

Firſt, that they have generally proceeded from *North* to *South*, ſo as we find none beſides thoſe of the *Saracens* that can be ſaid to have ſailed the contrary Courſe, and thoſe were animated by another Spirit, which was the *Mahometan* Perſuaſion of Predeſtination, that made them careleſs of their Lives, and thereby fearleſs of Dangers. For all the reſt, they have run the Courſe before-mentioned, unleſs we ſhould admit the Traditions, rather than Relations of the Conqueſts of *Seſoſtris*, who is reported by the Ancients to have ſubdued all, from *Egypt* to the River *Tanais*: But this we may not allow for Truth, becauſe it muſt have preceded the Reign of *Ninus*, and ſo diſagree with the Chronology of Holy Scripture; and therefore it muſt be exploded for fabulous, with other Reliques of ancient Story, as the *Scythians* having ſubdued and poſſeſſed *Aſia* ſo many hundred Years before the Empire of *Ninus*, and their Wives having given ſo ancient a Beginning to the famous Kingdom of the *Amazons*, whereof ſome Remnants only are ſaid to have remained in *Alexander's* Time: Yet the Fame was then believ'd, of their having anciently extended their Dominion over all the leſſer *Aſia*, as well as *Armenia*, and of their having founded the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, which is the more probable, from that Appellation of *Taurica* that was anciently given her.

But the great Conqueſts, recorded and undiſputed in Story, have been of the *Aſſyrians* Southwards, as far as *Arabia* and *India*. Of the *Perſians*, from the *Caſpian* Sea, to the utmoſt Extent of the preceding Empire and of *Egypt*. Of the *Macedonians* over *Greece* and all the Bounds of the *Perſian* Kingdom. Of the *Romans* over the *Greek* Empire as far as *Parthia* Eaſtward; and over *Sicily*, *Spain* and *Africk* to the South, before the Progreſs of their Arms towards the North-Weſt. Of the *Tartars* over all *China* and *India*. And of the *Goths* and other Northern Nations over all the more Southern Provinces of *Europe*.

The ſecond Obſervation I ſhall make upon the Subject of Victory and Conqueſt is, that they have generally been made by the ſmaller Numbers over the greater, againſt which I do not remember any Exception in all the famous Battles regiſtered in Story, excepting that of *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet*, whereof the firſt is ſaid to have exceeded about a fourth Part in Number, though they were ſo vaſt on both Sides, that they were not very eaſy to be well accounted. For the reſt, the Number of the *Perſians* with *Cyrus* were ſmall to thoſe of the *Aſſyrians*: Thoſe of the *Macedonians* were in no Battle againſt the *Perſians* above forty thouſand Men, though ſometimes againſt three, four, or ſix hundred thouſand. The *Athenian* Army little exceeded ten thouſand, and fighting for the Liberties of their Country, beat above ſixſcore thouſand *Perſians* at *Marathon*. The *Lacedæmonians*, in all the Famous Exploits of that State, never had above twelve thouſand *Spartans* in the

the Field at a Time, and ſeldom above twenty thouſand Men with their Allies †. The *Romans* ever fought with ſmaller againſt greater Numbers, unleſs in the Battles of *Cannæ* and *Thraſimene*, which were the only famous ones they loſt againſt Foreign Enemies; and *Cæſar*'s Army at *Pharſalia*, as well as in *Gaul* and *Germany*, were in no Proportion to thoſe he conquered. That of *Marius* was not above forty thouſand againſt three hundred thouſand *Cimbers*. The famous Victories of *Aëtius* and *Beliſarius* againſt the barbarous Northern Nations, were with mighty Diſproportion of Numbers, as likewiſe the firſt Victories of the *Turks* upon the *Perſian* Kingdom; of the *Tartars* upon the *Chineſe*: And *Scanderbeg* never ſaw together above ſixteen thouſand Men, in all the renowned Victories he atchieved againſt the *Turks*, though in Numbers ſometimes above an hundred thouſand.

† *And yet they are recorded never to have asked how many their Enemies were, but only where they were.*

To deſcend to later times, the *Engliſh* Victories ſo renowned at *Creſſy*, *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*, were gained with Diſadvantages of Numbers out of all Proportion. The great Atchievements of *Charles* the Eighth in *Italy*, of *Henry* the Fourth in *France*, and of *Guſtavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, were ever perform'd with ſmaller againſt greater Numbers. In this Age, and among all the Exploits that have ſo juſtly raiſed the Reputation and Honour of *Monſieur Turenne* for the greateſt Captain of his Time, I do not remember any of them were atchieved, without Diſadvantage of Number: And the late Defeat of the *Turks* at the Siege of *Vienna*, which ſaved *Chriſtendom*, and has enternized the Name of the Duke of *Lorain*, was too freſh and great an Example of this Aſſertion, to need any more, or leave it in Diſpute.

From theſe two Principles of Conqueſt, having proceeded from the *North* to the *South*, and by ſmaller over greater Numbers, we may conclude, that they may be attributed to the Conſtitutions of Men's Bodies who compoſe the Armies that atchieve them, or to the Diſpoſitions of their Minds. The firſt of theſe may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infuſed. 'Tis without queſtion, the Northern Bodies are greater and ſtronger than the Southern, and alſo more healthy and more vigorous. The Reaſon whereof is obvious to every Man's Conjecture, both from the common Effects of Air upon Appetites and Digeſtion, and from the Roughneſs of the Soil, which forces them upon Labour and Hardſhip. Now the true original Greatneſs of any Kingdom or Nation, may be accounted by the Number of ſtrong and able Bodies of their Native Subjects. This is the natural Strength of Governments, all the reſt is Art, Diſcipline, or Inſtitution.

The next Ingredient into the Compoſition of conquering Forces, is Fearleſneſs of Mind, whether it be occaſioned by the Temper of the Climate, or Race of which Men are born, or by Cuſtom which inures Men to be inſenſible of Danger, or by Paſſions or Opinions that are raiſed in them; for they may all have the ſame Effect. We ſee the very Beaſts and Birds of ſome Countries, as well as the Men, are naturally fearleſs. We ſee long Service in Armies, or at Sea, makes Men inſenſible of Dangers. We ſee the Love of Liberty, Deſire of Revenge, and Defence of their Country or Prince, renders them careleſs of Life. The very Confidence of Victory, either from former and frequent Succeſſes, from the Eſteem and Opinion of their Commanders, or from the Scorn of their Enemies, makes Armies victorious. But chiefly, the firm and rooted Opinions of Reward or Puniſhment attending another World, and of obtaining the one or avoiding the other, by dying or conquering in the Quarrel they are ingaged in. And theſe are the great Sources of Victory and Fortune in Arms; for let the Numbers be what they will, that Army is ever beaten, where the Fright firſt enters. Few Battles were loſt of old, but none ſince the Uſe of Gunpowder, by the Greatneſs of downright Slaughter, before an Army runs; and the Noiſe and Smoak of Guns both increaſes Fear, and covers Shame, more than the ancient Uſe of Arms, ſo that ſince thoſe of Fire came in, Battles have been uſually ſhorter and leſs bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denied either by Soldiers or reaſonable Men) that the Battle is loſt where the Fright firſt enters, then the Reaſon

reaſon will appear why Victory has generally followed the ſmaller Numbers, becauſe in a Body compoſed of more Parts, it may ſooner enter upon one, than in that which conſiſts of fewer, as 'tis likelier to find ten wiſe Men together than an Hundred, and an hundred fearleſs Men than a Thouſand: And thoſe who have the ſmaller Forces, endeavour moſt to ſupply that Defect by the choice Diſcipline and Bravery of their Troops; and where the Fright once enters an Army, the greater the Number, the greater the Diſorder, and thereby the Loſs of the Battle more certain and ſudden.

From all this I conclude, that the Compoſition of Victorious Armies, and the great and true Ground of Conqueſt, conſiſts firſt in the Choice of the ſtrongeſt, ableſt, and hardieſt Bodies of Men: Next, in the Exactneſs of Diſcipline, by which they are inured to Labour and Dangers, and to fear their Commanders more than their Enemies: And laſtly, in the Spirit given them by Love of their Country or their Prince, by Impreſſions of Honour or Religion, to render them fearleſs of Death, and ſo incapable, or at leaſt very difficult, to receive any Fright, or break thereby into Diſorder. And I queſtion not, but any brave Prince or General, at the Head of forty thouſand Men, who would certainly ſtand their Ground, and ſooner dye than leave it, might fight any Number of Forces that can be drawn together in any Field: For beſides that a great Number may fall ſooner into Fright and Diſorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the Action of one Day's Battle, whereas very few in the late Ages have laſted half that Time.

The laſt Remark I ſhall make upon this Subject is, that the conquering Nations have generally been thoſe who placed the Strength of their Arms in their Foot, and not in their Horſe, which have never, till theſe laſter Years, been eſteemed capable of breaking a firm Body of Foot; nor does their Force ſeem to conſiſt in other Advantage, beſides that of giving Terror upon the Fury of their firſt Charge. Nor is this Opinion leſs grounded upon Reaſon than Experience: For beſides, that Men are firmer upon their own Feet than thoſe of their Horſes, and leſs in danger of falling into Diſorder, which may come from want of Diſcipline or Courage in the Horſes as well as their Riders; it is hard to imagine, that Spurs in the Sides of Horſes ſhould have more Effect or Force to make them advance upon a Charge, than Pikes, Swords or Javelins in their Noſes and Breaſts to make them keep off, fall back, or break their Rank, and run into Diſorder.

For the Experience, nothing has been more known in all Ages, or more undiſputed. The Battle of *Marathon* was gained by ten thouſand Foot, againſt mighty Numbers of *Perſian* Horſe as well as Foot. The famous Retreat of *Xenophon*, for ſuch a Length of Country and of Time, was made at the Head of ten thouſand *Greeks* in the Face of forty thouſand *Perſian* Horſe; nor had the *Greeks* above a hundred or ſixſcore Horſe in their Camp, which they made uſe of only to forage, or purſue the *Perſian* Horſe when they fled in Diſorder from the Points of their Pikes and Javelins. The *Macedonian* Foot, and afterwards the *Macedonian Phalanx*, were impenetrable by all the *Perſian* Horſe that ever encountered them. The *Roman* Legions conſiſted each of ſix thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe, which was all the Proportion they ever had in their victorious Armies, that could not be broken by the vaſt Numbers of *Spaniſh*, *Numidian*, or *Perſian* and *Armenian* Horſe they were ſo often engaged with. The Force of the *Gothick* Nations conſiſted in their Foot, and of the *Turkiſh* and *Ottoman* Empire in their Janizaries. The noble Conqueſts of the *Engliſh* in *France* were made all by their Foot; and during that Period of Time, when the Crown of *Spain* made ſo great a Figure in *Europe*, it was all by the Force and Bravery of their *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Foot.

There ſeem to be but two Exceptions againſt this Rule, which are the ancient Greatneſs of the *Perſians*, and modern of the *French*, whoſe chief Force have been eſteemed to conſiſt in their Horſe. But the *Perſian* Empire was raiſed by the Conqueſt of the Eaſtern Nations, whoſe Armies conſiſted chiefly

chiefly in Horſe, and one againſt the other, the beſt carried it, till they came to deal with the *Grecian* Foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the *French* Armies, though the Bravery of their Cavalry has been Great and Noble, as made up of ſo numerous a Gentry in that Kingdom; yet one chief Strength of their Troops muſt be allowed, for the ſeveral late Reigns, to have lain in their Bands of *Switzers*; and in this preſent Reign, Mareſchal *Turenne* muſt be acknowledged to have made way for his Maſter's Greatneſs, by improving the Bodies of *French* Foot with Force of Choice and Diſcipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his Time.

I ſhall end this Remark with an Adventure I remember to have read in the Stories of the Dukes of *Milan:* One of them having routed a great Army of his Enemies, was enraged to find a Body of *Switzers* make ſtill a firm Stand againſt all his victorious Troops. He endeavoured to break them by a deſperate Charge of ſome Squadrons of his *Gens d'Arms*, who were all armed, as well as the Heads and Breaſts of their Horſes, and ſo proof, as he thought, againſt the *Switzers* Pikes. But all this Effort proved in vain, till at length the Duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their Horſes, and, armed as they were, to fall in upon the *Switzers* with their Swords; they did it ſo deſperately, ſome catching hold of the Heads of their Pikes, others cutting them in Pieces with their Broad Swords, that they at laſt made way for themſelves and other Troops that followed them, and broke this Body of brave *Switzers*, which had been impenetrable by any Horſe that could Charge them: And this ſeems an evident Teſtimony, that the Impreſſions of Horſe upon Foot are made by Terror rather than Force, and where that firſt enters, the Action is ſoon decided.

After all that has been ſaid of Conquerors or Conqueſts, this muſt be confeſſed to hold but the ſecond Rank in the Pretenſions to Heroick Virtue, and that the firſt has been allowed to the wiſe Inſtitution of juſt Orders and Laws, which frame ſafe and happy Governments in the World. The Deſigns and Effects of Conqueſts, are but the Slaughter and Ruin of Mankind, the ravaging of Countries, and defacing the World: Thoſe of wiſe and juſt Governments, are preſerving and encreaſing the Lives and Generations of Men, ſecuring their Poſſeſſions, encouraging their Endeavours, and by Peace and Riches improving and adorning the ſeveral Scenes of the World.

So the Inſtitutions of *Moſes* leave him a Diviner Character than the Victories of *Joſhua:* Thoſe of *Belus*, *Oſyris* and *Janus*, than the Proweſs of *Ninus*, *Cyrus* and *Seſoſtris*. And if, among the Ancients, ſome Men have been eſteemed Heroes, by the Atchievements of great Conqueſts and Victories; it has been, by the wiſe Inſtitution of Laws and Governments, that others have been honoured and adored as Gods.

OF

OF POETRY.

THE two common Shrines, to which moſt Men offer up the Application of their Thoughts and their Lives, are Profit and Pleaſure; and by their Devotions to either of theſe, they are vulgarly diſtinguiſhed into two Sects, and called either buſy or idle Men. Whether theſe Terms differ in Meaning, or only in Sound, I know very well may be diſputed, and with Appearance enough, ſince the covetous Man takes perhaps as much Pleaſure in his Gains as the voluptuous does in his Luxury, and would not purſue his Buſineſs unleſs he was pleaſed with it, upon the laſt Account of what he moſt wiſhes and deſires, nor would care for the Encreaſe of his Fortunes, unleſs he thereby propoſed that of his Pleaſures too, in one kind or other; ſo that Pleaſure may be ſaid to be his End, whether he will allow to find it in his Purſuit or no. Much ado there has been, many Words ſpent, or (to ſpeak with more Reſpect to the ancient Philoſophers) many Diſputes have been raiſed upon this Argument, I think to little Purpoſe, and that all has been rather an Exerciſe of Wit than an Enquiry after Truth; and all Controverſies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The beſt is to take Words as they are moſt commonly ſpoken and meant, like Coin, as it moſt currently paſſes, without raiſing Scruples upon the Weight of the Allay, unleſs the Cheat or the Defect be groſs and evident. Few Things in the World, or none, will bear too much Refining; a Thread too fine ſpun will eaſily break, and the Point of a Needle too finely filed. The uſual Acceptation takes Profit and Pleaſure for two different Things, and not only calls the Followers or Votaries of them by ſeveral Names of buſy and of idle Men, but diſtinguiſhes the Faculties of the Mind that are converſant about them, calling the Operations of the firſt Wiſdom, and of the other Wit, which is a *Saxon* Word that is uſed to expreſs what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French Eſprit*, both from the *Latin*; but I think Wit more peculiarly ſignifies that of *Poetry*, as may occur upon Remarks of the *Runick* Language. To the firſt of theſe are attributed the Inventions or Productions of Things generally eſteemed the moſt neceſſary, uſeful, or profitable to human Life, either in private Poſſeſſions or publick Inſtitutions: To the other, thoſe Writings or Diſcourſes which are the moſt pleaſing or entertaining to all that read or hear them: Yet, according to the Opinion of thoſe that link them together, as the Inventions of Sages and Law-givers themſelves, do pleaſe as well as profit thoſe who approve and follow them; ſo thoſe of Poets inſtruct and profit, as well as pleaſe ſuch as are converſant in them, and the happy Mixture of both theſe makes the Excellency in both thoſe Compoſitions, and has given Occaſion for eſteeming, or at leaſt for calling, Heroick Virtue and Poetry *Divine*.

The Names given to Poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, expreſs the ſame Opinion of them in thoſe Nations; the *Greek* ſignifying Makers or Creators, ſuch as raiſe admirable Frames and Fabricks out of nothing, which ſtrike with Wonder and with Pleaſure the Eyes and Imaginations of thoſe who

behold them; the *Latin* makes the ſame Word common to Poets and to Prophets. Now as Creation is the firſt Attribute and higheſt Operation of Divine Power, ſo is Prophecy the greateſt Emanation of Divine Spirit in the World. As the Names in thoſe two learned Languages, ſo the Cauſes of Poetry are by the Writers of them ſaid to be Divine, and to proceed from a Celeſtial Fire, or Divine Inſpiration; and by the vulgar Opinions, recited or related to in many Paſſages of thoſe Authors, the Effects of Poetry were likewiſe thought divine and ſupernatural, and Power of Charms and Enchantments were aſcribed to it.

Carmina vel Cœlo poſſunt deducere Lunam,
Carminibus Circe Socios mutavit Ulyſſis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur Anguis.

But I can eaſily admire Poetry, and yet without adoring it; I can allow it to ariſe from the greateſt Excellency of natural Temper, or the greateſt Race of native Genius, without exceeding the Reach of what is human, or giving it any Approaches of Divinity, which is, I doubt, debaſed or diſhonoured, by aſcribing to it any thing that is in the Compaſs of our Action, or even Comprehenſion, unleſs it be raiſed by an immediate Influence from it ſelf. I cannot allow Poetry to be more Divine in its Effects than in its Cauſes, nor any Operation produced by it to be more than purely naturall, or to deſerve any other ſort of Wonder than thoſe of Muſick, or of naturall Magick, however any of them have appeared to Minds little verſed in the Speculations of Nature, of occult Qualities, and the Force of Numbers or of Sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the Moon from Heaven by Force of Verſes or of Charms, either believes not himſelf, or too eaſily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an Opinion begun by the Practice of ſome Poet, upon the Facility of ſome People, who knowing the Time when an Eclipſe would happen, told them he would by his Charms call down the Moon at ſuch an Hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that charming Deſcription in *Virgil*'s eighth Eclogue of all ſorts of Charms and Faſcinations by Verſes, by Images, by Knots, by Numbers, by Fire, by Herbs employed upon occaſion of a violent Paſſion, from a jealous or diſappointed Love; I have recourſe to the ſtrong Impreſſions of Fables and of Poetry, to the eaſy Miſtakes of popular Opinions, to the Force of Imagination, to the ſecret Virtues of ſeveral Herbs, and to the Powers of Sounds: And I am ſorry the natural Hiſtory, or Account of Faſcination, has not employed the Pen of ſome Perſon of ſuch excellent Wit and deep Thought and Learning as *Caſaubon*, who writ that curious and uſeful Treatiſe of *Enthuſiaſm*, and by it diſcovered the hidden or miſtaken Sources of that Deluſion, ſo frequent in all Regions and Religions of the World, and which had ſo fatally ſpread over our Country in that Age in which this Treatiſe was ſo ſeaſonably publiſh'd. 'Tis much to be lamented that he lived not to compleat that Work in the ſecond Part he promiſed; or that his Friends neglected the publiſhing it, if it were left in Papers, though looſe and unfiniſhed. I think a clear Account of Enthuſiaſm and Faſcination from their natural Cauſes, would very much deſerve from Mankind in general, as well as from the Common-wealth of Learning; might perhaps prevent ſo many publick Diſorders, and ſave the Lives of many innocent, deluded, or deluding People, who ſuffer ſo frequently upon Account of Witches and Wizards. I have ſeen many miſerable Examples of this Kind in my Youth at home; and though the Humour or Faſhion be a good deal worn out of the World within thirty or forty Years paſt, yet it ſtill remains in ſeveral remote Parts of *Germany*, *Sweden*, and ſome other Countries.

But to return to the Charms of Poetry: If the forſaken Lover, in that Eclogue of *Virgil*, had expected only from the Force of her Verſes, or her Charms, what is the Burthen of the Song, to bring *Daphnis* home from the Town

Town where he was gone, and engaged in a new Amour; if ſhe had pretended only to revive an old fainting Flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his Breaſt; ſhe might, for ought I know, have compaſſed ſuch Ends by the Power of ſuch Charms, and without any other than very natural Enchantments. For there is no Queſtion but true Poetry may have the Force to raiſe Paſſions and to allay them, to change and to extinguiſh them, to tempt Joy and Grief, to raiſe Love and Fear, nay to turn Fear into Boldneſs, and Love into Indifference, and into Hatred it ſelf; and I eaſily believe, that the diſheartened *Spartans* were new animated, and recovered their loſt Courage, by the Songs of *Tyrtæus*; that the Cruelty and Revenge of *Phalaris*, were changed by the Odes of *Steſichorus* into the greateſt Kindneſs and Eſteem; and that many Men were as paſſionately enamoured by the Charms of *Sappho*'s Wit and Poetry, as by thoſe of Beauty in *Flora* or *Thais*; for 'tis not only Beauty gives Love, but Love gives Beauty to the Object that raiſes it; and if the Poſſeſſion be ſtrong enough, let it come from what it will, there is always Beauty enough in the Perſon that gives it. Nor is it any great Wonder that ſuch Force ſhould be found in Poetry, ſince in it are aſſembled all the Powers of Eloquence, of Muſick, and of Picture, which are all allowed to make ſo ſtrong Impreſſions upon humane Minds. How far Men have been affected with all, or any of theſe, needs little Proof or Teſtimony: The Examples have been known enough in *Greece* and in *Italy*, where ſome have fallen down-right in Love with the raviſhing Beauties of a lovely Object drawn by the Skill of an admirable Painter; nay, Painters themſelves have fallen in Love with ſome of their own Productions, and doated on them as on a Miſtreſs or a fond Child; which diſtinguiſhes among the *Italians* the ſeveral Pieces that are done by the ſame Hand, into ſeveral Degrees of thoſe made, *con Studio*, *con Diligenza*, or *con Amore*, whereof the laſt are ever the moſt excelling. But there needs no more Inſtances of this Kind, than the Stories related and believed by the beſt Authors, as known and undiſputed; of the two young *Grecians*, one whereof ventured his Life to be lock'd up all Night in the Temple, and ſatisfie his Paſſion with the Embraces and Enjoyment of a Statue of *Venus* that was there ſet up, and deſigned for another ſort of Adoration; the other pined away and dy'd for being hinder'd his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a Statue at *Athens*.

The Powers of Muſick are either felt or known by all Men, and are allowed to work ſtrangely upon the Mind and the Body, the Paſſions and the Blood; to raiſe Joy and Grief, to give Pleaſure and Pain, to cure Diſeaſes, and the mortal Sting of the *Tarantula*; to give Motions to the Feet as well as the Heart, to compoſe diſturbed Thoughts, to aſſiſt and heighten Devotion it ſelf. We need no Recourſe to the Fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the Force of their Muſick upon Fiſhes and Beaſts; 'tis enough that we find the Charming of Serpents, and the Cure or Allay of an evil Spirit or Poſſeſſion, attributed to it in Sacred Writ.

For the Force of Eloquence, that ſo often raiſed and appeaſed the Violence of popular Commotions, and cauſed ſuch Convulſions in the *Athenian* State, no Man need more to make him acknowledge it, than to conſider *Cæſar*, one of the greateſt and wiſeſt of mortal Men, come upon the Tribunal full of Hatred and Revenge, and with a determined Reſolution to condemn *Labienus*, yet upon the Force of *Cicero*'s Eloquence (in an Oration for his Defence) begin to change Countenance, turn Pale, ſhake to that degree, that the Papers he held fell out of his Hand, as if he had been frighted with Words that never was ſo with Blows, and at laſt change all his Anger into Clemency, and acquit the brave Criminal, inſtead of condemning him

Now if the Strength of theſe three mighty Powers be united in Poetry, we need not wonder that ſuch Virtues and ſuch Honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inſpired, or has been called Divine; and yet I think it will not be diſputed, that the Force of Wit and of Reaſoning, the Height of Conceptions and Expreſſions, may be found

in Poetry as well as in Oratory, the Life and Spirit of Repreſentation or Picture as much as in Painting, and the Force of Sounds as well as in Muſick; and how far theſe three natural Powers together may extend, and to what Effect (even ſuch as may be miſtaken for ſupernatural or Magical) I leave it to ſuch Men to conſider, whoſe Thoughts turn to ſuch Speculations as theſe, or who by their native Temper and Genius are in ſome degree diſpoſed, or receive the Impreſſions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Doctor *Harvey*, when he was reading *Virgil*, ſhould ſometimes throw him down upon the Table, and ſay he had a Devil; nor that the learned *Meric Caſaubon* ſhould find ſuch charming Pleaſures and Emotions, as he deſcribes, upon the reading ſome Parts of *Lucretius*; that ſo many ſhould cry, and with downright Tears, at ſome Tragedies of *Shakeſpear*; and ſo many more ſhould feel ſuch Turns or Curdling of their Blood, upon the reading or hearing ſome excellent Pieces of Poetry; nor that *Octavia* fell into a Swoon, at the Recital made by *Virgil* of thoſe Verſes in the Sixth of his *Æneids*.

This is enough to aſſert the Powers of Poetry, and diſcover the Ground of thoſe Opinions of old, which derived it from Divine Inſpirations, and gave it ſo great a Share in the ſuppoſed Effects of Sorcery or Magick. But as the Old Romances ſeem to leſſen the Honour of true Powers and Valour in their Knights, by giving ſuch a part in all their chief Adventures to Enchantment; ſo the true Excellency and juſt Eſteem of Poetry ſeems rather debaſed than exalted, by the Stories or Belief of the Charms performed by it, which among the *Northern* Nations grew ſo ſtrong and ſo general, that about five or ſix hundred Years ago all the *Runick* Poetry came to be decried, and thoſe ancient Characters, in which they were written, to be aboliſhed by the Zeal of Biſhops, and even by Orders and Decrees of State, which has given a great Maim, or rather an irrecoverable Loſs, to the Story of thoſe *Northern* Kingdoms, the Seat of our Anceſtors in all the *Weſtern* Parts of *Europe*.

The more true and natural Source of Poetry may be diſcovered, by obſerving to what God this Inſpiration was aſcribed by the Ancients, which was *Apollo*, or the Sun, eſteemed among them the God of Learning in general, but more particularly of Muſick and of Poetry. The Myſtery of this Fable means, I ſuppoſe, that a certain Noble and Vital Heat of Temper, but eſpecially of the Brain, is the true Spring of theſe Two Parts or Sciences: This was that Celeſtial Fire, which gave ſuch a pleaſing Motion and Agitation to the Minds of thoſe Men, that have been ſo much admired in the World, that raiſes ſuch infinite Images of Things ſo agreeable and delightful to Mankind; by the Influence of this Sun, are produced theſe golden and inexhauſted Mines of Invention, which has furniſhed the World with Treaſures ſo highly eſteemed, and ſo univerſally known and uſed, in all the Regions that have yet been diſcovered. From this ariſes that Elevation of Genius, which can never be produced by any Art or Study, by Pains or by Induſtry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples; and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature, and to be a Fire kindled out of ſome hidden Spark of the very firſt Conception.

But though Invention be the Mother of Poetry, yet this Child is, like all others, born Naked, and muſt be Nouriſhed with Care, Cloathed with Exactneſs and Elegance, Educated with Induſtry, Inſtructed with Art, Improved by Application, Corrected with Severity, and Accompliſhed with Labour and with Time, before it arrives at any great Perfection or Growth: 'Tis certain, that no Compoſition requires ſo many ſeveral Ingredients, or of more different Sorts than this; nor that to excel in any Qualities, there are neceſſary ſo many Gifts of Nature, and ſo many Improvements of Learning and of Art. For there muſt be an univerſal Genius, of great Compaſs as well as great Elevation. There muſt be a ſpritely Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thouſand Productions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into every Corner,

Corner, and by the Light of that true Poetical Fire, diſcovering a thouſand little Bodies or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them, unſeen to common Eyes, and which could not be diſcovered without the Rays of that Sun.

Beſides the Heat of Invention and Livelineſs of Wit, there muſt be the Coldneſs of good Senſe and Soundneſs of Judgment, to diſtinguiſh between Things and Conceptions, which at firſt Sight, or upon ſhort Glances, ſeem alike; to chuſe among infinite Productions of Wit and Fancy, which are worth preſerving and cultivating, and which are better ſtifled in the Birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the Forces of Wit, all Poetry is flat and languiſhing; without the Succours of Judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant. The true Wonder of Poeſy is, that ſuch Contraries muſt meet to compoſe it; a Genius both penetrating and ſolid; in Expreſſion both Delicacy and Force; and the Frame and Fabrick of a true Poem, muſt have ſomething both ſublime and juſt, amazing and agreeable. There muſt be a great Agitation of Mind to invent, a great Calm to judge and correct; there muſt be upon the ſame Tree, and at the ſame Time, both Flower and Fruit. To work up this Metal into exquiſite Figure, there muſt be employ'd the Fire, the Hammer, the Chizel and the File. There muſt be a General Knowledge both of Nature and of Arts, and to go the loweſt that can be, there are required Genius, Judgment, and Application; for without this laſt, all the reſt will not ſerve turn, and none ever was a great Poet that applied himſelf much to any thing elſe.

When I ſpeak of Poety, I mean not an Ode or an Elegy, a Song or a Satyr, nor by a Poet the Compoſer of any of theſe, but of a juſt Poem; and after all I have ſaid, 'tis no Wonder, there ſhould be few that appeared in any Parts or any Ages of the World, or that ſuch as have, ſhould be ſo much admired, and have almoſt Divinity aſcribed to them and to their Works.

Whatever has been among thoſe, who are mentioned with ſo much Praiſe or Admiration by the Ancients, but are loſt to us, and unknown any further than their Names, I think no Man has been ſo bold among thoſe that remain to queſtion the Title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not only to the firſt Rank, but to the ſupream Dominion in this State, and from whom, as the great Lawgivers as well as Princes, all the Laws and Orders of it, are, or may be derived. *Homer* was, without diſpute, the moſt univerſal Genius that has been known in the World, and *Virgil* the moſt accompliſh'd. To the firſt muſt be allowed the moſt fertile Invention, the richeſt Vein, the moſt general Knowledge, and the moſt lively Expreſſion: To the laſt, the nobleſt Idea's, the juſteſt Inſtitution, the wiſeſt Conduct, and the choiceſt Elocution. To ſpeak in the Painter's Terms, we find in the Works of *Homer* the moſt Spirit, Force and Life; in thoſe of *Virgil*, the beſt Deſign, the trueſt Proportions, and the greateſt Grace; the Colouring in both ſeems equal, and indeed is in both admirable. *Homer* had more Fire and Rapture, *Virgil* more Light and Swiftneſs; or at leaſt the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the firſt more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The Ore was richer in one, but in the other more refined and better allay'd to make up excellent Work. Upon the whole, I think, it muſt be confeſſed, that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps of all others, the vaſteſt, the ſublimeſt, and the moſt wonderful Genius; and that he has been generally ſo eſteemed, there cannot be a greater Teſtimony given, than what has been by ſome obſerved, that not only the greateſt Maſters have found in his Works the beſt and trueſt Principles of all their Sciences or Arts, but that the nobleſt Nations have derived from them the Original, or their ſeveral Races, though it be hardly yet agreed, whether his Story be true or Fiction. In ſhort, theſe two immortal Poets muſt be allowed to have ſo much excelled in their Kinds, as to have exceeded all Compariſon, to have even extinguiſhed Emulation, and in a manner confined true Poetry, not only to their own Languages, but to their very Perſons. And I am apt to believe

lieve ſo much of the true Genius of Poetry in general, and of its Elevation in theſe two Particulars, that I know not, whether of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compaſs of a thouſand Years; for one Man that is born capable of making ſuch a Poet as *Homer* or *Virgil*, there may not be a Thouſand born capable of making as great Generals of Armies, or Miniſters of State, as any the moſt renowned in Story.

I do not here intend to make a further Critick upon Poetry, which were too great a Labour; nor to give Rules for it, which were as great a Preſumption: Beſides, there has been ſo much Paper blotted upon theſe Subjects, in this curious and cenſuring Age, that 'tis all grown tedious or Repetition. The Modern *French* Wits (or Pretenders) have been very ſevere in their Cenſures, and exact in their Rules, I think to very little Purpoſe; for I know not, why they might not have contented themſelves with thoſe given by *Ariſtotle* and *Horace*, and have tranſlated them rather than commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more; ſo as they ſeem, by their Writings of this kind, rather to have valued themſelves, than improved any body elſe. The Truth is, there is ſomething in the Genius of Poetry, too libertine to be confined to ſo many Rules; and whoever goes about to ſubject it to ſuch Conſtraints, loſes both its Spirit and Grace, which are ever native, and never learnt, even of the beſt Maſters. 'Tis as if, to make excellent Honey, you ſhould cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them, ſuch as you think the ſweeteſt, and like to yield the fineſt Extraction; you had as good pull out their Stings, and make arrant Drones of them. They muſt range through Fields, as well as Gardens, chuſe ſuch Flowers as they pleaſe, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and diſtinguiſh: They muſt work up their Cells with admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and ſever it from the Wax, with ſuch Diſtinction and Choice, as belongs to none but themſelves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much Mortification to theſe great Arbitrary Rulers among the *French* Writers, or our own, to obſerve the worthy Productions that have been formed by their Rules, the Honour they have received in the World, or the Pleaſure they have given Mankind; but to comfort them, I do not know there was any great Poet in *Greece*, after the Rules of that Art laid down by *Ariſtotle*; nor in *Rome*, after thoſe by *Horace*, which yet none of our Moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theocritus* and *Lucan* may be alledg'd againſt this Aſſertion; but the firſt offered no further than at Idils or Eclogues; and the laſt, though he muſt be avowed for a true and happy Genius, and to have made ſome very high Flights, yet he is ſo unequal to himſelf, and his Muſe is ſo young, that his Faults are too noted, to allow his Pretences. *Fæliciter audet*, is the true Character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Luſit amabiliter*. After all, the utmoſt that can be atchieved, or I think pretended, by any Rules in this Art, is but to hinder ſome Men from being very ill Poets, but not to make any Man a very good one. To judge who is ſo, we need go no further for Inſtruction than three Lines of *Horace*.

——— *Ille meum qui Pectus inaniter angit,*
Irritat, mulcet, falſis Terroribus implet,
Ut Magus, *& modo me* Thebis, *modo ponit* Athenis.

He is a Poet,

Who vainly anguiſhes my Breaſt,
Provokes, allays, and with falſe Terror fills,
Like a Magician, and now ſets me down
In Thebes, *and now in* Athens.

Whoever

Whoever does not affect and move the ſame preſent Paſſions in you, that he repreſents in others, and at other Times raiſe Images about you, as a Conjurer is ſaid to do Spirits, Tranſport you to the Places and to the Perſons he deſcribes, cannot be judged to be a Poet, though his Meaſures are never ſo juſt, his Feet never ſo ſmooth, or his Sounds never ſo ſweet.

But inſtead of Critick, or Rules concerning Poetry, I ſhall rather turn my Thoughts to the Hiſtory of it, and obſerve the Antiquity, the Uſes, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit.

It is, I think, generally agreed, to have been the firſt Sort of Writing that has been uſed in the World; and in ſeveral Nations to have preceded the very Invention or Uſage of Letters. This laſt is certain in *America*, where the firſt *Spaniards* met with many Strains of Poetry, and left ſeveral of them Tranſlated into their Language, which ſeem to have flowed from a true Poetick Vein, before any Letters were known in thoſe Regions. The ſame is probable of the *Scythians*, the *Grecians* and the *Germans*. *Ariſtotle* ſays, the *Agathyrſi* had their Laws all in Verſe; and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no Annals nor Records but what were ſo; and for the *Grecian* Oracles delivered in them, we have no certain Account when they began, but rather Reaſon to believe it was before the Introduction of Letters from *Phenicia* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a Thing known, that *Pherecides* was the firſt who writ Proſe in the *Greek* Tongue, and that he lived about the Time of *Cyrus*, whereas *Homer* and *Heſiod* lived ſome hundreds of Years before that Age; and *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Muſæus*, ſome Hundreds before them: And of the *Sybils*, ſeveral were before any of thoſe, and in Times as well as Places, whereof we have no clear Records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* writ, is ſaid to have been in Verſe, who were ſomething older than *Cyrus*; and before them, were *Archilocus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrtæus*, *Sappho*, *Steſichorus*, and ſeveral other Poets famous in their Times. The ſame Thing is reported of *Chaldea*, *Syria*, and *China*; among the Ancient *Weſtern Goths* (our Anceſtors) the *Runick* Poetry ſeems to have been as old as their Letters; and their Laws, their Precepts of Wiſdom, as well as their Records, their Religious Rites, as well as their Charms and Incantations, to have been all in Verſe.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in Sacred Writ, the moſt ancient is by ſome Learned Men eſteemed to be the Book of *Job*, and that it was written before the Time of *Moſes*, and that it was a Tranſlation into *Hebrew* out of the old *Chaldean* or *Arabian* Language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a *Jew*, from the Place of his Abode, which appears to have been ſeated between the *Chaldeans* of one Side, and the *Sabeans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other; and by many Paſſages of that admirable and truly inſpired Poem, the Author ſeems to have lived in ſome Parts near the Mouth of *Euphrates*, or the *Perſian* Gulph, where he contemplated the Wonders of the Deep as well as the other Works of Nature, common to thoſe Regions. Nor is it eaſy to find any Traces of the *Moſaical* Rites or Inſtitutions, either in the Divine Worſhip, or the Morals related to, in thoſe Writings: For not only Sacrifices and Praiſes were much more ancient in Religious Service, than the Age of *Moſes*; but the Opinion of one Deity, and adored without any Idol or Repreſentation, was profeſſed and received among the ancient *Perſians* and *Hetruſcans* and *Chaldeans*. So that if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, 'tis probable he may have been of the Race of *Heber* who lived in *Chaldea*, or of *Abraham* who is ſuppoſed to have left that Country for the Profeſſion or Worſhip of one God, rather than from the Branch of *Iſaac* and *Iſrael*, who lived in the Land of *Canaan*. Now I think it is out of Controverſy, that the Book of *Job* was written originally in Verſe, and was a Poem upon the Subject of the Juſtice and Power of God, and in Vindication of his Providence, againſt the common Arguments of Atheiſtical Men, who took Occaſion to diſpute it, from the uſual Events of human Things, by which ſo many ill and impious Men ſeem happy and proſperous

in

in the Courſe of their Lives, and ſo many pious and juſt Men ſeem miſerable or afflicted. The *Spaniſh* Tranſlation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew* (as near as could be) Word for Word; and for which all Tranſlators of the Bible ſince have had great Regard, gives us the two firſt Chapters, and the laſt from the Seventh Verſe in Proſe, as an Hiſtorical Introduction and Concluſion of the Work, and all the reſt in Verſe, except the Tranſitions from one Part or Perſon of this Sacred Dialogue to another.

But if we take the Books of *Moſes* to be the moſt ancient in the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet the Song of *Moſes* may probably have been written before the reſt; as that of *Deborah*, before the Book of *Judges*, being Praiſes ſung to God upon the Victories or Succeſſes of the *Iſraelites*, related in both. And I never read the laſt, without obſerving in it as true and noble Strains of Poetry and Picture, as in any other Language whatſoever, in ſpight of all Diſadvantages from Tranſlations into ſo different Tongues and common Proſe. If an Opinion of ſome learned Men, both modern and ancient, could be allowed, that *Eſdras* was the Writer or Compiler of the firſt hiſtorical Part of the Old Teſtament, though from the ſame divine Inſpiration as that of *Moſes* and the other Prophets, then the Pſalms of *David* would be the firſt Writings we find in *Hebrew*, and next to them the Song of *Solomon*, which was written when he was young, and *Eccleſiaſtes* when he was old: So that from all Sides, both ſacred and prophane, it appears that *Poetry* was the firſt ſort of Writing known and uſed in the ſeveral Nations of the World.

It may ſeem ſtrange, I confeſs, upon the firſt Thought, that a ſort of Stile ſo regular and ſo difficult, ſhould have grown in uſe before the other ſo eaſy and ſo looſe: But if we conſider what the firſt End of Writing was, it will ſeem probable from Reaſon as well as Experience; for the true and general End was but the Help of Memory, in preſerving that of Words and of Actions, which would otherwiſe have been loſt, and ſoon vaniſh away, with the tranſitory Paſſage of human Breath and Life. Before the Diſcourſes and Diſputes of Philoſophers began to buſy or amuſe the *Grecian* Wits, there was nothing written in Proſe but either Laws, ſome ſhort Sayings of wiſe Men, or ſome Riddles, Parables or Fables, wherein were couched by the Ancients many Strains of natural and moral Wiſdom and Knowledge, and beſides theſe, ſome ſhort Memorials of Perſons, Actions, and of Times. Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive, how much eaſier all ſuch Writings ſhould be learnt and remember'd in Verſe than in Proſe, not only by the Pleaſure of Meaſures and of Sounds, which gives a great Impreſſion to Memory, but by the Order of Feet, which makes a great Facility of tracing one Word after another, by knowing what ſort of Foot or Quantity muſt neceſſarily have preceded or followed the Words we retain and deſire to make up.

This made Poetry ſo neceſſary, before Letters were invented, and ſo convenient afterwards; and ſhews that the great Honour and general Requeſt wherein it has always been, has not proceeded only from the Pleaſure and Delight, but likewiſe from the Uſefulneſs and Profit of Poetical Writings.

This leads me naturally to the Subjects of Poetry, which have been generally Praiſe, Inſtruction, Story, Love, Grief, and Reproach. Praiſe was the Subject of all the Songs and Pſalms mentioned in Holy Writ; of the Hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer*, and many others; of the *Carmina Seculatia* in *Rome*, compoſed all and deſigned for the Honour of their Gods; of *Pindar*, *Steſichorus*, and *Tyrtæus* in the Praiſes of Virtue or virtuous Men. The Subject of *Job* is Inſtruction concerning the Attributes of God and the Works of Nature. Thoſe of *Simonides*, *Phocillides*, *Theognis*, and ſeveral other of the ſmaller *Greek* Poets, with what paſſes for *Pythagoras*, are Inſtructions in Morality; the firſt Book of *Heſiod* and *Virgil*'s *Georgicks*, in Agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepeſt natural Philoſophy. Story is the proper Subject of *Heroick* Poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*; and *Fable*, which is a ſort of Story, in the *Metamorphoſis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyrick*

Poetry

Poetry has been chiefly converſant about Love, tho' turned often upon Praiſe; too; and the Vein of Paſtorals and Eclogues has run the ſame Courſe, as may be obſerved in *Theocritus*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, who was, I think, the firſt and laſt of true *Lyrick* Poets among the *Latins*: Grief has been always the Subject of *Elegy*, and Reproach that of *Satyr*. The *Dramatick* Poety has been compoſed of all theſe; but the chief End ſeems to have been Inſtruction, and under the Diſguiſe of Fables, or the Pleaſure of Story, to ſhew the Beauties and the Rewards of Virtue, the Deformities and Misfortunes, or Puniſhment of Vice; by Examples of both to encourage one, and deter Men from the other; to reform ill Cuſtom, correct ill Manners, and moderate all violent Paſſions. Theſe are the general Subjects of both Parts, though Comedy give us but the Images of common Life, and Tragedy thoſe of the greater and more extraordinary Paſſions and Actions among Men. To go further upon this Subject, would be to tread ſo beaten Paths, that to travel in them only raiſes Duſt, and is neither of Pleaſure nor of Uſe.

For the Changes that have happen'd in Poetry, I ſhall obſerve one ancient, and the others that are modern will be too remarkable, in the Declines or Decays of this great Empire of Wit. The firſt Change of Poetry was made by tranſlating it into Proſe, or cloathing it in thoſe looſe Robes or common Veils, that diſguiſed or covered the true Beauty of its Features, and Exactneſs of its Shape. This was done firſt by *Æſop* in *Greek*; but the Vein was much more ancient in the Eaſtern Regions, and much in Vogue, as we may obſerve in the many Parables uſed in the Old Teſtament, as well as in the New. And there is a Book of Fables of the Sort of *Æſop's*, tranſlated out of *Perſian*, and pretended to have been ſo, into that Language out of the ancient *Indian*; but though it ſeems genuine of the Eaſtern Countries, yet I do not take it to be ſo old, nor to have ſo much Spirit as the *Greek*. The next Succeſſion of Poetry in Proſe ſeems to have been in the *Miletian* Tales, which were a ſort of little Paſtoral Romances; and though much in requeſt in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no Examples, that I know, of them, unleſs it be the *Longi Paſtoralia*, which gives a Taſte of the great Delicacy and Pleaſure that was found ſo generally in thoſe ſort of Tales. The laſt kind of Poetry in Proſe, is that which in latter Ages has over-run the World under the Name of Romances, which tho' it ſeems modern, and a Production of the *Gothick* Genius, yet the Writing is ancient. The Remainders of *Petronius Arbiter* ſeem to be of this kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his True Hiſtory: But the moſt ancient that paſſes by the Name is *Heliodorus*, famous for the Author's chuſing to loſe his Biſhoprick, rather than diſown that Child of his Wit. The true Spirit or Vein of ancient Poetry in this kind ſeems to ſhine moſt in Sir *Philip Sidney*, whom I eſteem both the greateſt Poet and the nobleſt Genius of any that have left Writings behind them, and publiſhed in ours or any other modern Language; a Perſon born capable not only of forming the greateſt Ideas, but of leaving the nobleſt Examples, if the Length of his Life had been equal to the Excellence of his Wit and Virtues.

With him I leave the Diſcourſe of ancient Poetry, and to diſcover the Decays of this Empire, muſt turn to that of the modern, which was introduced after the Decays, or rather Extinction, of the old, as if true Poetry being dead, an Apparition of it walked about. This mighty Change arrived by no ſmaller Occaſions, no more ignoble Revolutions, than thoſe which deſtroyed the ancient Empire and Govenment of *Rome*, and erected ſo many new ones upon their Ruins, by the Invaſions and Conqueſts, or the general Inundations of the *Goths* or *Vandals*, and other barbarous or northern Nations, upon thoſe Parts of *Europe* that had been ſubject to the *Romans*. After the Conqueſts made by *Cæſar* upon *Gaul*, and the nearer Parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the Times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* by their Lieutenants or Generals, great Numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* reſorted to the *Roman* Armies, and to the City it ſelf, and habituated themſelves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Grecians* had done before, upon the

Conqueſt of thoſe Countries. This Mixture ſoon corrupted the *Latin* Tongue, ſo that in *Lucan*, but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harſh Allay entered into the Stile of the *Auguſtan* Age. After *Trajan* and *Adrian* had ſubdued many *German* and *Scythian* Nations on both Sides of the *Danube*, the Commerce of thoſe barbarous People grew very frequent with the *Romans*; and I am apt to think, that the little Verſes aſcribed to *Adrian*, were in Imitation of the *Runick* Poetry. The *Scythians Pati Pruinas* of *Florus* ſhews their Race or Climate; and the firſt Rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little Alluſions of Letters or Syllables, is in that of *Adrian* at his Death.

O Animula, vagula, blandula,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Palidula, lurida, timidula,
Nec ut ſoles dabis Joca.

'Tis probable, the old Spirit of Poetry being loſt or frighted away by thoſe long and bloody Wars with ſuch barbarous Enemies, this new Ghoſt began to appear in its Room even about that Age; or elſe that *Adrian*, who affected that Piece of Learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old Vein, turned to a new one, which his Expeditions in thoſe Countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his Example recommended to others. In the Time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodorick* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* Poetry ſmell rank of this *Gothick* Imitation, and the old Vein quite ſeared up.

After that Age, Learning grew every Day more and more obſcured by that Cloud of Ignoranc, which coming from the North, and increaſing with the Numbers and Succeſſes of thoſe barbarous People, at length over-ſhadowed all *Europe* for ſo long together. The *Roman* Tongue began it ſelf to fail or be diſuſed, and by its Corruption made way for the Generation of three new Languages in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles who were of the conquering Nations, for ſeveral Ages uſed their *Gothick*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* Tongues, which were mingled with thoſe of *Germany*, where ſome of the *Goths* had ſojourned long, before they proceeded to their Conqueſt of the more Southern and Weſtern Parts. Where-ever the *Roman* Colonies had remained, and their Language had been generally ſpoken, the common People uſed that ſtill, but vitiated with the baſe Allay of their Provincial Speech. This in *Charlemain*'s Time was called in *France Ruſtica Romana*, and in *Spain*, during the *Gothick* Reigns there, *Romance*; but in *England*, from whence all the *Roman* Soldiers, and great Numbers of the *Britains* moſt accuſtomed to their Commerce and Language, had been drained for the Defence of *Gaul* againſt the barbarous Nations that invaded it about the Time of *Valentinian*, that Tongue being wholly extinguiſhed (as well as their own) made way for the intire Uſe of the *Saxon* Language. With theſe Changes the ancient Poetry was wholly loſt in all theſe Countries, and a new ſort grew up by degrees, which was called by a new Name of Rhymes, with an eaſy Change of the *Gothick* Word *Runes*, and not from the *Greek*, *Rythmes*, as is vulgarly ſuppoſed.

Runes was properly the Name of the ancient *Gothick* Letters or Characters, which were invented firſt or introduced by *Odin*, in the Colony or Kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths* which he planted in the North-Weſt Parts, and round the *Baltick* Sea, as has been before related. But becauſe all the Writings they had among them for many Ages were in Verſe, it came to be the common Name of all ſorts of Poetry among the *Goths*, and the Writers or Compoſers of them were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewiſe another Name for them, or for ſome ſorts of them, which was *Viſes* or *Wiſes*; and becauſe the Sages of that Nation expreſſed the beſt of their Thoughts, and what Learning and Prudence they had, in theſe kind of Writings, they that ſucceeded beſt and with moſt Applauſe were termed wiſe Men, the good Senſe,

Senſe, or Learning, or uſeful Knowledge contained in them was called Wiſdom, and the pleaſant or facetious Vein among them was called Wit, which was applied to all Spirit or Race of Poetry, where it was found in any Men, and was generally pleaſing to thoſe that heard or read them.

Of theſe *Runes*, there was in uſe among the *Goths* above a hundred ſeveral ſorts, ſome compoſed in longer, ſome in ſhorter Lines, ſome equal, and others unequal, with many different Cadencies, Quantities or Feet, which in the pronouncing made many different ſorts of original or natural Tunes. Some were framed with Alluſions of Words, or Conſonance of Syllables, or of Letters, either in the ſame Line, or in the Dyſtick, or by alternate Succeſſion and Reſemblance, which made a ſort of Gingle that pleaſed the ruder Ears of that People. And becauſe their Language was compoſed moſt of Monoſyllables, and of ſo great Numbers, many muſt end in the ſame Sound; another ſort of *Runes* were made, with the Care and Study of ending two Lines, or each other of four Lines, with Words of the ſame Sound; which being the eaſieſt, requiring the leſs Art, and needing leſs Spirit (becauſe a certain Chime in the Sounds ſupplied that Want, and pleaſed common Ears) this in time grew the moſt general among all the *Gothick* Colonies in *Europe*, and made Rhimes or *Runes* paſs for the modern Poetry in theſe Parts of the World.

This was not uſed only in their modern Languages, but during thoſe ignorant Ages, even in that barbarous *Latin* which remained and was preſerved among the Monks and Prieſts, to diſtinguiſh them by ſome Shew of Learning from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what Degree ſoever, and reverence the Profeſſors, when they themſelves could neither write nor read, even in their own Language; I mean not only the vulgar Laymen, but even the Generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them; and this laſted till the ancient Learning and Languages began to be reſtored in *Europe* about two hundred Years ago.

The common Vein of the *Gothick Runes* was what is termed *Dithirambick*, and was of a raving or rambling ſort of Wit or Invention, looſe and flowing, with little Art or Confinement to any certain Meaſures or Rules; yet ſome of it wanted not the true Spirit of Poetry in ſome Degree, or that natural Inſpiration which has been ſaid to ariſe from ſome Spark of Poetical Fire wherewith particular Men are born; and, ſuch as it was, it ſerved the Turn, not only to pleaſe, but even to charm the ignorant and barbarous Vulgar, where it was in uſe. This made the *Runers* among the *Goths* as much in requeſt and admired, as any of the ancient and moſt celebrated Poets were among the learned Nations; for among the Blind, he that has one Eye is a Prince. They were, as well as the others, thought inſpired, and the Charms of their *Runick* Conceptions were generally eſteemed divine, or magical at leaſt.

The Subjects of them were various, but commonly the ſame with thoſe already obſerved in the true ancient Poetry. Yet this Vein was chiefly imployed upon the Records of bold and martial Actions, and the Praiſes of valiant Men that had fought ſucceſsfully or died bravely; and theſe Songs or Ballads were uſually ſung at Feaſts, or in Circles of young or idle Perſons, and ſerved to inflame the Humour of War, of Slaughter, and of Spoils among them. More refined Honour or Love had little Part in the Writings, becauſe it had little in the Lives or Actions of theſe fierce People and bloody Times. Honour among them conſiſted in Victory, and Love in Rapes and in Luſt.

But as the true Flame of Poetry was rare among them, and the reſt was but Wild-fire that ſparkled or rather crackled awhile, and ſoon went out with little Pleaſure or Gazing of the Beholders; thoſe *Runers* who could not raiſe Admiration by the Spirit of their Poetry, endeavoured to do it by another, which was that of Enchantments: This came in to ſupply the Defect of that ſublime and marvellous, which has been found both in Poetry and Proſe among the learned Ancients. The *Gothick Runers*, to gain and eſtabliſh

ſtabliſh the Credit and Admiration of their Rhimes, turned the Uſe of them very much to Incantations and Charms, pretending by them to raiſe Storms, to calm the Seas, to cauſe Terror in their Enemies, to tranſport themſelves in the Air, to conjure Spirits, to cure Diſeaſes, and ſtanch bleeding Wounds, to make Women kind or eaſy, and Men hard or invulnerable; as one of their moſt ancient *Runers* affirms of himſelf and his own Atchievements, by Force of theſe Magical Arms: The Men or Women, who were thought to perform ſuch Wonders or Enchantments, were from *Viiſes* or *Wiſes*, the Name of thoſe Verſes wherein their Charms were conceived, called *Wizards* or *Witches*.

Out of this Quarry ſeem to have been raiſed all thoſe Trophies of Enchantment, that appear in the whole Fabrick of the old *Spaniſh* Romances, which were the Productions of the *Gothick* Wit among them, during their Reign; and after the Conqueſts of *Spain* by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long Wars between them and the Chriſtians. From the ſame perhaps may be derived, all the viſionary Tribe of *Fairies*, *Elves*, and *Goblins*, of *Sprites* and of *Bulbeggars*, that ſerve not only to fright Children into whatever their Nurſes pleaſe, but ſometimes, by laſting Impreſſions, to diſquiet the Sleeps and the very Lives of Men and Women, till they grow to Years of Diſcretion; and that, God knows, is a Period of Time which ſome People arrive to be but very late, and perhaps others never. At leaſt, this Belief prevailed ſo far among the *Goths* and their Races, that all Sorts of Charms were not only attributed to their *Runes* or *Verſes*, but to their very Characters; ſo that about the eleventh Century they were forbidden and aboliſhed in *Sweden*, as they had been before in *Spain*, by Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Commands or Conſtitutions, and what has been ſince recovered of that Learning or Language, has been fetch'd as far as *Yſland* it ſelf.

How much of this Kind, and of this Credulity, remained even to our own Age, may be obſerved by any Man that reflects ſo far as thirty or forty Years; how often avouched, and how generally credited, were the Stories of *Fairies*, *Sprites*, *Witchcrafts* and *Enchantments*? In ſome Parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common People believed certainly there were *Longaroos*, or Men turned into Wolves; and I remember ſeveral *Iriſh* of the ſame Mind. The Remainders are woven into our very Language; *Mara* in old *Runick* was a *Goblin* that ſeized upon Men aſleep in their Beds, and took from them all Speech and Motion. Old *Nicka* was a Sprite that came to ſtrangle People who fell into the Water: *Bo* was a fierce *Gothick* Captain, Son of *Odin*, whoſe Name was uſed by his Soldiers when they would fright or ſurprize their Enemies; and the Proverb of Rhiming *Rats to Death*, came I ſuppoſe from the ſame Root.

There were, not longer ſince than the Time I have mentioned, ſome Remainders of the *Runick* Poetry among the *Iriſh*. The great Men of their *Scepts*, among the many Officers of their Family, which continued always in the ſame Races, had not only a *Phyſician*, a *Huntſman*, a *Smith* and ſuch like, but a *Poet* and a *Tale-teller*: The firſt recorded and ſung the Actions of their Anceſtors, and entertained the Company at Feaſts; the latter amuſed them with Tales when they were melancholly and could not ſleep: And a very gallant Gentleman of the *North* of *Ireland* has told me, of his own Experience, that in his Wolf-Huntings there, when he uſed to be abroad in the Mountains three or four Days together, and lay very ill a-nights, ſo as he could not well ſleep; they would bring him one of theſe *Tale-tellers*, that when he lay down would begin a Story of a King, or a Gyant, a Dwarf and a Damſel, and ſuch rambling Stuff, and continue it all Night long in ſuch an even Tone that you heard it going on, whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any Phyſicians give could have ſo good and ſo innocent Effect, to make Men ſleep, in any Pains or Diſtempers of Body or Mind. I remember in my Youth, ſome Perſons of our Country to have ſaid Grace in Rhimes, and others their conſtant Prayers; and 'tis vulgar enough,

enough, that ſome Deeds of Conveyances of Land have been ſo, ſince the Conqueſt.

In ſuch poor wretched Weeds as theſe was Poetry cloathed, during thoſe Shades of Ignorance that overſpread all *Europe* for ſo many Ages after the Sunſet of the *Roman* Learning and Empire together, which were ſucceeded by ſo many new Dominions, or Plantations of the *Gothick* Swarms, and by a new Face of Cuſtoms, Habit, Language, and almoſt of Nature: But upon the Dawn of a new Day, and the Reſurrection of other Sciences, with the two Learned Languages among us, this of Poetry began to appear very early, though very unlike it ſelf, and in Shapes as well as Cloaths, in Humour and in Spirit very different from the Ancient. It was now all in Rhime, after the *Gothick* Faſhion; for indeed none of the ſeveral Dialects of that Language or Allay would bear the Compoſure of ſuch Feet and Meaſures, as were in uſe among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and ſome that attempted it, ſoon left it off, deſpairing of Succeſs. Yet in this new Dreſs, Poetry was not without ſome Charms, eſpecially thoſe of Grace and Sweetneſs, and the Ore begun to ſhine in the Hands and Works of the firſt Refiners. *Petrarch*, *Ronſard*, *Spencer*, met with much Applauſe upon the Subjects of Love, Praiſe, Grief, Reproach. *Arioſto* and *Taſſo* enter'd boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but having not Wings for ſo high Flights began to learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius, or Diſadvantages of new Languages and Cuſtoms would allow. The Religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the Contexture of all the ancient Poetry with a very agreeable Mixture, which made the Moderns affect to give that of Chriſtianity a Place alſo in their Poems. But the true Religion was not found to become Fiction ſo well as a falſe had done, and all their Attempts of this kind ſeemed rather to debaſe Religion, than to heighten Poetry. *Spencer* endeavoured to ſupply this with Morality, and to make Inſtruction, inſtead of Story, the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. His Execution was excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very noble and high, but his Deſign was poor, and his Moral lay ſo bare, that it loſt the Effect; 'tis true the Pill was gilded, but ſo thin, that the Colour and the Taſte were too eaſily diſcovered.

After theſe three, I know none of the Moderns that have made any Atcheivements in *Heroick* Poetry worth recording. The Wits of the Age ſoon left off ſuch bold Adventures, and turned to other Veins; as if not worthy to ſit down at the Feaſt, they contented themſelves with the Scraps, with Songs and Sonnets, with Odes and Elegies, with Satyrs and Panegyricks, and what we call Copies of Verſes upon any Subjects or Occaſions; wanting either Genius or Application for Nobler or more Laborious Productions, as *Painters*, that cannot ſucceed in great Pieces, turn to Miniature.

But the Modern Poets, to value this ſmall Coin, and make it paſs, though of ſo much a baſer Metal than the Old, gave it a new Mixture from two Veins which were little known or little eſteemed among the Ancients. There were indeed certain *Fairies* in the old Regions of Poetry, called *Epigrams*, which ſeldom reached above the Stature of two, or four, or ſix Lines, and which being ſo ſhort, were all turned upon Conceit, or ſome ſharp Hits of Fancy or Wit. The only ancient of this Kind among the *Latins* were the *Priapeia*, which were little Voluntaries or Extemporaries, written upon the ridiculous Wooden Statues of *Priapus*, among the Gardens of *Rome*. In the Decays of the *Roman* Learning and Wit, as well as Language, *Martial*, *Auſonius*, and others, fell into this Vein, and applied it indifferently to all Subjects, which was before reſtrained to one, and dreſs'd it ſomething more cleanly than it was born. This Vein of Conceit ſeemed proper for ſuch Scraps or Splinters into which Poetry was broken, and was ſo eagerly follow'd, as almoſt to over-run all that was compoſed in our ſeveral Modern Languages; the *Italian*, the *French*, the *Spaniſh*, as well as *Engliſh*, were for a great while full of nothing elſe but Conceit: It was an Ingredient, that gave Taſte to Compoſi-

tions

tions which had little of themſelves; 'twas a Sauce that gave Point to Meat that was flat, and ſome Life to Colours that were fading; and in ſhort, thoſe who could not furniſh Spirit, ſupplied it with this Salt, which may preſerve Things or Bodies that are dead; but is, for ought I know, of little uſe to the Living, or neceſſary to Meats that have much or pleaſing Taſtes of their own. However it were, this Vein firſt overflowed our Modern Poetry, and with ſo little Diſtinction or Judgment, that we would have Conceit as well as Rhime in every two Lines, and run through all our long Scribbles as well as the ſhort, and the whole Body of the Poem, whatever it is: This was juſt as if a Building ſhould be nothing but Ornament, or Cloaths nothing but Trimming; as if a Face ſhould be covered over with black Patches, or a Gown with Spangles; which is all I ſhall ſay of it.

Another Vein which has enter'd, and help'd to corrupt our Modern Poeſy, is that of Ridicule; as if nothing pleas'd but what made one laugh, which yet come from two very different Affections of the Mind; for as Men have no Diſpoſition to laugh at Things they are moſt pleaſed with, ſo they are very little pleaſed with many Things they laugh at.

But this Miſtake is very general, and ſuch Modern Poets as found no better Way of pleaſing, thought they could not fail of it by ridiculing. This was encouraged by finding Converſation run ſo much into the ſame Vein, and the Wits in Vogue to take up with that Part of it, which was formerly left to thoſe that were called Fools, and were uſed in great Families, only to make the Company laugh. What Opinion the *Romans* had of this Character, appears in thoſe Lines of *Horace*,

——— *Abſentem qui rodit amicum,*
Qui non defendit alio culpante ſolutos,
Qui captat riſus hominum famamque dicacis,
Fingere qui non viſa poteſt, Commiſſa tacere
Qui nequit, Hic Niger eſt, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.

And 'tis pity the Character of a Wit in one Age, ſhould be ſo like that of a Black in another.

Rablais ſeems to have been Father of the Ridicule; a Man of excellent and univerſal Learning as well as Wit: And though he had too much Game given him for *Satyr* in that Age, by the Cuſtoms of Courts and of Convents, of Proceſſes and of Wars, of Schools and of Camps, of Romances and Legends; yet he muſt be confeſs'd to have kept up his Vein of Ridicule, by ſaying many Things ſo malicious, ſo ſmutty, and ſo prophane, that either a prudent, a modeſt, or a pious Man, could not have afforded, though he had never ſo much of that Coin about him; and it were to be wiſh'd, that the Wits who have followed his Vein had not put too much Value upon a Dreſs, that better Underſtandings would not wear (at leaſt in publick) and upon a Compaſs they gave themſelves, which other Men would not take. The matchleſs Writer of *Don Quixot* is much more to be admired, for having made up ſo excellent a Compoſition of Satyr or Ridicule, without thoſe Ingredients, and ſeems to be the beſt and higheſt Strain that ever was, or will be reached by that Vein.

It began firſt in Verſe, with an *Italian* Poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*; was purſued by *Scarron* in *French*, with his *Virgil* Traveſty; and in *Engliſh* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras* and *Cotton*, and with greater Height of *Burleſque* in the *Engliſh*, than I think in any other Language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Deſign, the Cuſtom, and Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed to all Virtue and good Qualities among Men, which muſt be diſheartened, by finding how unjuſtly and undiſtinguiſhed they fall under the Laſh of Raillery, and this Vein of ridiculing the Good as well as the Ill, the Guilty and the Innocent together. 'Tis a very poor, tho' common Pretence to Merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may paſs in a Room, where the reſt of the Company are

are allowed to have none; 'tis something to ſparkle among Diamonds, but to ſhine among Pebbles is neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending.

Beſides theſe two Veins brought in, to ſupply the Defects of the Modern Poetry, much Application has been made to the Smoothneſs of Language or Stile, which has at the beſt but the Beauty of Colouring in a Picture, and can never make a good one, without Spirit and Strength. The Academy ſet up by Cardinal *Richlieu*, to amuſe the Wits of that Age and Country, and divert them from raking into his Politick and Miniſtry, brought this in Vogue; and the *French* Wits have for this laſt Age been in a manner wholly turned to the Refinement of their Language, and indeed with ſuch Succeſs, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their Verſe and their Proſe. The ſame Vein has been likewiſe much cultivated in our Modern *Engliſh* Poetry; and by ſuch poor Recruits have the broken Forces of this Empire been of late made up; with what Succeſs, I leave to be judged by ſuch, as conſider it in the former Heights, and the preſent Declines both of Power and of Honour; but this will not diſcourage, however it may affect, the true Lovers of this Miſtreſs, who muſt ever think her a Beauty in Rags as well as in Robes.

Among theſe many Decays, there is yet one Sort of Poetry, that ſeems to have ſucceeded much better with our Moderns than any of the reſt, which is *Dramatick*, or that of the Stage: In this the *Italian*, the *Spaniſh*, and the *French* have all had their different Merit, and received their juſt Applauſes. Yet I am deceived, if our *Engliſh* has not in ſome Kind excelled both the Modern and the Ancient, which has been by Force of a Vein natural perhaps to our Country, and which with us is called Humour, a Word peculiar to our Language too, and hard to be expreſſed in any other; nor is it (that I know of) found in any foreign Writers, unleſs it be *Moliere*, and yet his it ſelf has too much of the Farce, to paſs for the ſame with ours. *Shakeſpear* was the firſt that opened this Vein upon our Stage, which has run ſo freely and ſo pleaſantly ever ſince, that I have often wondered to find it appear ſo little upon any others, being a Subject ſo proper for them; ſince Humour is but a Picture of particular Life, as Comedy is of general; and tho' it repreſents Diſpoſitions and Cuſtoms left common, yet they are not leſs natural than thoſe that are more frequent among Men; for if Humour it ſelf be forced, it loſes all the Grace, which has been indeed the Fault of ſome of our Poets moſt celebrated in this Kind.

It may ſeem a Defect in the ancient Stage, that the Characters introduced were ſo few, and thoſe ſo common; as, a covetous old Man, an amorous young, a witty Wench, a crafty Slave, a bragging Soldier: The Spectators met nothing upon the Stage, but what they met in the Streets, and at every Turn. All the Variety is drawn only from different and uncommon Events; whereas if the Characters are ſo too, the Diverſity and the Pleaſure muſt needs be the more. But as of moſt general Cuſtoms in a Country there is uſually ſome Ground, from the Nature of the People or Climate; ſo there may be amongſt us, for this Vein of our Stage, and a greater Variety of Humour in the Picture, becauſe there is a greater Variety in the Life. This may proceed from the native Plenty of our Soil, the Unequalneſs of our Climate, as well as the Eaſe of our Government, and the Liberty of profeſſing Opinions and Factions, which perhaps our Neighbours may have about them, but are forced to diſguiſe, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguiſh'd. Plenty begets Wantonneſs and Pride, Wantonneſs is apt to invent, and Pride ſcorns to imitate; Liberty begets Stomach or Heart, and Stomach will not be conſtrained. Thus we come to have more Originals, and more that appear what they are; we have more Humour, becauſe every Man follows his own, and takes a Pleaſure, perhaps a Pride, to ſhew it.

On the contrary, where the People are generally poor, and forced to hard Labour, their Actions and Lives are all of a Piece; where they ſerve hard Maſters, they muſt follow his Examples as well as Commands, and are forced

forced upon Imitation in ſmall Matters, as well as Obedience in great: So that ſome Nations look as if they were caſt all by one Mould, or cut out all by one Pattern (at leaſt the common People in one, and the Gentlemen in another:) They ſeem all of a ſort in their Habits, their Cuſtoms, and even their Talk and Converſation, as well as in the Application and Purſuit of their Actions and their Lives.

Beſides all this, there is another ſort of Variety amongſt us, which ariſes from our Climate, and the Diſpoſitions it naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another than any Nation I know, but we are more unlike our ſelves too at ſeveral times, and owe to our very Air ſome ill Qualities, as well as many good. We may allow ſome Diſtempers incident to our Climate, ſince ſo much Health, Vigour, and Length of Life have been generally aſcribed to it; for among the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors themſelves, we ſhall find the *Britains* obſerved to live the longeſt, and the *Egyptians* the ſhorteſt of any Nations that were known in thoſe Ages. Beſides, I think none will diſpute the native Courage of our Men, and Beauty of our Women, which may be elſewhere as great in Particulars, but no where ſo in general; they may be (what is ſaid of Diſeaſes) as acute in other Places, but with us they are epidemical. For my own part, who have converſed much with Men of other Nations, and ſuch as have been both in great Employments and Eſteem, I can ſay very impartially, that I have not obſerved among any ſo much true Genius as among the *Engliſh*; no where more Sharpneſs of Wit, more Pleaſantneſs of Humour, more Range of Fancy, more Penetration of Thought or Depth of Reflection among the better ſort; no where more Goodneſs of Nature and of Meaning, nor more Plainneſs of Senſe and of Life, than among the common ſort of Country People; nor more blunt Courage and Honeſty than among our Sea-Men.

But with all this, our Country muſt be confeſs'd to be what a great foreign Phyſician called it, the Region of Spleen; which may ariſe a good deal from the great Uncertainty and many ſudden Changes of our Weather in all Seaſons of the Year. And how much theſe affect the Heads and Hearts, eſpecially of the fineſt Tempers, is hard to be believed by Men whoſe Thoughts are not turned to ſuch Speculations. This makes us unequal in our Humours, inconſtant in our Paſſions, uncertain in our End and even in our Deſires. Beſides, our different Opinions in Religion, and the Factions they have raiſed or animated for Fifty Years paſt, have had an ill Effect upon our Manners and Cuſtoms, inducing more Avarice, Ambition, Diſguiſe (with the uſual Conſequences of them) than were before in our Conſtitution. From all this it may happen, that there is no where more true Zeal in the many different Forms of Devotion, and yet no where more Knavery under the Shews and Pretences. There are no where ſo many Diſputes upon Religion, ſo many Reaſoners upon Government, ſo many Refiners in Politicks, ſo many curious Inquiſitives, ſo many Pretenders to Buſineſs and State-Imployments, greater Porers upon Books, nor Plodders after Wealth; and yet no where more abandoned Libertines, more refined Luxuriſts, extravagant Debauches, conceited Gallants, more Dabblers in Poetry as well as Politicks, in Philoſophy and in Chymiſtry. I have had ſeveral Servants far gone in Divinity, others in Poetry; have known in the Families of ſome Friends a Keeper deep in the *Roſycrucia* Principles, and a Laundreſs firm in thoſe of *Epicurus*. What Effect ſoever ſuch a Compoſition or Medley of Humours among us may have upon our Lives or our Government, it muſt needs have a good one upon our Stage, and has given admirable Play to our comical Wits; ſo that, in my Opinion, there is no Vein of that ſort, either ancient or modern, which excells or equals the Humour of our Plays. And for the reſt, I cannot but obſerve, to the Honour of our Country, that the good Qualities amongſt us ſeem to be natural, and the ill ones more accidental, and ſuch as would be eaſily changed by the Examples of Princes, and by the Precepts of Laws; ſuch I mean as ſhould be deſigned to form Manners, to reſtrain Exceſſes, to encourage Induſtry, to prevent Mens Experiences beyond their Fortunes, to coun-

countenance Virtue, and raiſe that true Eſteem due to plain Senſe and common Honeſty.

But to ſpin off this Thread, which is already grown too long: What Honour and Requeſt the ancient Poetry has lived in, may not only be obſerved from the univerſal Reception and Uſe in all Nations from *China* to *Peru*, from *Scythia* to *Arabia*, but from the Eſteem of the beſt and the greateſt Men as well as the Vulgar. Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon*, the wiſeſt Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah*, the holieſt Men, were the beſt Poets of their Nation and Language. Among the *Greeks*, the two moſt renowned Sages and Lawgivers were *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whereof the laſt is known to have excelled in Poetry, and the firſt was ſo great a Lover of it, that to his Care and Induſtry we are ſaid (by ſome Authors) to owe the Collection and Preſervation of the looſe and ſcattered Pieces of *Homer* in the Order wherein they have ſince appeared. *Alexander* is reported neither to have travelled nor ſlept without thoſe admirable Poems always in his Company. *Phalaris*, that was inexorable to all other Enemies, relented at the Charms of *Steſichorus* his Muſe. Among the *Romans*, the laſt and great *Scipio* paſſed the ſoft Hours of his Life in the Converſation of *Terence*, and was thought to have a Part in the Compoſition of his Comedies. *Cæſar* was an excellent Poet as well as Orator, and compoſed a Poem in his Voyage from *Rome* to *Spain*, relieving the tedious Difficulties of his March with the Entertainments of his Muſe. *Auguſtus* was not only a Patron, but a Friend and Companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himſelf both an Admirer of Poetry, and a Pretender too, as far as his Genius would reach, or his buſy Scene allow. 'Tis true, ſince his Age we have few ſuch Examples of great Princes favouring or affecting Poetry, and as few perhaps of great Poets deſerving it. Whether it be that the Fierceneſs of the *Gothick* Humours, or Noiſe of their perpetual Wars, frighted it away, or that the unequal Mixture of the modern Languages would not bear it; certain it is, that the great Heights and Excellency both of Poetry and Muſick fell with the *Roman* Learning and Empire, and have never ſince recovered the Admiration and Applauſes that before attended them. Yet ſuch as they are amongſt us, they muſt be confeſs'd to be the ſofteſt and ſweeteſt, the moſt general and moſt innocent Amuſements of common Time and Life. They ſtill find Room in the Courts of Princes, and the Cottages of Shepherds. They ſerve to revive and animate the dead Calm of poor or idle Lives, and to allay or divert the violent Paſſions and Perturbations of the greateſt and the buſieſt Men. And both theſe Effects are of equal Uſe to human Life; for the Mind of Man is like the Sea, which is neither agreeable to the Beholder nor the Voyager in a Calm or in a Storm, but is ſo to both when a little agitated by gentle Gales, and ſo the Mind, when moved by ſoft and eaſy Paſſions and Afflictions. I know very well, that many who pretend to be wiſe by the Forms of being grave, are apt to deſpiſe both Poetry and Muſick as Toys and Trifles too light for the Uſe or Entertainment of ſerious Men. But whoever find themſelves wholly inſenſible to theſe Charms, would, I think, do well to keep their own Counſel, for fear of reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodneſs of their Natures, if not of their Underſtandings, into queſtion: It may be thought at leaſt an ill Sign, if not an ill Conſtitution, ſince ſome of the Fathers went ſo far, as to eſteem the Love of Muſick a Sign of Predeſtination, as a Thing divine, and reſerved for the Felicities of Heaven it ſelf. While this World laſts, I doubt not but the Pleaſures and Requeſts of theſe two Entertainments will do ſo too, and happy thoſe that content themſelves with thoſe, or any other ſo eaſy and ſo innocent, and do not trouble the World or other Men, becauſe they cannot be quiet themſelves, though no body hurts them.

When all is done, Human Life is, at the greateſt and the beſt, but like a froward Child, that muſt be play'd with and humour'd a little to keep it quiet till it falls aſleep, and then the Care is over.

MISCELLANEA.

THE

THIRD PART.

CONTAINING

I. *An* ESSAY *on* POPULAR DISCONTENTS.

II. *An* ESSAY *upon* HEALTH *and* LONG LIFE.

III. *A* DEFENCE *of the* ESSAY *upon* ANCIENT *and* MODERN LEARNING.

With some other PIECES.

LONDON:

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CONTAINING

THIRD PART

OF THE

MISCELLANEA.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THE *Two following Eſſays*, Of Popular Diſcontents, *and* Of Health and long Life, *were written many Years before the Author's Death: They were Reviſed and Corrected by himſelf; and were deſigned to have been part of a Third* Miſcellanea, *to which ſome others were to have been added, if the latter part of his Life had been attended with any ſufficient Degree of Health.*

For the Third Paper, relating to the Controverſie about Ancient and Modern Learning, *I cannot well inform the Reader upon what Occaſion it was writ, having been at that time in another Kingdom; but it appears never to have been finiſhed by the Author.*

The Two next Papers contain the Heads of Two Eſſays intended to have been written upon the Different Conditions of Life and Fortune; *and*

For

and upon Converſation. *I have directed they ſhould both be* Printed *among the reſt, becauſe I believe there are few who will not be content to ſee even the* Firſt Draughts *of any thing from this Author's Hand.*

At the End I have added a few Tranſlations *from* Virgil, Horace, *and* Tibullus, *or rather Imitations, done by the Author above* Thirty Years *ago; whereof the* Firſt *was* Printed *among other* Eclogues *of* Virgil *in the* Year 1679, *but without any Mention of the Author. They were indeed not intended to have been made publick, till I was informed of ſeveral Copies that were got Abroad, and thoſe very imperfect and corrupt. Therefore the Reader finds them here, only to prevent him from finding them in other Places very faulty, and perhaps accompanied with many ſpurious Additions.*

JONATHAN SWIFT.

OF

Popular Diſcontents.

SECT. I.

AMONG ſeveral Differences or Diſtinctions which curious and buſie, or rather idle Men, have obſerved between the Races of Mankind and thoſe of their Fellow-Creatures, moſt have been by ſome diſputed, and few by all allowed. Thoſe chiefly inſiſted on have been ſomething peculiar in their Shape, Weeping, Laughter, Speech, Reaſon; but the Comptrollers of vulgar Opinion have pretended to find out ſuch a Similitude of Shape in ſome kind of Baboons, or at leaſt ſuch as they call Drills, that leaves little Difference beſides thoſe of Feature in Face, and of Hair on their Bodies, in both which Men themſelves are very different. They obſerve Tears (though not the Convulſions of Face by Weeping) in Stags and Tortoiſes, upon Approach of the fatal Knife; and that they cry at going out of the World, as well as Men at their coming in. For Speech, they pretend to doubt, whether the divers Sounds made by Animals may not have Diverſity of Significations, as Words more articulate with us; and whether we can properly judge of their Diverſity, ſince we find ſo little in the common Speech of ſome Nations, eſpecially thoſe about the *Cape of good Hope* and the Northern Parts of *Muſcovy*, where they are obſerved to drive their Trade of ſelling Furs without the Uſe of above twenty Words, even with thoſe that underſtand their Language. For the great Number of Words ſeems not natural, but introduced by the Variety of Paſſions, Actions, Poſſeſſions, Buſineſs, Entertainments in more civiliz'd Nations, and by long Courſe of Time under Civil Governments. Beſides, other Creatures are allowed to expreſs their moſt natural Wants and Paſſions by the Sounds they make as well as Men, which is all that is neceſſary in Speech; and none will diſpute Anger, Deſire, Love, Fear, to be livelier expreſs'd by us, than by the Lion, the Horſe, the Bull, the Buck; or Tenderneſs, more than by the Bleating of Ewes to their Lambs, or the Kindneſs of Turtles to their Mates. For articulate Sounds and Words, we meet them in Parrots and ſeveral other Birds; and if theirs are taught them, ſo are ours at firſt to Children; and though we uſually eſteem them in others to be only Repetition or Imitation, yet ſome Inſtances of the contrary have been remarked in our Age; and it appears by *Greek* and *Latin* Authors to have been believed by Ancients, that certain Birds in the *Indies* were commonly known not only to ſpeak as Parrots among us, but to talk and diſcourſe.

For

For Reaſon, that of Brutes, as Dogs, Horſes, Owls, Foxes, but epecially Elephants, is ſo common a Theam, that it needs no Inſtances, nor can well be illuſtrated beyond what *Plutarch*, *Ælian*, *Montagne*, and many others, have curiouſly written upon that Subject; nor can any Man's common Life paſs, without Occaſions of Remark, and even Wonder, upon what they may ſee every Day of this kind. So that of all thoſe Diſtinctions mentioned, and uſually produced, there is none left unqueſtioned by the Curious beſide that of Laughter, which cannot, I think, or at leaſt I know not to have been diſputed, being proper and peculiar to Man, without any Traces or Similitude of it in any other Creature: And if it were always an Expreſſion of good Humour, or being pleaſed, we ſhould have Reaſon to value our ſelves more upon it; but 'tis moved by ſuch different and contrary Objects and Affections, that it has gained little Eſteem, ſince we laugh at Folly as well as Wit, at Accidents that vex us ſometimes, as well as others that pleaſe us, and at the Malice of Apes, as well as the Innocence of Children; and the Things that pleaſe us moſt, are apt to make other ſorts of Motions, both in our Faces and Hearts, and very different from thoſe of Laughter.

But there remains yet one other Difference between us and the reſt of our Fellow-Creatures, which though leſs taken Notice of in the uſual Reaſonings or Enquiries of this kind, yet ſeems to challenge a Rank and a Right as due and as undiſputed as any of the others, which ſeems a very ill Effect of a very good Cauſe, a Thorn that ever grows with a Roſe, and a great Debaſement of the greateſt Prerogative Mankind can pretend to, which is that of Reaſon: What I meant is, a certain Reſtleſneſs of Mind and Thought, which ſeems univerſally and inſeparably annexed to our very Natures and Conſtitutions, unſatisfied with what we are, or what we at preſent poſſeſs and enjoy, ſtill raving after ſomething paſt or to come, and by Griefs, Regrets, Deſires or Fears, ever troubling and corrupting the Pleaſures of our Senſes and of our Imaginations, the Enjoyments of our Fortunes, or the beſt Production of our Reaſons, and thereby the Content and Happineſs of our Lives.

This is the true, natural, and common Source of ſuch perſonal Diſſatisfactions, ſuch Domeſtick Complaints, and ſuch Popular Diſcontents, as afflict not only our private Lives, Conditions, and Fortunes, but even our Civil States and Governments, and thereby conſummate the particular and general Infelicity of Mankind; which is enough complain'd of by all that conſider it in the common Actions and Paſſions of Life, but much more in the Factions, Seditions, Convulſions, and fatal Revolutions that have ſo frequently, and in all Ages, attended all or moſt of the Governments in the World.

To theſe, of old, *Sparta* and *Athens* have been ſubject, as well as *Carthage* and *Rome*; the ſmaller Kingdoms of *Epire* and *Macedon*, as well as the great Empires of *Egypt* and *Perſia*; the *Monarchies*, *Ariſtocracies*, and *Democracies* among the Gentiles, and even the *Theocracy* among the *Jews*, though one was inſtituted by God himſelf, and many of the others framed by the wiſeſt of mortal Men. In latter Ages, *Venice* and *Holland* have been infeſted by theſe Diſeaſes, as well as *England* and *France*; the Kingdoms of the *Moors* in *Spain*, as well as thoſe of the *Goths*; the Chriſtian Governments, as well as the *Mahometan*; and thoſe of the Reformed, like thoſe of the *Roman* Faith.

This reſtleſs Humour, ſo general and natural to Mankind, is a Weed that grows in all Soils and under all Climates, but ſeems to thrive moſt and grow faſteſt in the beſt: 'Tis raiſed eaſier by the more ſprightly Wits and livelier Imaginations, than by groſſer and duller Conceptions; nor have the Regions of *Guinea* and *Muſcovy* been ſo much over-run with it, as thoſe of *Italy* and *Greece*. The moſt ſpeculative Men are the moſt forecaſting and moſt reflecting; and the more ingenious Men are, they are the more apt to trouble themſelves.

From this original Fountain iſſue thoſe Streams of Faction, that with ſome Courſe of Time and Accidents overflow the wiſeſt Conſtitutions of Governments and Laws, and many times treat the beſt Princes and trueſt

Patriots,

Patriots, like the worſt Tyrants and moſt ſeditious Diſturbers of their Country; and bring ſuch Men to Scaffolds, that deſerved Statues, to violent and untimely Deaths, that were worthy of the longeſt and the happieſt Lives! If ſuch as *Phalaris* and *Agathocles*, as *Marius* and *Catiline*, had fallen Victims to Faſhion or to popular Rage, we ſhould have little to wonder or complain; but we find the wiſeſt, the beſt of Men, have been ſacrificed to the ſame Idols. *Solon* and *Pythagoras* have been allow'd as ſuch in their own and in ſucceeding Ages; and yet the one was baniſhed and the other murthered by Factions that two ambitious Men had raiſed in Common-wealths, which thoſe two wiſe and excellent Men themſelves had framed. The two *Gracchi*, the trueſt Lovers of their Country, were miſerably ſlain: *Scipio* and *Hannibal*, the greateſt and moſt glorious Captains of their own, or perhaps any other Ages, and the beſt Servants of thoſe two great Common-wealths, were baniſhed or diſgraced by the Factions of their Countries: And to come nearer home, *Barnevelt* and *de Witt* in *Holland*; Sir *Thomas Moore*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* in *England*, eſteemed the moſt extraordinary Perſons of their Time, fell all bloody Sacrifices to the Factions of their Courts or their Countries.

There is no Theme ſo large and ſo eaſy, no Diſcourſe ſo common and ſo plauſible, as the Faults or Corruptions of Governments, the Miſcarriages or Complaints of Magiſtrates; none ſo eaſily received, and ſpread, among good and well-meaning Men, none ſo miſchievouſly raiſed and employ'd by ill, nor turned to worſe and more diſguiſed Ends. No Governments, no Times, were ever free from them, nor ever will be, till all Men are wiſe, good, and eaſily contented. No civil or politick Conſtitutions, can be perfect or ſecure, whilſt they are compoſed of Men, that are for the moſt part paſſionate, intereſſed, unjuſt, or unthinking, but generally and naturally reſtleſs, and unquiet; diſcontented with the Preſent and what they have, raving after the Future or ſomething they want, and thereby ever diſpoſed and deſirous to change.

This makes the firſt and univerſal Default of all Governments; and this made the Philoſophers of old, inſtead of ſeeking or accepting the publick Magiſtracies or Offices of their Countries, employ their Time and Care to improve Men's Reaſons, to temper their Affections, to allay their Paſſions, to diſcover the Vanity or the Miſchief of Pride and Ambition, of Riches and of Luxury; believing the only Way to make their Countries happy and ſafe, was to make Men wiſe and good, juſt and reaſonable. But as Nature will ever be too ſtrong for Art, ſo theſe excellent Men ſucceeded as little in their Deſign, as Law-givers have done in the Frame of any perfect Government, and all of them left the World much as they found it, even unquiet, ſubject to Changes and Revolutions, as our Minds are to Diſcontents, and our Bodies to Diſeaſes.

Another Cauſe of Diſtempers in State, and Diſcontents under all Governments, is the unequal Condition that muſt neceſſarily fall to the Share of ſo many and ſo different Men that compoſe them. In great Multitudes, few in compariſon are born to great Titles or great Eſtates; few can be called to publick Charges and Employments of Dignity or Power, and few by their Induſtry and Conduct arrive at great Degrees of Wealth and Fortune; and every Man ſpeaks of the Fair as his own Market goes in it. All are eaſily ſatisfied with themſelves and their own Merit, though they are not ſo with their Fortune; and when they ſee others in better Condition whom they eſteem leſs deſerving, they lay it upon the ill Conſtitution of Government, the Partiality or Humour of Princes, the Negligence or Corruption of Miniſters. The common ſort of People always find Fault with the Times, and ſome muſt always have Reaſon, for the Merchant gains by Peace, and the Soldiers by War; the Shepherd by wet Seaſons, and the Plough-man by dry: When the City fills, the Country grows empty; and while Trade increaſes in one Place, it decays in another. In ſuch Variety of Conditions and Courſes of Life, Mens Deſigns and Intereſts muſt be oppoſite one to another,

ther, and both cannot ſucceed alike: Whether the Winner laughs or no, the Loſer will complain, and rather than quarrel at his own Skill or Fortune, will do it with the Dice, or thoſe he plays with, or the Maſter of the Houſe. When any body is angry, ſome body muſt be in Fault; and thoſe of Seaſons which cannot be remedied, of Accidents that could not be prevented, of Miſcarriages that could not be foreſeen, are often laid upon the Government, and, whether right or wrong, have the ſame Effect of raiſing or encreaſing the common and popular Diſcontents.

Beſides the natural Propenſion, and the inevitable Occaſions of Complaint from the Diſpoſitions of Men, or Accidents of Fortune; there are others that proceed from the very Nature of Government. None was ever perfect, or free from very many and very juſt Exceptions. The Republicks of *Athens*, *Carthage* and *Rome*, ſo renowned in the World, and which have furniſhed Story with the greateſt Actions and Perſons upon the Records of Time, were but long Courſes of Diſorder and Viciſſitude, perpetually rolling between the Oppreſſion of Nobles, the Seditions of People, the Inſolence of Soldiers, or Tyranny of Commanders. All Places and Ages of the World yield the ſame Examples; and if we travel as far as *China* and *Peru*, to find the beſt compoſed Frames of Government that ſeem to have been in the World, yet we meet with none that has not been ſubject to the ſame Concuſſions, fallen at one time or other under the ſame Convulſions of State, either by Civil Diſſenſions, or by Foreign Inveſions.

But how can it otherwiſe fall out, when the very *Idea's* of Government have been liable to Exceptions, as well as their actual Frames and Conſtitutions? The Republick of *Plato*, the Principality of *Hobbs*, the Rotation of *Oceana*, have been all indicted and found guilty of many Faults, or of great Infirmities. Nay, the very Kinds of Government have never yet been out of Diſpute, but equal Faults have by ſome or other been laid to the Charge of them all: An abſolute Monarchy ruins the People; one limited endangers the Prince; an Ariſtocracy is ſubject to Emulation of the Great, and Oppreſſions of the meaner ſort; a Democracy to popular Tumults and Convulſions; and as Tyranny commonly ends in popular Tumults, ſo do theſe often in Tyranny, whilſt Factions are ſo violent that they will truſt any thing elſe rather than one another.

So as a perfect Scheme of Government ſeems as endleſs and as uſeleſs a Search, as that of the univerſal Medicine, or the Philoſophers Stone; never any of them out of our Fancy, never any like to be in our Poſſeſſion.

Could we ſuppoſe a Body Politick framed perfect in its firſt Conception or Inſtitution, yet it muſt fall into Decays, not only from the Force of Accidents, but even from the very Ruſt of Time; and at certain Periods muſt be furbiſhed up, or reduced to its firſt Principles, by the Appearance and Exerciſe of ſome great Virtues or ſome great Severities. This the *Florentines* in their Republick termed *Ripigliare il Stato*; and the *Romans* often attempted it by introducing *Agrarian* Laws, but could never archieve it; they rather inflamed their Diſſenſions by new Feuds between the richer and poorer ſort.

This is one univerſal Diviſion in all States, which is between the Innocent and Criminals; and another between ſuch as are in ſome meaſure contented with what they poſſeſs by Inheritance, or what they expect from their own Abilities, Induſtry, or Parſimony; and others, who diſſatisfied with what they have, and not truſting to thoſe innocent Ways of acquiring more, muſt fall to others, and paſs from juſt to unjuſt, from peaceable to violent. The firſt deſire Safety, and to keep what they have; the ſecond are content with Dangers, in hope to get what others legally poſſeſs: One loves the preſent State and Government, and endeavours to ſecure it; the other deſires to end this Game, and ſhuffle for a new: One loves fixed Laws, and the other arbitrary Power; yet the laſt, when they have gained enough by Factions and Diſorders, by Rapine and Violence, come then to change their Principles with their Fortunes, and grow Friends to eſtabliſh'd Orders and fixed Laws.

Laws. So the *Normans* of old, when they had divided the Spoils of the *Engliſh* Lands and Poſſeſſions, grew bold Defenders of the ancient *Saxon* Cuſtoms, or common Laws of the Kingdom, againſt the Encroachments of their own Kings. So of later Days it was obſerved, that *Cromwell*'s Officers in the Army, who were at firſt for burning all Records, for levelling of Lands while they had none of their own, yet when afterwards they were grown rich and landed Men, they fell into the Praiſe of the *Engliſh* Laws, and to cry up *Magna Charta*, as our Anceſtors had done with much better Grace.

But Laws ſerve to keep Men in Order when they are firſt well agreed and inſtituted, and afterwards continue to be well executed. Diſcontents, Diſorders and Civil Diſſenſions, much more frequently ariſe from Want or Miſcarriage in the laſt than in the former. Some excellent Law-giver, or Senate, may invent and frame ſome excellent Conſtitution of Government; but none can provide that all Magiſtrates or Officers neceſſary to conduct or ſupport it ſhall be wiſe Men or good; or if they are both, ſhall have ſuch Care and Induſtry, ſuch Application and Vigour as their Offices require. Now, were the Conſtitution of any Government never ſo perfect, the Laws never ſo juſt; yet if the Admiration be ill, ignorant, or corrupt, too rigid or too remiſs, too negligent or ſevere, there will be more juſt Occaſions given of Diſcontent and Complaint, than from any Weakneſs or Fault in the original Conception or Inſtitution of Government. For it may perhaps be concluded, with as much Reaſon as other Themes of the like Nature, That thoſe are generally the beſt Governments where the beſt Men govern; and let the Sort or Scheme be what it will, thoſe are ill Governments where ill Men govern, and are generally employ'd in the Offices of State. Yet this is an Evil, to which all Things under the Sun are ſubject, not only by Accident, but even by natural Diſpoſitions, which can very hardly be alter'd, nor ever were, that we read of, unleſs in that ancient Government of the *Chineſe* Empire, eſtabliſhed upon the deepeſt and wiſeſt Foundations of any that appears in Story.

How can a Prince always chuſe well ſuch as he employs, when Mens Diſpoſitions are ſo eaſily miſtaken, and their Abilities too? How deceitful are Appearances? How falſe are Men's Profeſſions? How hidden are their Hearts? How diſguiſed their Principles? How uncertain their Humours? Many Men are good and eſteemed when they are private, ill and hated when they are in Office; honeſt and contented when they are poor, covetous and violent when they grow rich: They are bold one Day, and cautious another; active at one time of their Lives, and lazy the reſt; ſometimes purſue their Ambition, and ſometimes their Pleaſure; nay, among Soldiers, ſome are brave one Day, and Cowards another, as great Captains have told me on their own Experience and Obſervation. Gravity often paſſes for Wiſdom, Wit for Ability; what Men ſay for what they think, and Boldneſs of Talk for Boldneſs of Heart; yet they are often found to be very different. Nothing is ſo eaſily cheated, nor ſo commonly miſtaken, as vulgar Opinion; and many Men *Come out*, when they *Come into* great and publick Employments; the Weakneſs of whoſe Heads or Hearts would never have been diſcovered, if they had kept within their private Spheres of Life.

Beſides, Princes or States cannot run into every Corner of their Dominions, to look out Perſons fit for their Service, or that of the Publick: They cannot ſee far with their own Eyes, nor hear with their own Ears; and muſt for the moſt part do both with thoſe of other Men, or elſe chuſe among ſuch ſmaller Numbers as are moſt in their Way; and theſe are ſuch, generally, as make their Court, or give their Attendance, in order to advance themſelves to Honours, to Fortunes, to Places and Employments; and are uſually the leaſt worthy of them, and better Servants to themſelves than the Government. The Needy, the Ambitious, the Half-witted, the Proud, the Covetous, are ever reſtleſs to get into publick Employments, and many others that are uneaſy or ill entertained at home. The Forward, the Buſie,

the Bold, the Sufficient, purſue their Game with more Paſſion, Endeavour, Application, and thereby often ſucceed where better Men would fail. In the Courſe of my Obſervation, I have found no Talent of ſo much Advantage among Men, towards their growing great or rich, as a violent and reſtleſs Paſſion and Purſuit for one or t'other: And whoever ſets his Heart and his Thoughts wholly upon ſome one Thing, muſt have very little Wit, or very little Luck to fail. Yet all theſe cover their Ends with moſt worthy Pretences, and thoſe noble Sayings, *That Men are not born for themſelves, and muſt ſacrifice their Lives for the Publick, as well as their Time and their Health:* And thoſe who think nothing leſs are ſo uſed to ſay ſuch fine Things, that ſuch who truly believe them are almoſt aſhamed to own it. In the mean time, the Noble, the Wiſe, the Rich, thoſe that are eaſie in their Conditions or their Minds, thoſe who know moſt of the World and themſelves, are not only careleſs, but often averſe from entering into Publick Charges or Employments, unleſs upon the Neceſſities of their Country, Commands of their Prince, or Inſtances of their Friends. What is to be done in this Caſe, when ſuch as offer themſelves, and purſue, are not worth having, and ſuch as are moſt worthy, will neither offer, nor perhaps accept?

There's yet one Difficulty more, which ſometimes arrives like an ill Seaſon or great Barronneſs in a Country: Some Ages produce many great Men and few great Occaſions; other Times, on the contrary, raiſe great Occaſions, and few or no great Men: And that ſometimes happens to a Country, which was ſaid by the Fool of *Brederode*; who going about the Fields, with the Motions of one ſowing Corn, was asked what he ſowed? He ſaid, I ſow Fools; t'other replied, Why do you not ſow Wiſemen? Why, ſaid the Fool, *C'eſt que la Terre ne les porte pas.* In ſome Places and Times, the Races of Men may be ſo decay'd, by the Infirmities of Birth itſelf, from the Diſeaſes or Diſaffection of Parents; may be ſo depraved by the Viciouſneſs or Negligence of Education, by licentious Cuſtoms, and Luxuries of Youth, by ill Examples of Princes, Parents and Magiſtrates, or by lewd and corrupt Principles, generally infuſed and received among a People, that it may be hard for the beſt Princes or Miniſters to find Subjects fit for the Command of Armies, or great Charges of the State; and if theſe are ill ſupplied, there will be always too juſt Occaſion given for Exception and Complaints againſt the Government, though it be never ſo well framed and inſtituted.

Theſe Defects and Infirmities, either natural or accidental, make way for another; which is more artificial, but of all others the moſt dangerous. For when, upon any of theſe Occaſions, Complaints and Diſcontents are ſown among well-meaning Men, they are ſure to be cultivated by others that are ill and intereſſed, and who cover their own Ends under thoſe of the Publick, and by the Good and Service of the Nation mean nothing but their own. The Practice begins of Knaves upon Fools, of Artificial and Crafty Men upon the Simple and the Good; theſe eaſily follow, and are caught, while the others lay Trains, and purſue a Game, wherein they deſign no other Share, than of Toil and Danger to their Company, but the Gain and the Quarry wholly to themſelves.

They blow up Sparks that fall in by Chance, or could not be avoided, or elſe throw them in where-ever they find the Stubble is dry: They find out Miſcarriages where-ever they are, and forge them often where they are not; they quarrel firſt with the Officers, and then with the Prince or the State; ſometimes with the Execution of Laws, and at others with the Inſtitutions, how ancient and ſacred ſoever. They make Fears paſs for Dangers, and Appearances for Truth; repreſent Misfortunes for Faults, and Mole-hills for Mountains; and by the Perſuaſions of the Vulgar, and Pretences of Patriots, or Lovers of their Country, at the ſame time they undermine the Credit and Authority of the Government, and ſet up their own. This raiſes a Faction between thoſe Subjects that would ſupport it, and thoſe that would ruin it; or rather between thoſe that poſſeſs the Ho-

nours

nours and Advantages of it, and thoſe that under Pretence of Reforming, deſign only or chiefly to change the Hands it is in, and care little what becomes of the reſt.

When the Fire is kindled, both Sides enflame it; all Care of the Publick is laid aſide, and nothing is purſued but the Intereſt of the Factions: All Regard of Merit is loſt in Perſons employ'd, and thoſe only choſen, that are true to the Party; and all the Talent required, is, to be Hot, to be Heady, to be Violent, of one ſide or other. When theſe Storms are raiſed, the Wiſe and the Good are either diſgraced or laid aſide, or retire of themſelves, and leave the Scene free to ſuch as are moſt eager or moſt active to get upon the Stage, or find moſt Men ready to help them up.

From theſe Seeds grow Popular Commotions, and at laſt Seditions, which ſo often end in ſome fatal Periods of the beſt Governments, in ſo ſtrong Convulſions and Revolutions of State; and many times make way for new Inſtitutions and Forms, never intended by thoſe who firſt began or promoted them; and often determine either in ſetting up ſome Tyranny at Home, or bringing in ſome Conqueſt from Abroad. For the Animoſities and Hatred of the Factions grow ſo great, that they will ſubmit to any Power, the moſt Arbitrary and Foreign, rather than yield to an oppoſite Party at Home; and are of the Mind of a great Man in one of our Neighbour Countries, who upon ſuch a Conjuncture ſaid, If he muſt be eaten up, he would rather it ſhould be by Wolves than by Rats.

It imports little, from what poor ſmall Springs the Torrents of Faction firſt ariſe, if they are fed with Care and improved by Induſtry, and meet with Diſpoſitions fitted to receive and embrace them. That of the *Praſini* and *Veneti* was as Violent and Fatal at *Conſtantinople*, as that of the *Guelphs* and *Gibellins* in *Italy*; though one began only upon the divided Opinions and Affections, about two publick Theatres, or Play Houſes, called the *Blew*, and the *Sea-Green*: Whereas t'other pretended the Right of Inveſting Biſhops to be in the Emperor or the Pope. Whatever the Beginnings of Factions are, the Conſequences are the ſame, and the Ends too of thoſe chiefly engaged in them, which is to act the ſame Part in different Masks, and to purſue private Paſſions or Intereſts, under publick Pretences.

Upon the Survey of theſe Diſpoſitions in Mankind, and the Conditions of Government, it ſeems much more reaſonable to pity, than to envy the Fortunes and Dignities of Princes or great Miniſters of State; and to leſſen or excuſe their venial Faults, or at leaſt their Misfortunes, rather than to encreaſe or make them worſe by ill Colours, and Repreſentations. For, as every Prince ſhould govern as He would deſire to be governed if he were a Subject, ſo every Subject ſhould obey as he would deſire to be obeyed if he were a Prince; ſince this Moral Principle, of doing as you would be done by, is certainly the moſt undiſputed and univerſally allowed of any other in the World, how ill ſoever it may be practiſed by particular Men.

It would be hard to leave Princes and States with ſo ill Proſpects and Preſages of Eaſe or Succeſs in the Adminiſtration of their Governments, as theſe Reflections muſt afford them; and therefore I will not end this Eſſay, without ſome Offers at their Safety, by fixing ſome Marks like Lights upon a Coaſt, by which their Ship may avoid at leaſt known Rocks or Sands, where Wrecks or Dangers have been uſually obſerved: For, to thoſe that come from Heaven by Storms, or the fatal Periods decreed above, all the World muſt ſubmit.

The firſt Safety of Princes and States, lies in avoiding all Councils or Deſigns of Innovation in Ancient and Eſtabliſh'd Forms and Laws, eſpecially thoſe concerning Liberty, Property, and Religion (which are the Poſſeſſions Men will ever have moſt at Heart) and thereby leaving the Channel of known and common Juſtice clear and undiſturbed.

The Second, in purſuing the true and common Intereſt of the Nation they govern, without eſpouſing thoſe of any Party or Faction; or if theſe are ſo formed in a State, that they muſt incline to one or other, then to chuſe and

and favour that which is moſt Popular, or wherein the greateſt or ſtrongeſt part of the People appear to be engaged. For, as the End of Government ſeems to be *Salus Populi*, ſo the Strength of the Government is the Conſent of the People; which made that Maxim of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei:* That is, the Governours, who are few, will ever be forced to follow the Strength of the Governed, who are many, let them be either People or Armies, by which they Govern.

A Third, is the countenancing and introducing as far as is poſſible the Cuſtoms and Habits of Induſtry and Parſimony into the Countries they govern; for frugal and induſtrious Men are uſually ſafe and friendly to the eſtabliſh'd Government, as the idle and expenſive are dangerous from their Humours or Neceſſities.

The laſt conſiſts in preventing Dangers from Abroad; for foreign Dangers raiſe Fears at Home, and Fears among the People raiſe Jealouſies of the Prince or State, and give them ill Opinions, either of their Abilities, or their good Intentions. Men are apt to think well of themſelves and of their Nation, of their Courage and their Strength; and if they ſee it in Danger, they lay the Fault upon the Weakneſs, ill Conduct, or Corruption of their Governors, the ill Orders of State, ill Choice of Officers, or ill Diſcipline of Armies; and nothing makes a Diſcontent or Sedition ſo fatal at Home, as an Invaſion, or the Threats and Proſpect of one from Abroad.

Upon theſe four Wheels, the Chariot of State may in all Appearance drive eaſy and ſafe, or at leaſt not be too much ſhaken by the uſual Roughneſs of Ways, unequal Humours of Men, or any common Accidents: Further is not to be provided; for though the beginnings of great Fires are often diſcovered, and thereby others eaſily prevented with Care; yet ſome may be thrown in from Engines far off, and out of Sight; others may fall from Heaven; and 'tis hard to determine whether ſome Conſtellations of Celeſtial Bodies, or Inflammations of Air from Meteors or Comets, may not have a powerful Effect upon the Minds, as well as Bodies of Men, upon the Diſtempers and Diſeaſes of both, and thereby upon Heats and Humours of vulgar Minds, and the Commotions and Seditions of a People who happen to be moſt ſubjected to their Influence: In ſuch Caſes when the Flame breaks out, all that can be done is to remove as faſt as can be all Materials that are like to increaſe it, to employ all Ways and Methods of quenching it, to repair the Breaches and Loſſes it has occaſioned, and to bear with Patience what could not be avoided, or cannot be remedied.

SECT. II.

I Cannot leave this Subject of Popular Diſcontents, without reflecting and bewailing, how much and how often our unfortunate Country has been infeſted by them, and their fatal Conſequences, in the Miſeries and deplorable Effects of ſo many Foreign and Civil Wars, as theſe have occaſioned, and ſeem ſtill to threaten: How often they have ruined or changed the Crown; how much Blood they have drawn of the braveſt Subjects; how they have ravaged and defaced the nobleſt Iſland of the World, and which ſeems, from the happy Situation, the Temper of Climate, the Fertility of Soil, the Numbers and native Courage of the Inhabitants, to have been deſtined by God and Nature, for the greateſt Happineſs and Security at Home, and to give Laws, or Ballance at leaſt, to all their Neighbours Abroad.

Theſe Popular Diſcontents, with the Factions and Diſſenſions they have raiſed, made way for the *Roman, Saxon,* and *Norman* Conqueſts. Theſe drew ſo much Blood, and made ſo great Deſolations in the Barons Wars, during the Reigns of ſeveral Kings, till the Time of *Edward* the Third, upon Diſputes

ſputes between Prerogative and Liberty, or the Rights of the Crown, and thoſe of the Subject. Theſe involved the Nation in perpetual Commotions or Civil Wars, from the Reign of *Richard* the Second to *Henry* the Seventh, upon the Diſputes of Right and Title to the Crown, between the two Roſes, or the Races of *York* and *Lancaſter*, while the Popular Diſcontents at the preſent Reign, made way for the Succeſſion of a new Pretender, more than any Regards of Right or Juſtice in their Title, which ſerved only to cover the Bent and Humour of the People to ſuch a Change. In the time of *Henry* the Eighth began the Differences of Religion, which tore the Nation into two mighty Factions, and under the Names of Papiſt and Proteſtant, ſtruggled in their Bowels with many various Events and many Conſequences, many fatal Effects, and more fatal Dangers, till the *Spaniſh* Invaſion in 1688. After which, the Ballance of the Parties grew ſo unequal in Weight and Number, as to calm and ſecure the reſt of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time: Yet before the End of their Reign began a new Faction in the State to appear and ſwell againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, under Pretence of a further Reformation, after the Examples of *Geneva* or *Straſburgh*, from whence the chief of this Party, during the Flight or Baniſhment from the Cruelties of Queen *Mary*'s Reign, drew their Proteſtion and their Opinions, in Defiance of Eccleſiaſtical Powers and Dignities, as well as ſeveral Ceremonies, ſuch as the Surplice, the Altar, and the Croſs, with others yet more indifferent. This Faction encreaſed in Number, and popular Vogue or Eſteem, all the Reign of King *James*; and ſeeming to look either dangerouſly or unkindly upon the Crown, gave occaſion to the Court of endeavouring to introduce into the Church and State ſome Opinions the moſt contrary to thoſe of the Puritan, or Diſſenting Faction; as that of Divine Right, and thereby more Arbitrary Power in Kings; and that of Paſſive Obedience in the Subjects. Theſe Opinions or Pretences divided the Nation into Parties, ſo equal in Number or in Strength, by the Weight of the Eſtabliſh'd Government on the one hand, and the popular Humour on the other, as produced thoſe long Miſeries, and fatal Revolutions of the Crown and Nation, between 1641 and 1660, when His Majeſty's happy Reſtoration ſeemed to have given a final Period to all new Commotions or Revolutions in this Kingdom, and to all Diſcontents that were conſiderable enough to raiſe or foment any new Diviſions. How they have been ſince revived, and ſo well improved; for what Ends, and with what Conſequences upon the Safety, Honour, and Power of this Kingdom, let thoſe Anſwer either to God or Man, who have been the Authors or Promoters of ſuch Wiſe Councils, and ſuch Noble Deſigns. 'Tis enough for me to have endeavoured the Union of my Country, whilſt I continued in publick Employments; and to have left the buſie Scene, in the fulleſt Career of Favour and of Fortune, rather than have any Part in the Diviſions or Factions of our Nation, when I ſaw them grow incurable. A true and honeſt Phyſician is excuſed for leaving his Patient when he finds the Diſeaſe grown deſperate, and can by his Attendance expect only to receive his own Fees, without any Hopes or Appearance of deſerving them, or contributing further to his Health or Recovery.

A weak or unequal Faction in any State, may ſerve perhaps to enliven or animate the Vigour of a Government; but when it grows equal, or near proportioned in Strength or Number, and irreconcilable by the Animoſity of the Parties, it cannot end without ſome violent *Criſis* and Convulſion of the State, and hardly without ſome new Revolution, and perhaps final Ruin of the Government, in caſe a Foreign Invaſion enters upon the Breaches of Civil Diſtractions.

But ſuch fatal Effects of popular Diſcontents, either paſt or to come, in this floating Iſland, will be a worthy Subject of ſome better Hiſtory than has been yet written of *England*. I ſhall here only regret one unhappy Effect of our Diſcontents and Diviſions, that will ever attend them, even when they are not violent or dangerous enough to diſturb our Peace; which is, that they divert our greateſt Councils from falling upon the Conſultations

and

and Purſuits of ſeveral Acts and Inſtitutions, which ſeem to be the moſt uſeful and neceſſary for the common Intereſt and publick Good of the Kingdom, without Regard to any Partialities, which buſie the Councils as well as Actions of all factious Times.

I ſhall therefore trace upon this Paper the rough Draught of ſome ſuch Notions as I have had long and often in my Head, but never found a Seaſon to purſue them, nor of late Years ever believed it could fall out in the Courſe of my Life. And having long ſince retired from all publick Employments, I ſhall with this Eſſay take Leave of all publick Thoughts.

The firſt Act I eſteem of greateſt and moſt general Uſe, if not Neceſſity, is, That whereas the Safety, Honour and Wealth of this Kingdom depends chiefly on our Naval Forces, a diſtinct and perpetual Revenue may be applied, and appropriated by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of Fifty Men of War, with ten thouſand Seamen, to be always either at Sea, or ready in Port to ſail upon all Occaſions; that Navy to be ſo proportioned, by the ſeveral Rates of Ships, as may ſerve in Peace to ſecure our Trade from the Danger of all *Turkiſh* Pyracies, or ſudden Inſults or Inſolencies of our Neighbours; may aſſert the Dominion and Safety of the *Narrow Seas*; and in time of War, may, with the Addition of thirty capital Ships more, compoſe a Fleet ſtrong enough, with the Bleſſing of God and a juſt Cauſe, to fight a fair Battle with any Fleet the ſtrongeſt of our Neighbours can pretend to ſet out: For I am of Opinion, That fourſcore *Engliſh* Men of War well mann'd, with the Conduct of good Officers, and Hearts of our Seamen, may boldly engage the greateſt of them, whenever they come to a cloſe Fight; which the Built of our Ships, and Courage of our Seamen, is more proper and able to maintain than any other Nation of the World. The conſtant Charge of fifty ſuch Ships may amount to ſix hundred thouſand Pounds a Year; and if this exceeded the current Charge, the reſt might be applied to repair old or build new Ships. One half might be appropriated to this Uſe out of the Cuſtoms, and the other half raiſed by ſome clear Tax upon the Houſes or Lands of each Pariſh, collected by the Church-wardens each half Year, and by them paid unto the Sheriff of each Country, and by him into the Treaſury of the Navy. This ſhould be fixed in ſome Place of the City, and managed by three Commiſſioners, who ſhould upon Salaries (and without Fees) be ſworn to iſſue it out to no other Uſes than thoſe above-mentioned, and incur the Penalties of Treaſon in caſe they failed. Such a Tax would be inſenſible, and paſs but as a ſmall Quit-rent, which every Man would be content to pay towards the Guard of the Seas; the Money would circulate at home among our ſelves, and would ſecure and encreaſe the vaſt Wealth of our Trade. But it is unaccountable what Treaſures it would ſave this Nation, by preventing ſo many Wars or Quarrels abroad, as we have been expoſed to by our Neighbours Inſolencies, upon our being diſarmed or ill provided at Sea. Nor would ſuch a Fleet conſtantly maintained be of ſmall Effect to poiſe any Factions or Diſcontents at home, but would at leaſt leave us to compoſe our own Differences, or decide our Quarrels without the dangerous Intervention or Invaſion of any foreign Power.

The ſecond is, That whereas the Strength and Wealth of any Country conſiſts chiefly in the Numbers and Riches of the Inhabitants, and theſe are much encouraged and encreaſed by the Security of what Eſtates Men ſhall be able to gain by their Induſtry and Parſimony, or of what Foreigners ſhall be deſirous to bring from abroad, upon any Dangers or Diſlikes of their own Countries or Governments; an Act may paſs for publick Regiſtries of Land, by which all Purchaſers or Mortgagees may be ſecured of all Monies they ſhall lay out upon ſuch Occaſions. I dare hardly venture to ſay how great Sums of Money I could have ſent over during my Ambaſſies abroad, if I could have propoſed any ſafe and eaſy Ways of ſecuring them for the Owners, whereof many were reſolved to follow their Effects, if they might have had this juſt Encouragement. I know very well how many Arguments will be raiſed againſt ſuch an Act, and chiefly by the Lawyers, whoſe unreaſonable

ble Gains arise from such Suits and Disputes as would be avoided by such an Institution. For this reason they will ever entangle any such Proposal not only with many Difficulties, but by their nice and subtil Reasonings will pretend even Impossibilities. I shall not here trouble my self to answer all I have heard, and all I believe they can say upon this Subject, farther than by one common Maxim, That whatever has been may be; and since we know this to have been practised with infinite Advantage ever since *Charles* the Fifth's Time, both in the *Spanish* and *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, no Man can pretend to doubt but with the same Sense, Application, and publick Intentions in our Government, it may likewise be establish'd here. There is something equivalent to it in *France*, which they call *Vendre par Decret*, and which ends all Disputes or Pretences; as likewise in *Scotland*. So as 'tis a very hard Calumny upon our Soil or Climate, to affirm that so excellent a Fruit which prospers among all our Neighbours, will not grow here.

Besides, there needs no more than to make such a Registry only voluntary, to avoid all the Difficulties that can be raised, and which are not too captious or too trivial to take Notice of. The Difference of Value between those Lands Men should chuse to register, and those left loose, would soon evince the Benefit of such an Act, as well as the Money it would draw from abroad.

One Argument I have met with from some Persons who always value themselves to their Country by Jealousies of the Crown, and that is the Encrease of Offices in the King's Disposal: But rather than such a Thing should fail, and if all Scruples must be satisfied, the Registers in each County may be chosen by the County Court, and their Patents may be always granted during good Behaviour.

Another Act which seems necessary or agreeable to our Constitution, and at all Seasons, both of Health and Distempers in the State, is a Provision for the better employing all those vast Sums of Monies, which are either raised every Year in this Kingdom for the Maintenance of the Poor, or bestowed freely upon such charitable Uses. A great Part of this Treasure is now embezzled, lavished, or feasted away by Collectors and other Officers, or else so employ'd as rather to encrease than relieve the Poor; whereas if it were laid out in erecting Work-houses in each County, or in raising a Stock to find continual Work for such as should fill them (if any more speedy Way should be found to build them) not only the impotent Poor might be relieved, but the idle and able might be forced to labour, and others who wanted it might find Employment: And if this were turned chiefly upon our Woollen Manufacture (which ought to be ever the Staple Trade of *England*, as that of Linnen ought to be of *Ireland*) it would soon improve to such a Height as to out-sell our Neighbours, and thereby advance the Proportion of our exported Commodities to such a degree, as would by the Return encrease the Treasure of this Kingdom above what it has ever been known, or can ever be by other Means, than a mighty Over-ballance of our exported to our imported Commodities. All other Cares or Projects to bring in Coin or Bullion, are either insignificant or temporary, if not wholly vain, and sometimes prejudicial.

I have often thought that some more effectual Way might be found out for preventing or suppressing of common Thefts and Robberies (which so often endanger or disquiet the Inhabitants, and infest the Trade of this Kingdom) than those which are of common use among us. The sanguinary Laws upon these Occasions, as they are not of ancient Date, so they seem not to agree with the Mildness and Clemency of our Government in the rest of its Composition. Besides, they deprive us of so many Subjects, whose Lives are every Year cut off in great Numbers, and which might otherwise be of use to the Kingdom, whose Strength consists in the Number, and Riches, and the Labour of the Inhabitants. But the worst Part of this Custom or Institution is, that they have hitherto proved without Effect, and have nei-

ther extinguish'd the Humour and Practice of such Crimes, nor lessen'd the Number of such Criminals amongst us; Nor is it indeed to be hoped or expected they ever should, in a Nation whose known and general Character is, to be more fearless of Death and Dangers than any other, and more impatient of Labour or of Hardships, either in suffering the Want, or making the Provision of such Food and Cloaths as they find or esteem necessary for the Sustenance of their Lives, or for the Health, and Strength, and Vigour of their Bodies. This appears among all our Troops that serve abroad, as indeed their only weak Side, which makes the Care of the Belly the most necessary Piece of Conduct in the Commanders of an *English* Army, who will never fail of fighting well if they are well fed. For these Reasons it may seem probable, that the more natural and effectual Way in our Nation to prevent or suppress Thefts and Robberies, were, to change the usual Punishment by short and easy Deaths, into some others of painful and uneasy Lives, which they will find much harder to bear, and be more unwilling and afraid to suffer than the other. Therefore a Liberty might at least be left to the Judges and the Bench, according to the Difference of Persons, Crimes and Circumstances, to inflict either Death, or some notorious Mark, by slitting the Nose, or such Brands upon the Cheeks, which can never be effaced by Time or Arts; and such Persons to be condemned either to Slavery in our Plantations abroad, or Labour in Work-houses at home; and this either for their Lives, or certain Numbers of Years, according to the Degrees of their Crimes. However, the distinguish'd Marks of their Guilt would be not only perpetual Ignominy, but discover them upon Escapes, and warn others of their Danger wherever they are encounter'd.

I do not esteem it wholly improbable, that some such Laws as these forementioned may at one time or other be considered, at least in some Parliament that shall be at Leisure from the Necessity or Urgency of more pressing Affairs, and shall be cool and undistemper'd from those Heats of Faction or Animosity of Parties, as have in our Age been so usual within those Walls, and in so great a measure diverted the Regards and Debates of publick and lasting Institutions, to those of temporary Provisions or Expedients upon present Occasions and Conjunctures in the Courses or Changes of our Government, or Distempers of the State. But there are some other Institutions I am content to trace out upon this Paper, that would make me appear either visionary or impertinent, if I should imagine they could either be resolved in our Age and Country, or be made farther Use of, than for the present Humour of our Times to censure and to ridicule them: Yet I will so much expose my self to both, as to confess I esteem them of great Consequence and publick Utility to the Constitution of our Kingdom, either for the present or succeeding Ages, which ought to be the Care of Laws and publick Institutions; and so I shall leave them for the next *Utopian* Scheme, that shall be drawn by as good a Man and as great a Wit as the last was left us.

The first is, that no Man should hold or enjoy at a time more than one Civil Office or Military Command in the Kingdom: Which is grounded upon this Principle, That as the Life of all Governments is the due Execution of them, so the Life and Perfection of all Governments is the due Administration; and that by the different Degrees of this, the several Forms of the other are either raised or debased more than by any Difference in their original Institutions: So that perhaps it may pass among so many other Maxims in the Politick, *That those are the best Governments which are best administer'd, and where all Offices are supplied by Persons chosen to them with just Distinction of Merit, and Capacity for discharging them, and of Application to do it honestly and sufficiently.* That which seems, in my Age, to have in great measure deprived our Government of this Advantage, has not been only the Partiality of Princes and Ministers in the Choice of Persons employ'd, or their Negligence and Want of Distinction, upon which it is usually laid; but also the

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common Ambition or Avarice of thoſe who are choſen. For few of them, when they are gotten into an Office, apply their Thoughts to the Execution of it, but are preſently diverted by the Deſigns of getting another, and a Third; and very often he that has three, is as unquiet and diſcontented, and thereby grows as troubleſome a Pretender, as when he had none at all. Whereas, if every Man were ſure to have but one at a Time, he would, by his Application and Sufficiency in that, endeavour to deſerve a greater in ſome kind, for which that might fit him, and help to promote him.

One Objection may be made againſt ſuch a Law, and but one alone that I know of, beſides thoſe of particular Intereſt; which is, That many Offices in State are of ſo ſmall Revenue as not to furniſh a Man with what is ſufficient for the Support of his Life, or Diſcharge of his Place. But the Degrees of what is called Sufficient or Neceſſary are very many, and differ according to the Humour and Conceptions of ſeveral Men; and there is no Office ſo ſmall, that ſome or other will not be content to execute, for the Profit, the Credit, or perhaps for the Buſineſs or Amuſement, which ſome are as needy of as they are of the other two. Beſides, if Offices were ſingle, there would be more Perſons employ'd in a State, and thereby the fewer left of that reſtleſs Temper, which raiſes thoſe private Diſcontents, that under the Mask of publick Good, of reforming Abuſes, or redreſſing Grievances (to which perhaps the Nature of all Government is incident) raiſe Factions that ripen into the greateſt Diſturbances and Revolutions.

The Second of theſe three Imaginary Conſtitutions is raiſed by the Speculation, how much the Number of Inhabitants falls below what the Extent of our Territory, and Fertility of our Soil, makes it capable of entertaining and ſupporting with all Neceſſaries and Conveniences of Life. Our People have not only been drained by many Civil or Foreign Wars, and one furious devouring Peſtilence, within theſe fifty Years, but by great Numbers of *Engliſh* reſorting into *Ireland* upon the Deſolations arrived there. Yet theſe are tranſitory Taxes upon the Bodies of Men, as the Expences of War are upon their Eſtates; arrive caſually, and continue but for certain Periods. There are others perpetual, and which are, like conſtant Rents, paid every Year out of the Stock of People in this Kingdom; ſuch as are drained off by furniſhing the Colonies of ſo many Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, and ſo great Navigations into the *Eaſt*, as well as the *South*; which Climates are very dangerous and fatal to Tempers born and bred in one ſo different as ours. Beſides, the vaſt Trade by Sea we drive into all Parts of the World, by the Inclemency of Seaſons, the Inconſtancy and Rage of that Element, with the venturous Humour of our Mariners, coſts this Iſland many brave Lives every Year, which, if they ſtaid at Home, might ſerve the preſent Age, and go far to ſupply the next. The only Way of recovering ſuch Loſſes, is by the Invitation of Foreigners, and the Increaſe of Natives among us.

The firſt is to be made by the Eaſineſs of Naturalization, and or Freedom in our Corporations, by allowing ſuch Liberty in different Profeſſions of Religion, as cannot be dangerous to the Government. By a Regiſtry of Lands, which may furniſh eaſy Securities for Money, that ſhall be brought over by Strangers; but chiefly by the Wiſdom, Steadineſs, and Safety of our Government, which makes the great Reſort of Men, who live under Arbitrary Laws and Taxes, or in Countries ſubject to ſudden and frequent Invaſions of Ambitious and Powerful Neighbours.

For the Increaſe of our Natives, it ſeems as reaſonable a Caſe among us, as it has been in ſo many other Conſtitutions of Laws, eſpecially the ancient *Jews* and *Romans*, who were the moſt Populous of any other Nations, upon ſuch Extent of Territory as they poſſeſs'd in *Syria* and *Italy*.

This Care is reduced into thoſe two Points, upon which all Laws ſeem to turn, Reward, and Puniſhment: The firſt is provided by Privileges granted to a certain number of Children, and by Maintenance allotted out of the Publick, to ſuch as too much burthen poor Families: For theſe, Publick

Workhouſes in each Country would be a certain Proviſion, which might furniſh Work for all that want, as well as force it upon idle or criminal Perſons, and thereby infinitely encreaſe the Stock of Riches of the Nation, which ariſes more out of the Labour of Men, than the Growth of the Soil. The other Hinge of Puniſhment might turn upon a Law, whereby all Men who did uot marry by the Age of Five and Twenty, ſhould pay the third Part of their Revenue to ſome publick Uſes, ſuch as the Building of Ships and publick Workhouſes, and raiſing a Stock for Maintaining them. This ſeems more neceſſary in our Age, from the late Humour (introduced by Licentiouſneſs) of ſo many Mens Marrying late or never, and would not only encreaſe our People, but alſo turn the Vein of that we call Natural to that of Legal Propagation, which has ever been encouraged and honoured, as the other has been diſfavoured by all Inſtitutions of Government.

The next of my Viſions upon this publick Theme, concerns the improving our Races of Nobility and Gentry, as t'other does encreaſing the Number of our People in general. I will not ſay they are much impaired within theſe forty or fifty Years, though I have heard others lament it, by their Obſervation of many ſucceſſive Parliaments, wherein they have ſerved; but no Man I ſuppoſe will doubt they are capable of being improved, or think that Care might not as well be taken for Men by publick Inſtitutions, as it is for the Races of other Creatures by private Endeavours. The Weakneſs of Children, both in their Bodies and Minds, proceeds not only from ſuch Conſtitutions or Qualities in the Parents, but alſo from the ill Conſequences upon Generation, by Marriages contracted without Affection, Choice or Inclination; (which is allowed by Naturaliſts upon Reaſon as well as Experience.) Theſe Contracts would never be made, but by Men's Avarice, and Greedineſs of Portions with the Women they marry, which is grown among us to that Degree, as to ſurmont and extinguiſh all other Regards or Deſires: So that our Marriages are made, juſt like other common Bargains and Sales, by the meer Conſideration of Intereſt or Gain, without any of Love or Eſteem, of Birth or of Beauty it ſelf, which ought to be the true Ingredients of all Happy Compoſitions in this kind, and of all generous Productions. Yet this Cuſtom is of no ancient Date in *England*, and I think I remember, within leſs than fifty Years, the firſt Noble Families that married into the City for downright Money, and thereby introduced by degrees this publick Grievance, which has ſince ruined ſo many Eſtates by the neceſſity of giving great Portions to Daughters; impaired many Families by the weak or mean Productions of Marriages, made without any of that Warmth and Spirit that is given them, by Force of Inclination and Perſonal Choice; and extinguiſh'd many great Ones by the Averſion of the Perſons who ſhould have continued them. I know no Remedy for this Evil under our Sun, but a Law providing that no Woman of what Quality ſoever ſhall have the Value of above Two Thouſand Pounds for her Portion in Marriage, unleſs ſhe be an Heireſs; and that no ſuch, above the Value of Two Hundred Pounds a Year, ſhall marry to any but younger Brothers.

By this, Mens general Hopes of making their Fortunes by Wives, would be turned to other Courſes, and Endeavours more uſeful to the Publick; Young Women would not be expoſed by the Want of Fortunes, and deſpair of marrying without them: Noble Families would not be exhauſted by Competition with thoſe of meaner Allay, in the Point of Portions: Marriages would be made upon more natural Motives, and more generous Conſiderations, than meer dirty Intereſt, and Encreaſe of Riches, without Meaſure or End. Shape and Beauty, Birth and Education, Wit and Underſtanding, gentle Nature and agreeable Humour, Honour and Virtue, would come in for their Share in ſuch Contracts, as muſt always have ſo great an Influence upon all Mens Lives, and their Poſterity too. Beſides, ſome little Damps would be given to that peſtilent Humour and general Miſtake of placing all Felicity in the endleſs Degrees of Riches, which, beyond a certain

tain Proportion ſuited to each Rank, neither conduce to Health nor Pleaſure, to Eaſe nor Conſcience. The Love of Money is the Root of all Evil: Which is a Truth that both Morals and Politicks, Philoſophy and Divinity, Reaſon and Experience, all agree in; and which makes the common Diſquiets of private Life, and the Diſturbances of Publick Governments.

——— Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri ſacra Fames?

I have not heard any Part of our ancient Conſtitutions ſo much complained of, as the Judicature of the Houſe of Lords, as it is of late and uſually exerciſed; which if carried on a little farther, and taken notice of by the Houſe of Commons, as much as it ſeems to be reſented by many of their Members, may, for ought I know, at one time or other, occaſion a Breach between the two Houſes: An Accident that would be at all times pernicious, but might in ſome Conjunctures prove fatal to the publick Affairs and Intereſts of the Kingdom.

I will not enter upon the Queſtion, Whether this Judicature has been as ancient as the Conqueror's Time; or whether it has been exerciſed in Civil Cauſes only ſince the End of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; both which I have known aſſerted by intelligent Perſons. But let the Antiquity be what it will, and the Complaints againſt it never ſo juſt, I do not ſee how the Courſe or Abuſes of it can be changed or remedied, but by the Houſe of Peers. And for this Reaſon, as well as many others, it would be wiſe and generous, by ſome Rules of their own, to give ſome Redreſs to the Complaints which are made upon this Occaſion. Whether this may be done by Reſtriction of Caſes that ſhall be admited to come before them, as to Number or Quality; or by giving more Conſideration to the Opinion of the Judges, or Weight to their Voices; I leave to thoſe who better know the Conſtitutions and Forms of that Houſe than I do. But this muſt be allowed, That till the End of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, the Peerage of *England* was very different from what it has been ſince, or is at preſent, by the Number and Quality of the Peers; and for that reaſon, by the Credit they had in the Kingdom. For, beſides that they were anciently few, and of very Noble Families, they were generally poſſeſſed of great Eſtates, which rendered them leſs ſubject to Corruption: And Men were better content to have their Rights and Poſſeſſions determined by Perſons who had great ones of their own to loſe, and which they were in danger of by the ill Adminiſtration of their Offices.

Now, beſides the Points of Right or Antiquity, and ſome others a little controverted between the Lords and Commons, the vulgar Complaints againſt the preſent Exerciſe of this Judicature, are; Firſt, the Number of the Peers being very great, in proportion to what it formerly was; then, the Youth of ſo many Peers as ſit in Judgment upon the weightieſt Cauſes, wherein Knowledge and Experience ſeem neceſſary to judge; and the laſt, That ſo many in that Houſe have very ſmall, and ſome perhaps no Eſtate of Land in *England*, contrary to the Original Inſtitution.

The two firſt of theſe Complaints might be remedied, if the Lords ſhould pleaſe to make it an Order of their Houſe, That no Perſon ſhould have a Voice in the Judgment of any Cauſe, before he were Thirty Years of Age. The laſt cannot be remedied otherwiſe than by Courſe of Time, and a fixed Reſolution in the Crown to create no Baron who ſhall not at the ſame time entail Four Thouſand Pounds a Year upon that Honour whilſt it continues in his Family; a Viſcount, Five; an Earl, Six; a Marquis, Seven; and a Duke, Eight. By this the Reſpect and Honour of the Peerage of *England* would be in ſome Meaſure reſtored, not only in Points that concern their Judicature, but in that Intereſt and Influence among the People, by which they have often been ſo great a Support to the Crown in the Reigns of wiſe and good Kings, and to the Liberties of the People in the unfortunate Times of weak Princes, or evil and ambitious Miniſters.

Theſe

Theſe Speculations, how imaginary ſoever, are at leaſt grounded upon the true, general, and perpetual Intereſt of the Nation, without any Regards of Parties and Factions, of the Neceſſities of particular Times or Occaſions of Government. And ſuch conſtant Intereſts of *England* there are, which laſt through all Succeſſions of Kings, or Revolutions of State. Of this Kind, and the moſt general as well as moſt neceſſary, are, The Greatneſs of our Naval Forces; the Balance of our Neighbouring Powers; and our own Union, by the Extinction of Factions among us. For our Nation is too great, and too brave to be ruined by any but it ſelf; and if the Number and Weight of it roll one way, upon the greateſt Changes that can happen, yet *England* will ſtill be ſafe; which is the End of all publick Inſtitutions, as it was of the *Roman* Laws; *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.* To this, all differing Opinions, Paſſions and Intereſts ſhould ſtrike Sail, and like proud ſwelling Streams, though running different Courſes, ſhould yet all make haſte into the Sea of common Safety, from whence their Springs are ſaid to be derived; and which would otherwiſe overflow and lay waſte the Countries where they paſs. Without this Pretence at leaſt, no Faction would ever ſwell ſo high as to endanger a State; for all of them gain their Power and Number to their Party, by pretending to be derived from Regards of common Safety, and of tending towards it in the ſureſt or directeſt Courſe.

The Compariſon between a State and a Ship has been ſo illuſtrated by Poets and Orators, that 'tis hard to find any Point wherein they differ; and yet they ſeem to do it in this, That in great Storms and rough Seas, if all the Men and Lading roll to one Side, the Ship will be in danger of Overſetting by their Weight: But on the contrary, in the Storms of State, if the Body of the People, with the Bulk of Eſtates, roll on one Way, the Nation will be ſafe. For the reſt, the Similitude holds, and happens alike to the one and to the other. When a Ship goes to Sea, bound to a certain Port, with a great Cargo, and a numerous Crew who have a Share in the Lading as well as Safety of the Veſſel; let the Weather and the Gale be never ſo fair, yet if, in the Courſe ſhe ſteers, the Ships Crew apprehend they ſee a Breach of Waters, which they are ſure muſt come from Rocks or Sands, that will endanger the Ship unleſs the Pilot changes his Courſe: If the Captain, the Maſter, the Pilot, with ſome other of the Officers, tell them they are Fools or ignorant, and not fit to adviſe; That there is no Danger, and it belongs to themſelves to ſteer what Courſe they pleaſe, or judge to be ſafe; and that the Buſineſs of the Crew is only to obey: If however the Crew perſiſt in their Apprehenſions of the Danger, and the Officers of the Ship in the Purſuit of their Courſe, till the Seamen will neither ſtand to their Tackle, hand Sails, or ſuffer the Pilot to ſteer as he pleaſes; what can become of this Ship, but that either the Crew muſt be convinced by the Captain and Officers, of their Skill and Care, and Safety of their Courſe; or theſe muſt comply with the common Apprehenſions and Humours of the Seamen; or elſe they muſt come at laſt to fall together by the Ears, and ſo throw one another over-board, and leave the Ship in the Direction of the ſtrongeſt, and perhaps to periſh, in caſe of hard Weather, for want of Hands.

Juſt ſo in a State, Diviſions of Opinion, though upon Points of common Intereſt or Safety, yet if purſued to the Height, and with Heat or Obſtinacy enough on both Sides, muſt end in Blows and Civil Arms, and by their Succeſs leave all in the Power of the ſtrongeſt, rather than the wiſeſt or the beſt Intentions; or perhaps expoſe it to the laſt Calamity of a Foreign Conqueſt. But nothing beſides the Uniting of Parties upon one common Bottom, can ſave a State in a Tempeſtuous Seaſon; and every one, both of the Officers and Crew, are equally concerned in the Safety of the Ship, as in their own, ſince in that alone theirs are certainly involved.

And

And thus I have done with theſe idle politick Viſions, and at the ſame time with all publick Thoughts as well as Employments: Very ſorry that the Speculations of my Mind, or Actions of my Life, have been of no greater Service to my Country, which no Man, I am ſure, has loved better, or eſteemed more; though my own Temper, and the Diſtempers of our Nation, prevailed with me to leave their Service ſooner than perhaps was either neceſſary for me, or common with other Men. But my Age now, as well as my Temper and long fixed Reſolutions, has made me unfit for any farther Flights; which I leave to younger and abler Perſons: Wiſhing them the ſame Intentions and greater Succeſſes, and Conjunctures more favourable to ſuch publick and generous Thoughts and Deſigns.

THE

AND

LONGEVITY.



OF

HEALTH

AND

LONG LIFE.

I Can truly ſay, that of all the Paper I have blotted, which has been a great deal in my Time, I have never written any thing for the Publick without the Intention of ſome publick Good. Whether I have ſucceeded or no, is not my part to judge; and others, in what they tell me, may deceive either me or themſelves. Good Intentions are at leaſt the Seed of good Actions; and every Man ought to ſow them, and leave it to the Soil and the Seaſons whether they come up or no, and whether he or any other gathers the Fruit.

I have choſen thoſe Subjects of theſe Eſſays, wherein I take Human Life to be moſt concerned, and which are of moſt common Uſe, or moſt neceſſary Knowledge; and wherein, though I may not be able to inform Men more than they know, yet I may perhaps give them the Occaſion to conſider more than they do.

This is a ſort of Inſtruction that no Man can diſlike, ſince it comes from himſelf, and is made without Envy or Fear, Conſtraint or Obligation, which make us commonly diſlike what is taught us by others. All Men would be glad to be their own Maſters, and ſhould not be ſorry to be their own Scholars, when they pay no more for their Learning than their own Thoughts, which they have commonly more ſtore of about them than they know what to do with, and which, if they do not apply to ſomething of good Uſe, nor employ about ſomething of ill, they will trifle away upon ſomething vain or impertinent: Their Thoughts will be but waking Dreams, as their Dreams are ſleeping Thoughts. Yet of all ſorts of Inſtructions, the beſt is gained from our own Thoughts as well as Experience: For though a Man may grow learned by other Mens Thoughts, yet he will grow wiſe or happy only by his own; the Uſe of other Mens towards theſe Ends, is but to ſerve for one's own Reflections; otherwiſe they are but like Meat ſwallowed down for Pleaſure or Greedineſs, which only charges the Stomach, or fumes into the Brain, if it be not well digeſted, and thereby turned into the very Maſs or Subſtance of the Body that receives it.

Some Writers in caſting up the Goods moſt deſireable in Life, have given them this Rank, Health, Beauty, and Riches. Of the firſt I find no Diſpute, but to the two others much may be ſaid: For Beauty is a Good that

makes others happy rather than one's self; and how Riches should claim so high a Rank I cannot tell, when ſo great, ſo wiſe, and ſo good a Part of Mankind have in all Ages preferred Poverty before them. The *Therapeutæ* and *Ebionites* among the *Jews*, the primitive Monks and modern Friers among Chriſtians, ſo many *Derviſes* among the *Mahometans*, the *Brachmans* among the *Indians*, and all the ancient Philoſophers; who, whatever elſe they differed in, agreed in this of deſpiſing Riches, and at beſt eſteeming them an unneceſſary Trouble or Encumbrance of Life: So that when they are to be reckoned among Goods or Evils, is yet left in Doubt.

When I was young, and in ſome idle Company, it was propoſed that every one ſhould tell what their three Wiſhes ſhould be, if they were ſure to be granted: Some were very pleaſant, and ſome very extravagant; mine were Health, and Peace, and fair Weather; which, though out of the way among young Men, yet perhaps might paſs well enough among old: They are all of a Strain, for Health in the Body is like Peace in the State and Serenity in the Air: The Sun, in our Climate at leaſt, has ſomething ſo reviving, that a fair Day is a kind of a ſenſual Pleaſure, and of all others the moſt innocent.

Peace is a publick Bleſſing, without which no Man is ſafe in his Fortunes, his Liberty, or his Life; Neither Innocence or Laws are a Guard or Defence; no Poſſeſſions are enjoyed but in Danger or Fear, which equally loſe the Pleaſure and Eaſe of all that Fortune can give us. Health is the Soul that animates all Enjoyments of Life, which fade and are taſtleſs, if not dead, without it: A Man ſtarves at the beſt and the greateſt Tables, makes Faces at the nobleſt and moſt delicate Wines, is old and impotent in *Seraglios* of the moſt ſparkling Beauties, poor and wretched in the midſt of the greateſt Treaſures and Fortunes: With common Diſeaſes Strength grows decrepit, Youth loſes all Vigour, and Beauty all Charms; Muſick grows harſh, and Converſation diſagreeable; Palaces are Priſons, or of equal Confinement; Riches are uſeleſs, Honour and Attendance are cumberſome, and Crowns themſelves are a Burthen: But if Diſeaſes are painful and violent, they equal all Conditions of Life, make no difference between a Prince and a Beggar; and a Fit of the Stone or the Colick puts a King to the Rack, and makes him as miſerable as he can do the meaneſt, the worſt, and moſt criminal of his Subjects.

To know that the Paſſions or Diſtempers of the Mind make our Lives unhappy, in ſpight of all Accidents and Favours of Fortune, a Man perhaps muſt be a Philoſopher; and requires much Thought, and Study, and deep Reflections. To be a *Stoick*, and grow inſenſible of Pain, as well as Poverty or Diſgrace, one muſt be perhaps ſomething more or leſs than a Man, renounce common Nature, oppoſe common Truth and conſtant Experience. But there needs little Learning or Study, more than common Thought and Obſervation, to find out, that ill Health loſes not only the Enjoyments of Fortune, but the Pleaſures of Senſe, and even of Imagination, and hinders the common Operations both of Body and Mind from being eaſy and free. Let Philoſophers reaſon and differ about the chief Good or Happineſs of Man; let them find it where they can, and place it where they pleaſe; but there is no Miſtake ſo groſs, or Opinion ſo impertinent (how common ſoever) as to think Pleaſures ariſe from what is without us, rather than from what is within; from the Impreſſion given us of Objects, rather than from the Diſpoſition of the Organs that receive them. The various Effects of the ſame Objects upon different Perſons, or upon the ſame Perſons at different Times, make the contrary moſt evident. Some Diſtempers make Things look yellow, others double what we ſee; the commoneſt alter our Taſtes and our Smells, and the very Foulneſs of Ears changes Sounds. The Difference of Tempers, as well as of Age, may have the ſame Effect, by the many Degrees of Perfection or Imperfection in our original Tempers, as well as of Strength or Decay, from the Differences of Health and of Years. From all which 'tis eaſy, without being a great Naturaliſt, to conclude, that our Percepti-

ons are formed, and our Imaginations raiſed upon them, in a very great meaſure, by the Diſpoſitions of the Organs through which the ſeveral Objects make their Impreſſions; and that theſe vary according to the different Frame and Temper of the others; as the Sound of the ſame Breath paſſing through an Oaten Pipe, a Flute, or a Trumpet.

But to leave Philoſophy, and return to Health. Whatever is true in Point of Happineſs depending upon the Temper of the Mind, 'tis certain that Pleaſures depend upon the Temper of the Body; and that to enjoy them, a Man muſt be well himſelf, as the Veſſel muſt be ſound to have your Wine ſweet; for otherwiſe, let it be never ſo pleaſant and ſo generous, it loſes the Taſte; and pour in never ſo much, it all turns ſour, and were better to let alone. Whoever will eat well, muſt have a Stomach; who will reliſh the Pleaſure of Drinks, muſt have his Mouth in Taſte; who will enjoy a beautiful Woman, muſt be in Vigour himſelf; Nay, to find any Felicity, or take any Pleaſure in the greateſt Advantages of Honour and Fortune, a Man muſt be in Health. Who would not be covetous, and with Reaſon, if this could be purchaſed with Gold? Who not ambitious, if it were at the Command of Power, or reſtored by Honour? But alas! a *White Staff* will not help gouty Feet to walk better than a common Cane; nor a *Blue Ribband* bind up a Wound ſo well as a Fillet: The Glitter of Gold or of Diamonds will but hurt ſore Eyes, inſtead of curing them; and an aking Head will be no more eaſed by wearing a Crown than a common Night-cap.

If Health be ſuch a Bleſſing, and the very Source of all Pleaſure, it may be worth the Pains to diſcover the Regions where it grows, the Springs that feed it, the Cuſtoms and Methods by which 'tis beſt cultivated and preſerved. Towards this End, it will be neceſſary to conſider the Examples or Inſtances we meet with of Health and long Life, which is the Conſequence of it; and to obſerve the Places, the Cuſtoms, and the Conditions of thoſe who enjoy'd them in any degree extraordinary; from whence we may beſt gueſs at the Cauſes, and make the trueſt Concluſions.

Of what paſſed before the Flood, we know little from Scripture it ſelf, beſides the Length of their Lives; ſo as I ſhall only obſerve upon that Period of Time, that Men are thought neither to have eat Fleſh nor drunk Wine before it ended: For to *Noah* firſt ſeems to have been given the Liberty of feeding upon living Creatures, and the Prerogative of planting the Vine. Since that Time we meet with little Mention of very long Lives in any Stories either Sacred or Prophane, beſides the *Patriarchs* of the *Hebrews*, the *Brachmans* among the old *Indians*, and the *Brazilians* at the Time that Country was diſcovered by the *Europeans*. Many of theſe were ſaid then to have lived two hundred, ſome three hundred Years. The ſame Terms of Life are attributed to the old *Brachmans*; and how long thoſe of the *Patriarchs* were is recorded in Scripture. Upon all theſe I ſhall obſerve, that the *Patriarchs* Abodes were not in Cities, but in open Countries and Fields: That their Lives were Paſtoral, or employed in ſome ſorts of Agriculture; That they were of the ſame Race, to which their Marriages were generally confined: That their Diet was ſimple, as that of the Ancients is generally repreſented, among whom Fleſh or Wine was ſeldom uſed but at Sacrifices or ſolemn Feaſts. The *Brachmans* were all of the ſame Races, lived in Fields and in Woods after the Courſe of their Studies was ended, and fed only upon Rice, Milk, or Herbs. The *Brazilians*, when firſt diſcovered, lived the moſt natural original Lives of Mankind, ſo frequently deſcribed in ancient Countries, before Laws, or Property, or Arts made Entrance among them; and ſo their Cuſtoms may be concluded to have been yet more ſimple than either of the other two. They lived without Buſineſs or Labour, further than for their neceſſary Food, by gathering Fruits, Herbs, and Plants: They knew no Drink but Water; were not tempted to eat nor drink beyond common Thirſt or Appetite; were not troubled with either publick

publick or domeſtick Cares, nor knew any Pleaſures but the moſt ſimple and natural.

From all theſe Examples and Cuſtoms it may probably be concluded, that the common Ingredients of Health and long Life (where Births are not impair'd from the Conception by any derived Infirmities of the Race they come from) are, great Temperance, open Air, eaſy Labour, little Care, Simplicity of Diet, rather Fruits and Plants than Fleſh, which eaſier corrupts; and Water, which preſerves the radical Moiſture, without too much increaſing the radical Heat: Whereas Sickneſs, Decay, and Death proceed commonly from the one preying too faſt upon the other, and at length wholly extinguiſhing it.

I have ſometimes wondered, that the Regions of ſo much Health and ſo long Lives were all under very hot Climates; whereas the more temperate are allowed to produce the ſtrongeſt and moſt vigorous Bodies. But weaker Conſtitutions may laſt as long as the ſtrong, if better preſerv'd from Accidents; ſo *Venice* Glaſs, as long as an earthen Pitcher, if carefully kept; and for one Life that ends by meer Decay of Nature or Age, Millions are intercepted by Accidents from without or Diſeaſes within; by untimely Deaths or Decays; from the Effects of Exceſs and Luxury, immoderate Repletion or Exerciſe; the preying of our Minds upon our Bodies by long Paſſions or conſuming Cares, as well as thoſe Accidents which are called violent. Men are perhaps moſt betray'd to all theſe Dangers by great Strength and Vigour of Conſtitution, by more Appetite and larger Fare in colder Climates: In the warm, Exceſſes are found more pernicious to Health, and ſo more avoided; and if Experience and Reflection do not cauſe Temperance among them, yet it is forced upon them by the Faintneſs of Appetite. I can find no better Account of a Story Sir *Francis Bacon* tells, of a very old Man, whoſe Cuſtoms and Diet he enquired; but he ſaid he obſerved none beſides eating before he was hungry and drinking before he was dry; for by that Rule he was ſure never to eat or drink much at a Time. Beſides, the Warmth of Air keeps the Pores open, and by continual Perſpiration breathes out thoſe Humours which breed moſt Diſeaſes, if in cooler Climates it be not helpt by Exerciſe. And this I take to be the Reaſon of our *Engliſh* Conſtitutions finding ſo much Benefit by the Air of *Montpelier*, eſpecially in long Colds or Conſumptions, or other lingring Diſeaſes; though I have known ſome who attributed reſtoring of their Health there as much to the Fruits as the Air of that Place.

I know not whether there may be any thing in the Climate of *Brazil* more propitious to Health than in other Countries: For, beſides what was obſerved among the Natives upon the firſt *European* Diſcoveries, I remember Don *Franciſco de Melo*, a *Portugal* Ambaſſador in *England*, told me, it was frequent in his Country for Men ſpent with Age or other Decays, ſo as they could not hope for above a Year or two of Life, to ſhip themſelves away in a *Brazil* Fleet, and after their Arrival there to go on a great Length, ſometimes of twenty or thirty Years, or more, by the Force of that Vigour they recovered with that Remove. Whether ſuch an Effect might grow from the Air, or the Fruits of that Climate, or by approaching nearer the Sun, which is the Fountain of Life and Heat, when their natural Heat was ſo far decayed; or whether the piecing out of an old Man's Life were worth the Pains, I cannot tell: Perhaps the Play is not worth the Candle.

I do not remember, either in Story or modern Obſervation, any Examples of long Life common to any Parts of *Europe*, which the Temper of the Climate has probably made the Scene of Luxury and Exceſſes in Diet. *Greece* and *Rome* were of old celebrated, or rather defamed, for thoſe Cuſtoms, when they were not known in *Aſia* nor *Aſrick*; and how guilty our colder Climates are in this Point, beyond the warmer of *Spain* and *Italy*, is but too well known. It is common among *Spaniards* of the beſt Quality, not to have taſted pure Wine at forty Years old. 'Tis an Honour to their Laws, that a Man loſes his Teſtimony who can be proved once to have been drunk; and

I never was more pleaſed with any Reply, than that of a *Spaniard*; who having been aſked whether he had a good Dinner at a Friend's Houſe, ſaid, *Si Sennor a via ſabrado*; Yes, Sir, for there was ſomething left. The great Trade in *Italy*, and Reſort of Strangers, eſpecially of *Germans*, has made the Uſe of Wine ſomething more frequent there, though not much among the Perſons of Rank, who are obſerved to live longer at *Rome* and *Madrid*, than in any other Towns of *Europe*, where the Qualities of the Air force them upon the greateſt Temperance, as well as Care and Precaution. We read of many Kings very long liv'd in *Spain*, one I remember that reigned above ſeventy Years. But *Philip de Comines* obſerves, that none in *France* had lived to threeſcore, from *Charlemain*'s Time to that of *Lewis* the Eleventh: Whereas in *England*, from the Conqueſt to the End of Queen *Elizabeth* (which is a much ſhorter Period of Time) there have reigned five Kings and one Queen, whereof two lived ſixty five Years, two ſixty eight, and two reached at leaſt the ſeventieth Year of their Age. I wondered upon this Subject when Monſieur *Pompone*, *French* Ambaſſador in my Time at the *Hague*, a Perſon of great Worth and Learning, as well as Obſervation, told me there, that in his Life he had never heard of any Man in *France* that arriv'd at a hundred Years; and I could imagine no Reaſon for it, unleſs it be that the Excellence of their Climate, ſubject neither to much Cold nor Heat, gave them ſuch a Livelineſs of Temper and Humour, as diſpoſed them to more Pleaſures of all Kinds than in other Countries. And I doubt Pleaſures too long continued, or rather too frequently repeated, may ſpend the Spirits, and thereby Life too faſt, to leave it very long; like blowing a Fire too often, which makes it indeed burn the better, but laſt the leſs. For as Pleaſures periſh themſelves in the uſing, like Flowers that fade with gathering; ſo 'tis neither natural nor ſafe to continue them long, to renew them without Appetite, or ever to provoke them by Arts or Imagination where Nature does not call; who can beſt tell us when and how much we need, or what is good for us, if we were ſo wiſe as to conſult her. But a ſhort Life and a merry carries it, and is without doubt better than a long with Sorrow or Pain.

For the Honour of our Climate it has been obſerved by ancient Authors, that the *Britains* were longer liv'd than any other Nation to them known. And in modern Times there have been more and greater Examples of this kind than in any other Countries of *Europe*. The Story of old *Parr* is too late to be forgotten by many now alive, who was brought out of *Darbyſhire* to the Court in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, and lived to a hundred and fifty three Years old; and might have, as was thought, gone further, if the Change of Country Air and Diet for that of the Town had not carried him off, perhaps untimely at that very Age. The late *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was a Perſon of great Learning and Obſervation, as well as of Truth, told me ſeveral Stories very extraordinary upon this Subject; one, of a Counteſs of *Deſmond*, married out of *England* in *Edward* the Fourth's Time, and who lived far in King *James*'s Reign, and was counted to have died ſome Years above a hundred and forty; at which Age ſhe came from *Briſtol* to *London* to beg ſome Relief at Court, having long been very poor by the Ruin of that *Iriſh* Family into which ſhe was married.

Another he told me was of a Beggar at a Bookſeller's Shop, where he was ſome Weeks after the Death of Prince *Henry*; and obſerving thoſe that paſſed by, he was ſaying to his Company, That never ſuch a Mourning had been ſeen in *England*: This Beggar ſaid, No, never ſince the Death of Prince *Arthur*. My Lord *Leiceſter* ſurpriz'd, ask'd what ſhe meant, and whether ſhe remember'd it: She ſaid, very well: And upon his more curious Enquiry told him that her Name was *Rainsford*, of a good Family in *Oxfordſhire*: That when ſhe was about twenty Years old, upon the Falſeneſs of a Lover ſhe fell diſtracted; how long ſhe had been ſo, nor what paſſed at that Time, ſhe knew not: That when ſhe was thought well enough to go abroad, ſhe was fain to beg for her Living: That ſhe was ſome time at this Trade before ſhe re-

recovered any Memory of what ſhe had been, or where bred: That when this Memory returned, ſhe went down into her Country, but hardly found the Memory of any of her Friends ſhe had left there; and ſo returned to a Pariſh in *Southwark*, where ſhe had ſome ſmall Allowance among other Poor, and had been for many Years; and once a Week walked into the City, and took what Alms were given her. My Lord *Leiceſter* told me, He ſent to inquire at the Pariſh, and found their Account agree with the Woman's: Upon which he order'd her to call at his Houſe once a Week, which ſhe did for ſome Time; after which he heard no more of her. This Story raiſed ſome Diſcourſe upon a Remark of ſome in the Company, That mad People are apt to live long. They alledg'd Examples of their own Knowledge: But the Reſult was, that if it were true, it muſt proceed from the natural Vigour of their Tempers, which diſpoſed them to Paſſions ſo violent, as ended in Frenzies: And from the great Abſtinence and Hardſhips of Diet they are forced upon by the Methods of their Cure, and Severity of thoſe who had them in Care; no other Drink but Water being allowed them, and very little Meat.

The laſt Story I ſhall mention from that Noble Perſon, upon this Subject, was of a Morrice-dancer in *Herefordſhire*; whereof he ſaid, he had a Pamphlet ſtill in his Library, written by a very ingenious Gentleman of that County: And which gave an Account, how ſuch a Year of King *James*'s Reign, there were about the Country a Sett of Morrice-dancers, compoſed of Ten Men who danced, a Maid *Marian*, and a Tabor and Pipe; and how theſe Twelve one with another made up Twelve hundred Years. 'Tis not ſo much, that ſo many in one ſmall County ſhould live to that Age, as that they ſhould be in Vigour and in Humour to travel and to dance.

I have in my Life met with two of above a hundred and twelve; whereof the Woman had paſſed her Life in Service; and the Man in common Labour, till he grew old and fell upon the Pariſh. But I met with one who had gone a much greater Length, which made me more curious in my Enquiries. 'Twas an old Man who begged uſually at a lonely Inn upon the Road in *Staffordſhire*; who told me, He was a hundred twenty four Years old: That he had been a Soldier in the *Cales* Voyage under the Earl of *Eſſex*, of which he gave me a ſenſible Account. That after his Return, He fell to labour in his own Pariſh, which was about a Mile from the Place where I met him. That he continued to work till a hundred and twelve, when he broke one of his Ribs, by a Fall from a Cart, and being thereby diſabled, he fell to beg. This agreeing with what the Maſter of the Houſe told me was reported and believed by all his Neighbours, I asked him what his uſual Food was; He ſaid, Milk, Bread and Cheeſe, and Fleſh, when it was given him. I asked what he uſed to drink; He ſaid, O Sir, we have the beſt Water in our Pariſh that is in all the Neighbourhood: Whether he never drank any thing elſe? He ſaid, Yes, if any Body gave it him, but not otherwiſe. And the Hoſt told me, He had got many a Pound in his Houſe, but never ſpent one Penny. I asked him, if he had any Neighbours as old as he; and he told me, but one, who had been his Fellow-Soldier at *Cales*, and was three Years older; but he had been moſt of his Time in a good Service, and had ſomething to live on now he was old.

I have heard, and very credibly, of many in my Life, above a hundred Years old, brought as Witneſſes upon Tryals of Titles, and Bounds of Land: But have obſerved moſt of them to have been of *Darbyſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, or *Yorkſhire*, and none above the Rank of common Farmers. The oldeſt I ever knew any Perſons of Quality, or indeed any Gentleman either at home or abroad, was fourſcore and twelve. This added to all the former Recites or Obſervations, either of long-lived Races or Perſons in any Age or Country, makes it eaſy to conclude, that Health and long Life are uſually Bleſſings of the Poor, not of the Rich, and the Fruits of Temperance, rather than of Luxury and Exceſs. And indeed if a rich Man does not in many Things live like

like a Poor, he will certainly be the worſe for his Riches: If he does not uſe Exerciſe, which is but voluntary Labour; if he does not reſtrain Appetite by Choice, as the other does by Neceſſity: If he does not practiſe ſometimes even Abſtinence and Faſting, which is the laſt Extream of Want and Poverty: If his Cares and his Troubles encreaſe with his Riches, or his Paſſions with his Pleaſures; he will certainly impair in Health, whilſt he improves his Fortunes, and loſe more than he gains by the Bargain; ſince Health is the beſt of all human Poſſeſſions, and without which the reſt are not reliſhed or kindly enjoyed.

It is obſervable in Story, that the ancient Philoſophers lived generally very long; which may be attributed to their great Temperance, and their Freedom from common Paſſions, as well as Cares of the World. But the Friers in many Orders ſeem to equal them in all theſe, and yet are not obſerved to live long: So as ſome other Reaſon may be aſſigned: I can give none, unleſs it be the great and conſtant Confinement of the laſt, and Liberty of the others: I mean not only that of their Perſons to their Cloiſters (which is not univerſal among them) but their Condition of Life, ſo tied to Rules, and ſo abſolutely ſubject to their Superiours Commands, beſides, the very Confinement of their Minds and Thoughts to a certain Compaſs of Notions, Speculations and Opinions. The Philoſophers took the greateſt Liberty that could be; and allowed their Thoughts, their Studies and Inventions, the moſt unconfined Range over the whole Univerſe. They both began and continued their Profeſſion and Condition of Life at their own Choice, as well as their Abodes. Whereas among the Friers, though they may be voluntary at firſt, yet after their Vows made, they grow neceſſary, and thereby conſtrained. Now 'tis certain, that as nothing damps or depreſſes the Spirits like great Subjection or Slavery, either of Body or Mind; ſo nothing nouriſhes, revives and fortifies them like great Liberty. Which may poſſibly enter among other Reaſons, of what has been obſerved about long Life being found more in *England*, than in others of our Neighbour Countries.

Upon the general and particular Surveys already made, it may ſeem that the mountainous or barren Countries are uſually the Scenes of Health and long Life: That they have been found rather in the Hills of *Paleſtine* and *Arcadia*, than in the Plains of *Babylon* or of *Theſſaly*: And among us in *England*, rather upon the Peak of *Darbyſhire*, and the Heaths of *Staffordſhire*, than the fertile Soils of other Countries, that abound more in People and in Riches. Whether this proceeds from the Air being clearer of groſs and damp Exhalations, or from the meaner Condition, and thereby harder Fare, and more ſimple Diet; or from the ſtronger Nouriſhment of thoſe Grains and Roots which grow in dry Soils; I will not determine: But think it is evident from common Experience, that the Natives and Inhabitants of hilly and barren Countries, have not only more Health in general, but alſo more Vigour than thoſe of the Plains, or fertile Soils; and uſually exceed them even in Size and Stature. So the largeſt Bodies of Men that are found in theſe Parts of *Europe*, are the *Switzers*, the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*, and the Northern *Iriſh*. I remember King *Charles* the Second (a Prince of much and various Knowledge, and curious Obſervation) upon this Subject, falling in Diſcourſe, asked me, What could be the Reaſon, that in mountainous Countries the Men were commonly larger, and yet the Cattle of all ſorts ſmaller than in others. I could think of none, unleſs it were, that Appetite being more in both, from the Air of ſuch Places, it happened, that by the Care of Parents in the Education of Children, theſe ſeldom wanted Food of ſome ſort or other, enough to ſupply Nature, and ſatisfie Appetite, during the Age of their Growth, which muſt be the greater, by the Sharpneſs of Hunger, and Strength of Digeſtion in drier Airs: For Milk, Roots, and Oats, abound in ſuch Countries, though there may be Scarcity of other Food or Grain. But the Cattle, from the Shortneſs of Paſture and of Fodder, have hardly enough to feed in Summer; and very often want in Winter, even neceſſary Food for Suſtenance of Life; many are ſtarved, and the

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reſt ſtunted in their Growth, which after a certain Age never advances. Whether this be a good Reaſon, or a better may be found, I believe one Part of it will not be conteſted by any Man that tries; which is, that the open dry Air of hilly Countries gives more Stomach than that of Plains and Vallies, in which Cities are commonly built, for the Convenience of Water, of Trade, and the Plenty of Fruits and Grains produced by the Earth, with much greater Increaſe and leſs Labour, in ſofter than in harder Grounds. The Faintneſs of Appetite in ſuch Places, eſpecially in great Cities, makes the many Endeavours to relieve and provoke it by Art, where Nature fails: And this is one great Ground of Luxury, and ſo many, and various, and extravagant Inventions to heighten and improve it: Which may ſerve perhaps for ſome Refinement in Pleaſure; but not at all for any Advantages of Health or of Life: On the contrary, all the great Cities, celebrated moſt, by the Concourſe of Mankind, and by the Inventions and Cuſtoms of the greateſt and moſt delicate Luxury, are the Scenes of the moſt frequent and violent Plagues, as well as other Diſeaſes. Such are in our Age, *Grand-Cairo*, *Conſtantinople*, *Naples*, and *Rome*; though the exact and conſtant Care in this laſt, helps them commonly to eſcape better than the others.

This introduces the Uſe, and indeed the Neceſſity, of Phyſick in great Towns and very populous Countries; which remoter and more barren or deſolate Places are ſcarce acquainted with. For in the Courſe of common Life, a Man muſt either often Exerciſe, or Faſt, or take Phyſick, or be ſick; and the Choice ſeems left to every one as he likes. The two firſt are the beſt Methods and Means of preſerving Health: The Uſe of Phyſick is for reſtoring it, and curing thoſe Diſeaſes which are generally cauſed by the Want or Neglect of the others; but is neither neceſſary, nor perhaps uſeful, for confirming Health, or to the Length of Life, being generally a Force upon Nature; though the End of it ſeems to be rather aſſiſting Nature, than oppoſing it in its Courſe.

How ancient, how general the Study or Profeſſion of this Science has been in the World, and how various the Practice, may be worth a little Enquiry and Obſervation, ſince it ſo nearly concerns our Healths and Lives. *Greece* muſt be allowed to have been the Mother of this, as much or more than of other Sciences, moſt whereof were tranſplanted thither from more ancient and more Eaſtern Nations. But this ſeems to have firſt riſen there, and with good Reaſon: For *Greece* having been the firſt Scene of Luxury we meet with in Story, and having thereby occaſioned more Diſeaſes, ſeemed to owe the World that Juſtice of providing the Remedies. Among the more ſimple and original Cuſtoms and Lives of other Nations it entered late, and was introduced by the *Grecians*. In Ancient *Babylon*, how great and populous ſoever, no Phyſicians were known, nor other Methods for the Cure of Diſeaſes, beſides Abſtinence, Patience, Domeſtick Care; or when theſe ſucceeded not, expoſing the Patient in the Market, to receive the Inſtruction of any Perſons that paſſed by, and pretended by Experience or Enquiries to have learned any Remedies for ſuch an Illneſs. The *Perſian* Emperors ſent into *Greece* for the Phyſicians they needed, upon ſome Extremity at firſt, but afterwards kept them reſiding with them. In *Old Rome* they were long unknown; and after having enter'd there, and continued for ſome time, they were all baniſh'd, and return'd not in many Years, till their Fondneſs of all the *Grecian* Arts and Cuſtoms reſtored this, and introduced all the reſt among them; where they continu'd in Uſe and Eſteem, during the Greatneſs of that Empire. With the Riſe and Progreſs of the fierce Northern Powers and Arms, this, as well as all other Learning, was in a manner extinguiſh'd in *Europe*. But when the *Saracen* Empire grew to ſuch a Height in the more Eaſtern and Southern Parts of the World, all Arts and Sciences, following the Traces of Greatneſs and Security in States or Governments, began to flouriſh there, and this among the reſt. The *Arabians* ſeem to have firſt retrieved and reſtored it in the *Mahometan* Dominions; and the *Jews* in *Europe*, who were long the chief Profeſſors of it in the *Gothick* Kingdoms; having

having been always a Nation very Mercurial, of great Genius and Application to all sorts of Learning after their Dispersion; till they were discouraged by the Persecutions of their Religion and their Persons among most of the Christian States. In the vast Territories of *India* there are few Physicians, or little esteemed, besides some *Europeans*, or else of the Race either of *Jews* or *Arabs*.

Through these Hands and Places this Science has passed with greatest Honour and Applause; Among others in has been less used or esteemed.

For the Antiquity of it, and Original in *Greece*, we must have Recourse to *Æsculapius*, who lived in the Age before the *Trojan* War, and whose Son *Macaon* is mentioned to have assisted there; but whether as a Physician or a Surgeon, I do not find: How simple the Beginnings of this Art were, may be observed by the Story, or Tradition of *Æsculapius* going about the Country with a Dog and a She-Goat always following him; both which he used much in his Cures; the first for licking all ulcered Wounds, and Goat's Milk for Diseases of the Stomach and the Lungs. We find little more recorded of either his Methods or Medicines; though he was so successful by his Skill, or so admir'd for the Novelty of his Profession, as to have been honoured with Statues, esteemed Son of *Apollo*, and worshipped as a God.

Whoever was accounted the God of Physick, the Prince of this Science must be by all, I think, allowed to have been *Hippocrates*. He flourished in the Time of the first renowned Philosophers of *Greece* (the chief of whom was *Democritus*) and his Writings are the most ancient of any that remain to Posterity: For those of *Democritus* and others of that Age are all lost, tho' many were preserved till the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, and perhaps something later; and 'tis probable were suppress'd by the pious Zeal of some Fathers, under the first Christian Emperor. Those of *Hippocrates* escaped this Fate of his Age, by being esteemed so useful to human Life, as well as the most Excellent upon all Subjects he treats. For he was a great Philosopher and Naturalist, before he began the Study of Physick, to which both those are perhaps necessary. His Rules and Methods continued in Practice as well as Esteem, without any Dispute, for many Ages, till the Time of *Galen*: And I have heard a great Physician say, That his Aphorisms are still the most certain and uncontroll'd of any that Science has produced. I will judge but of one, which in my Opinion has the greatest Race and Height both of Sense and Judgment that I have read in so few Words, and the best expressed. *Ars longa, vita brevis, Experientia fallax, Occasio præceps, Judicium difficile.* By which alone, if no more remained of that admirable Person, we may easily judge how great a Genius he was, and how perfectly he understood both Nature and Art.

In the Time of *Adrian*, *Galen* began to change the Practice and Methods of Physick, derived to that Age from *Hippocrates*; and those of his new Institution continue generally observed to our Time. Yet *Paracelsus*, about two hundred Years ago, endeavoured to overthrow the whole Scheme of *Galen*, and introduce a new one of his own, as well as the Use of Chymical Medicines; and has not wanted his Followers and Admirers ever since, who have in some measure compounded with the *Galenists*, and brought a mixt Use of Chymical Medicines into the present Practice.

Doctor *Harvey* gave the first Credit, if not Rise, to the Opinion about the Circulation of the Blood, which was expected to bring in great and general Innovations into the whole Practice of Physick; but has had no such Effect. Whether the Opinion has not had the Luck to be so well believed as proved: Sense and Experience having not well agreed with Reason and Speculation: Or, whether the Scheme has not been pursued so far, as to draw it into Practice: Or, whether it be too fine to be capable of it, like some Propositions in the Mathematicks, how true and demonstrative soever, I will not pretend to determine.

These great Changes or Revolutions in the Physical Empire have given Ground to many Attacks that have been made against it, upon the Score of

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its Uncertainty, by ſeveral wiſe and learned Men, as well as by many ignorant and malicious. *Montague* has written a great deal, and very ingeniouſly, upon this Point; and ſome ſharp *Italians:* And many Phyſicians are too free upon the Subject, in the Converſation of their Friends. But as the noble *Athenian* Inſcription told *Demetrius*; That he was in ſo much a God, as he acknowledged himſelf to be a Man: So we may ſay of Phyſicians, that they are the greater, in ſo much as they know and confeſs the Weakneſs of their Art. 'Tis certain however, that the Study of Phyſick is not atchieved in any eminent degree, without very great Advancements in other Sciences: So that whatever the Profeſſion is, the Profeſſors have been generally very much eſteemed upon that Account, as well as of their own Art, as the moſt learned Men of their Ages; and thereby ſhared with the two other great Profeſſions in thoſe Advantages moſt commonly valued, and moſt eagerly purſued; whereof the Divines ſeem to have had the moſt Honour, the Lawyers the moſt Money, and the Phyſicians the moſt Learning. I have known in my Time, at leaſt five or ſix, that beſides their general Learning, were the greateſt Wits in the Compaſs of my Converſation. And whatevet can be ſaid of the Uncertainty of their Art, or Diſagreement of its Profeſſors; they may, I believe, confidently undertake; that when Divines arrive at certainty in their Schemes of Divinity; or Lawyers in thoſe of Law; or Politicians in thoſe of Civil Government: The Phyſicians will do it likewiſe in the Methods and Practice of Phyſick; and have the Honour of finding out the univerſal Medicine, at leaſt as ſoon, as the Chymiſts ſhall the Philoſopher's Stone.

The great Defects in this excellent Science, ſeem to me chiefly to have proceeded from the Profeſſors Application (eſpecially ſince *Galen*'s Time) running ſo much upon Method, and ſo little upon Medicine; and in this to have added themſelves ſo much to Compoſition, and neglected too much the Uſe of Simples, as well as the Enquiries and Records of Specifick Remedies.

Upon this Occaſion, I have ſometimes wonder'd why a Regiſtry has not been kept in the Colleges of Phyſicians, of all ſuch as have been invented by any Profeſſors of every Age, found out by Study or by Chance, learned by Enquiry, and approved by their Practice and Experience. This would ſupply the want of Skill and Study: Arts would be improved by the Experience of many Ages, and derived by the Succeſſion of Anceſtors. As many Profeſſions are tied to certain Races in ſeveral Nations, ſo this of Phyſick has been in ſome; by which Parents were induced to the Cares of improving and augmenting their Knowledge, as others do their Eſtates; becauſe they were to deſcend to their Poſterity, and not die with themſelves, as Learning does in vulgar Hands. How many Methods as well as Remedies are loſt, for want of this Cuſtom in the Courſe of Ages! And which perhaps were of greater Effect, and of more common Benefit than thoſe that, ſucceeding in their Places, have worn out the Memory of the former, either by Chance or Negligence, or different Humours of Perſons and Times.

Among the *Romans* there were four Things much in uſe, whereof ſome are ſo far out of Practice in ours, and other late Ages, as to be hardly known any more than by their Names: Theſe were, *Bathing*, *Fumigation*, *Friction*, and *Jactation*. The Firſt, though not wholly diſuſed amongſt us, yet is turned out of the Service of Health, to that of Pleaſure; but may be of excellent Effect in both. It not only opens the Pores, provokes Sweat, and thereby allays Heat; ſupples the Joints and Sinews; unwearies and refreſhes more than any thing, after too great Labour and Exerciſe; but is of great Effect in ſome acute Pains, as of the Stone and Colick; and diſpoſes to Sleep, when many other Remedies fail. Nor is it improbable, that all good Effects of any Natural Baths may be imitated by the Artificial, if compoſed with Care and Skill of able Naturaliſts or Phyſicians.

Fumigation, or the Uſe of Scents, is not, that I know, at all practiſed in our modern Phyſick, nor the Power and Virtues of them conſidered among us: Yet they may have as much to do Good, for ought I know, as to do Harm,

and contribute to Health as well as to Diſeaſes; which is too much felt by Experience in all that are infectious, and by the Operations of ſome Poiſons that are received only by the Smell. How reviving as well as pleaſing ſome Scents of Herbs or Flowers are, is obvious to all: How great Virtues they may have in Diſeaſes, eſpecially of the Head, is known to few, but may be eaſily conjectured by any thinking Man. What is recorded of *Democritus*, is worth remarking upon this Subject; That being ſpent with Age, and juſt at the Point of Death; and his Siſter bewailing that he ſhould not live till the Feaſt of *Ceres*, which was to be kept three or four Days after; he called for Loaves of new Bread to be brought him, and with the Steam of them under his Noſe prolonged his Life till the Feaſt was paſt, and then died. Whether a Man may live ſome time, or how long, by the Steam of Meat, I cannot tell: But the Juſtice was great, if not the Truth, in that Story of a Cook, who obſerving a Man to uſe it often in his Shop, and asking Money becauſe he confeſſed to ſave his Dinner by it, was adjudged to be paid by the Chinking of his Coin. I remember, that walking in a long Gallery of the *Indian* Houſe at *Amſterdam*, where vaſt Quantities of Mace, Cloves and Nutmegs were kept in great open Cheſts ranged all along one Side of the Room, I found ſomething ſo reviving by the perfumed Air, that I took Notice of it to the Company with me, which was a great deal, and they all were ſenſible of the ſame Effect. Which is enough to ſhew the Power of Smells and their Operations both upon Health and Humour.

Friction is of great and excellent Uſe, and of very general Practice in the Eaſtern Countries, eſpecially after their frequent Bathings: It opens the Pores, and is the beſt Way of all forced Perſpiration; is very proper and effectual in all Swellings and Pains of the Joints, or others in the Fleſh, which are not to be drawn to a Head and break. 'Tis a Saying among the *Indians*, That none can be much troubled with the Gout who have Slaves enough to rub them; and is the beſt natural Account of ſome Stories I have heard of Perſons who were ſaid to cure ſeveral Diſeaſes by Stroaking.

Jactations were uſed for ſome Amuſement and Allay in great and conſtant Pains, and to relieve that Intranquillity which attends moſt Diſeaſes, and makes Men often impatient of lying ſtill in their Beds. Beſides, they help or occaſion Sleep, as we find by the common Uſe and Experience of rocking froward Children in Cradles, or dandling them in their Nurſes Arms. I remember an old Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, who had been accuſtomed to Hammocks in *Brazil*, and uſed them frequently all his Life after, upon the Pains he ſuffered by the Stone or Gout; and thought he found Eaſe and was allured to ſleep by the conſtant Motion or Swinging of thoſe airy Beds, which was aſſiſted by a Servant, if they moved too little by the Springs upon which they hung.

In *Egypt* of old, and at this Time in *Barbary*, the general Method of Cures in moſt Diſeaſes is by burning with a hot Iron; ſo as the Bodies of their Slaves are found often to have many Scars upon them remaining of thoſe Operations. But this and other Uſes and Effects of Fire I have taken Notice enough of in an Eſſay upon the *Indian* Cure by *Moxa* in the Gout.

The ancient native *Iriſh*, and the *Americans*, at the Time of the firſt *European* Diſcoveries and Conqueſts there, knew nothing of Phyſick beyond the Virtues of Herbs and Plants. And in this the moſt poliſh'd Nation agrees in a great meaſure with thoſe that were eſteemed moſt barbarous; and where the Learning and Voluptuouſneſs are as great as were the native Simplicity and Ignorance of the others. For in *China*, though their Phyſicians are admirable in the Knowledge of the Pulſe, and by that, in diſcovering the Cauſes of all inward Diſeaſes; yet their Practice extends little further in the Cures beyond the Methods of Diet, and the Virtues of Herbs and Plants either inwardly taken or outwardly applied.

In the Courſe of my Life, I have often pleas'd or entertain'd my ſelf with obſerving the various and fantaſtical Changes of the Diſeaſes generally complained of, and of the Remedies in common Vogue, which were like Birds of Paſſage,

Paſſage, very much ſeen or heard of at one Seaſon, and diſappeared at another, and commonly ſucceeded by ſome of a very different Kind. When I was very young, nothing was ſo much feared or talk'd of as Rickets among Children, and Conſumptions among young People of both Sexes. After theſe the Spleen came in play, and grew a formal Diſeaſe: Then the Scurvy, which was the general Complaint, and both were thought to appear in many various Guiſes. After theſe, and for a Time, nothing was ſo much talked of as the Ferment of the Blood, which paſſed for the Cauſe of all ſorts of Ailments, that neither Phyſicians nor Patients knew well what to make of. And to all theſe ſucceeded Vapours, which ſerve the ſame Turn, and furniſh Occaſion of Complaint among Perſons whoſe Bodies or Minds ail ſomething, but they know not what; and among the *Chineſe* would paſs for Miſts of the Mind or Fumes of the Brain, rather than Indiſpoſitions of any other Parts. Yet theſe employ our Phyſicians, perhaps more than other Diſeaſes, who are fain to humour ſuch Patients in their Fancies of being ill, and to preſcribe ſome Remedies, for fear of loſing their Practice to others that pretend more Skill in finding out the Cauſe of Diſeaſes, or Care in adviſing Remedies, which neither they nor their Parents find any Effect of, beſides ſome Gains to one, and Amuſement to the other. This, I ſuppoſe, may have contributed much to the Mode of going to the Waters either cold or hot upon ſo many Occaſions, or elſe upon none beſides that of Entertainment, and which commonly may have no other Effect. And 'tis well if this be the worſt of the frequent Uſe of thoſe Waters, which, though commonly innocent, yet are ſometimes dangerous, if the Temper of the Perſon or Cauſe of the Indiſpoſition be unhappily miſtaken, eſpecially in People of Age.

As Diſeaſes have changed Vogue, ſo have Remedies in my Time and Obſervation. I remember at one time the taking of Tobacco, at another the drinking of warm Beer, proved for univerſal Remedies; then ſwallowing of Pebble-Stones, in Imitation of Faulconers curing Hawks. One Doctor pretended to help all Heats and Fevers, by drinking as much cold Spring-Water as the Patient could bear; at another time, ſwallowing a Spoonful of Powder of Sea-biſquet after Meals was infallible for all Indigeſtion, and ſo preventing Diſeaſes. Then Coffee and Tea began their ſucceſſive Reigns. The Infuſion or Powder of Steel have had their Turns, and certain Drops of ſeveral Names and Compoſitions: But none that I find have eſtabliſhed their Authority, either long or generally, by any conſtant and ſenſible Succeſſes of their Reign, but have rather paſſed like a Mode, which every one is apt to follow, and finds the moſt convenient or graceful while it laſts; and begins to diſlike in both thoſe Reſpects when it goes out of Faſhion.

Thus Men are apt to play with their Healths and their Lives, as they do with their Cloaths; which may be the better excuſed, ſince both are ſo tranſitory, ſo ſubject to be ſpoiled with common Uſe, to be torn by Accidents, and at beſt to be ſo ſoon worn out. Yet the uſual Practice of Phyſick among us runs ſtill the ſame Courſe, and turns in a manner wholly upon Evacuation, either by Bleeding, Vomits, or ſome ſort of Purgation; though it be not often agreed among Phyſicians in what Caſes or what Degrees any of theſe are neceſſary; nor among other Men, whether any of them are neceſſary or no. *Montagne* queſtions whether Purging ever be ſo, and from many ingenious Reaſons: The *Chineſe* never let Blood; and for the other, 'tis very probable that Nature knows her own Wants and Times ſo well, and ſo eaſily finds her own Relief that Way, as to need little Aſſiſtance, and not well to receive the common Violences that are offered her. I remember three in my Life and Obſervation who were as downright killed with Vomits as they could have been with Daggers; and I can ſay for my ſelf, upon an Accident very near mortal, when I was young, that ſending for the two beſt Phyſicians of the Town, the firſt preſcribed me a Vomit, and immediately ſent it me: I had the Grace or Senſe to refuſe it till the other came, who told me if I had taken it I could not have lived half an Hour. I obſerved a Conſult of Phyſicians, in a Fever of one of my near Friends, per-

plexed to the laſt degree whether to let him Blood or no, and not able to reſolve, till the Courſe of the Diſeaſe had declared it ſelf, and thereby determined them. Another of my Friends was ſo often let Blood by his firſt Phyſician, that a ſecond who was ſent for queſtioned whether he would recover it: The firſt perſiſted, that Blood muſt be drawn till ſome Good appeared; the other affirmed, that in ſuch Diſeaſes the whole Maſs was corrupted, but would purify again when the Accident was paſt, like Wine after a Fermentation, which makes all in the Veſſel thick and foul for a Seaſon, but when that is paſt, grows clear again of of it ſelf. So much is certain, that it depends a great deal upon the Temper of the Patient, the Nature of the Diſeaſe in its firſt Cauſes, upon the Skill and Care of the Phyſician to decide whether any of theſe Violences upon Nature are neceſſary or no, and whether they are like to do Good or Harm.

The reſt of our common Practice conſiſts in various Compoſitions of innocent Ingredients, which feed the Hopes of the Patient, and the Apothecary's Gains, but leave Nature to her Courſe, who is the ſoveraign Phyſician in moſt Diſeaſes, and leaves little for others to do, further than to watch Accidents; where they know no Specifick Remedies, to preſcribe Diets; and above all to prevent Diſorders from the Stomach, and take Care that Nature be not employed in the Kitchen, when ſhe ſhould be in the Field to reſiſt her Enemy; and that ſhe ſhould not be weakened in her Spirits and Strength, when they are moſt neceſſary to ſupport and relieve her. 'Tis true, Phyſicians muſt be in danger of loſing their Credit with the Vulgar, if they ſhould often tell a Patient he has no need of Phyſick, and preſcribe only Rules of Diet or common Uſe; moſt People would think they had loſt their Fee: But the firſt Excellence of a Phyſician's Skill and Care, is diſcovered by reſolving whether it be beſt in the Caſe to adminiſter any Phyſick or none, to truſt to Nature or to Art; and the next, to give ſuch Preſcriptions, as if they do no Good, may be ſure to do no Harm.

In the midſt of ſuch Uncertainties of Health and of Phyſick, for my own part I have in the general Courſe of my Life, and of many acute Diſeaſes, as well as ſome habitual, truſted to God Almighty, to Nature, to Temperance or Abſtinence, and the Uſe of common Remedies, either vulgarly known, and approved like Proverbs by long Obſervation and Experience, either of my own, or ſuch Perſons as have fallen in the Way of my Obſervation or Enquiry.

Among the Plants of our Soil and Climate, thoſe I eſteem of greateſt Virtue and moſt friendly to Health are *Sage*, *Rue*, *Saffron*, *Alehoof*, *Garlick* and *Eldar*. *Sage* deſerves not only the juſt Reputation it has been always in, of a very wholeſom Herb in common Uſes, and generally known; but is admirable in Conſumptive Coughs, of which I have cured ſome very deſperate, by a Draught every Morning of Spring Water, with a Handful of *Sage* boiled in it, and continued for a Month. I do not queſtion that if it were uſed as Tea, it would have at leaſt in all kinds as good an Effect upon Health, if not of ſo much Entertainment to the Taſte, being perhaps not ſo agreeable; and I had Reaſon to believe when I was in *Holland*, that vaſt Quantities of *Sage* were carried to the *Indies* yearly, as well as of Tea brought over from thoſe Countries into ours.

Rue is of excellent Uſe for all Illneſs of the Stomach, that proceed from cold or moiſt Humours; a great Digeſter and Reſtorer of Appetite; diſpels Wind, helps Perſpiration, drives out ill Humours, and thereby comes to be ſo much preſcribed, and ſo commonly uſed in peſtilent Airs, and upon Apprehenſions of any Contagion. The only Ill of it lies in the too much or too frequent Uſe, which may leſſen and impair the natural Heat of the Stomach, by the greater Heat of an Herb very hot and dry; and therefore the Juice made up with Sugar into ſmall Pills, and ſwallowed only two or three at Nights or Mornings, and only when there is Occaſion, is the moſt innocent Way of uſing it.

Saffron is of all others the ſafeſt and moſt ſimple Cordial, the greateſt Reviver of the Heart and Chearer of the Spirits, and cannot be of too com-

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mon Uſe in Diet, any more than in Medicine. The Spirit of *Saffron* is of all others the nobleſt and moſt innocent, and yet of the greateſt Virtue. I have known it reſtore a Man out of the very Agonies of Death, when left by all Phyſicians as wholly deſperate. But the Uſe of this and all Spirits ought to be employ'd only in Caſes very urgent, either of Decays or Pains; for all Spirits have the ſame Effect with that mentioned of *Rue*, which is by frequent Uſe to deſtroy, and at laſt to extinguiſh the natural Heat of the Stomach; as the frequent drinking Wine at Meals does in a degree, and with Time, but that of all ſtrong Waters more ſenſibly and more dangerouſly. Yet a long Cuſtom of either cannot be ſuddenly broken without Danger too, and muſt be changed with Time, with leſſening the Proportions by degrees, with ſhorter firſt, and then with longer Intermiſſions.

Alehoof, or *Ground-Ivy*, is, in my Opinion, of the moſt excellent and moſt general Uſe and Virtue of any Plants we have among us. 'Tis allowed to be moſt ſoveraign for the Eyes, admirable in Frenzies, either taken inwardly or outwardly applied. Beſides, if there be a Specifick Remedy or Prevention of the Stone, I take it to be the conſtant Uſe of *Alehoof*-Ale, whereof I have known ſeveral Experiences by others, and can, I thank God, alledge my own for about ten Years paſt. This is the Plant with which all our Anceſtors made their common Drink, when the Inhabitants of this Iſland were eſteemed the longeſt Livers of any in the known World; and the Stone is ſaid to have firſt come amongſt us after Hops were introduced here, and the Stalenes of Beer brought into Cuſtom by preſerving it long. 'Tis known enough, how much this Plant has been decry'd, how generally ſoever it has been received in theſe maritime Northern Parts; and the chief Reaſon which I believe gave it Vogue at firſt, was the preſerving Beer upon long Sea-Voyages: But for common Health, I am apt to think the Uſe of Heath or Broom had been of much more Advantage, though none yet invented of ſo great and general as that of *Alehoof*, which is certainly the greateſt Cleanſer of any Plant known among us; and which in old *Engliſh* ſignified that which was neceſſary to the making of Ale, the common or rather univerſal Drink heretofore of our Nation.

Garlick has of all our Plants the greateſt Strength, affords moſt Nouriſhment, and ſupplies moſt Spirits to thoſe who eat little Fleſh, as the poorer People ſeldom do in the hotter, and eſpecially the more Eaſtern Climates: So that the Labour of the World ſeems to be performed by the Force and Virtue of *Garlick*, *Leeks*, and *Onions*, no other Food of Herbs or Plants yielding Strength enough for much Labour. *Garlick* is of great Virtue in all Colicks, a great Strengthener of the Stomach upon Decays or Indigeſtion, and I believe is (if at leaſt there be any ſuch) a Specifick Remedy of the Gout. I have known great Teſtimonies of this kind within my Acquaintance, and have never uſed it my ſelf upon this Occaſion, without an Opinion of ſome Succeſs or Advantage. But I could never long enough bear the Conſtraint of a Diet I found not very agreeable my ſelf, and at leaſt fancied offenſive to the Company I converſed with.

Beſides, this Diſeaſe is to me ſo hereditary, and come into my Veins from ſo many Anceſtors, that I have reaſon to deſpair of any Cure but the laſt, and content my ſelf to fence againſt it by Temperance and Patience, without Hopes of conquering ſuch an inveterate Enemy. Therefore I leave the Uſe of *Garlick* to ſuch as are inveigled into the Gout by the Pleaſure of too much Drinking, the ill Effects whereof are not more relieved by any other Diet than by this Plant, which is ſo great a Dryer and Opener, eſpecially by Perſpiration. Nor is it leſs uſed in many Parts abroad as Phyſick than as Food. In ſeveral Provinces of *France* 'tis uſual to fall into a Diet of *Garlick* for a Fortnight or three Weeks, upon the firſt freſh Butter of the Spring; and the common People eſteem it a Preſervative againſt the Diſeaſes of the enſuing Year; and a Broth of *Garlick* or *Onions* is ſo generally uſed the next Day after a Debauch, as to be called *Soupe a l'yrogne*. This is enough to ſhew the Uſe as well as Virtues of this Northern Spice, which is in mighty Requeſt

queſt among the *Indians* themſelves, in the midſt of ſo many others, that enrich and perfume thoſe noble Regions.

Eldar is of great Virtue in all Indiſpoſitions ariſing from any watry Humours: And not only the Flowers and Berries, but even the green Bark, are uſed with Effect, and perhaps equal Succeſs in their ſeveral Seaſons. I have been told of ſome great Cures of the Gout, by the ſucceeding Uſe of all three throughout the Year: But I have been always too libertine for any great and long Subjections, to make the Tryals. The Spirit of *Eldar* is ſoveraign in Colicks; and the Uſe of it in general, very beneficial in Scurvies and Dropſies; though in the laſt, I eſteem Broom yet of more Virtue, either brewed in common Drink, or the Aſhes taken in White Wine every Morning: Which may perhaps paſs for a Specifick Remedy; whereof we may juſtly complain, that after ſo long Experience of ſo learned a Profeſſion as Phyſick, we yet know ſo very few.

That which has paſſed of later Years, for the moſt allowed in this kind, has been the *Quinquinna*, or Jeſuits Powder in Fevers, but eſpecially Agues. I can ſay nothing of it upon any Experience of my own, nor many within my Knowledge. I remember its Entrance upon our Stage with ſome Diſadvantage, and the Repute of leaving no Cures, without Danger of worſe Returns. But the Credit of it ſeems now to be eſtabliſhed by common Uſe and Preſcription, and to be improved by new and ſingular Preparations; whereof I have very good and particular Reaſons to affirm, that they are all Amuſements; and, that what Virtue there is in this Remedy, lies in the naked Simple it ſelf, as it comes over from the *Indies*, and in the Choice of that which is leaſt dried, or periſhed by the Voyage.

The next Specifick I eſteem to be that little Inſect called *Millepedes*: The Powder whereof made up into little Balls with freſh Butter, I never knew fail of curing any ſore Throat: It muſt lie at the Root of the Tongue, and melt down at leiſure upon going to Bed. I have been aſſured that Doctor *Mayerne* uſed it as a certain Cure for all Cancers in the Breaſt; and ſhould be very tedious if I ſhould tell here, how much the Uſe of it has been extolled by ſeveral within my Knowledge, upon the admirable Effects for the Eyes, the Scurvy, and the Gout; but there needs no more to value it, than what the ancient Phyſicians affirm of it in thoſe three Words.

Digerit,	*Aperit*,	*Abſtergit*.
It Digeſts,	It Opens,	It Cleanſes,

For Rheums in the Eyes and the Head, I take a Leaf of *Tobacco* put into the Noſtrils for an Hour each Morning, to be a Specifick Medicine: Or *Betany*, if the other be too ſtrong or offenſive. The Effect of both is to draw Rheums off the Head, through their proper and natural Channel. And old Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau* told me, he had by this preſerved his Eyes to ſo great an Age, after the Danger of loſing them at thirty Years old: And I have ever ſince uſed it with the ſame Succeſs, after great Reaſons near that Age to apprehend the Loſs or Decays of mine.

In Times and Places of great Contagion, the ſtrongeſt Preſervative yet known, is a Piece of *Myrrh* held in the Mouth, when, or where the Danger is moſt apprehended; which I have both practiſed and taught many others with Succeſs, in ſeveral Places where cruel Plagues have raged: Tho' in ſuch Caſes, after all, the beſt and ſafeſt is to run away as ſoon as one can. Yet, upon this Occaſion, I think *Myrrh* may paſs for a Specifick in Prevention; and may for ought I know be of Uſe in Remedies, as the greateſt Enemy of Corruption; which is known by the Uſe of Embalmings in the *Eaſt*.

For all Illneſſes of Stomach, or Indigeſtions, proceeding from hot and ſharp Humours; to which my whole Family has been much ſubject, as well as very many of my Acquaintance; and for which, Powder of Crabs-Eyes and Claws, and burnt Egg-Shells are often preſcribed as Sweetners of any

ſharp

ſharp Humours. I have never found any thing of much or certain Effect, beſides the eating of *Strawberries*, common *Cherries*, white *Figs*, ſoft *Peaches*, or *Grapes*, before every Meal, during their Seaſons; and when thoſe are paſt, *Apples* after Meals; but all muſt be very ripe. And this, by my own and all my Friends Experience who have try'd it, I reckon for a Specifick Medicine in this Illneſs ſo frequently complained of: At leaſt, for the two firſt, I never knew them fail; and the uſual Quantity is about forty *Cherries*, without ſwallowing either Skin or Stone. I obſerve this the rather, becauſe the Recourſe commonly made in this Caſe to ſtrong Waters, I eſteem very pernicious, and which inevitably deſtroys the Stomach with frequent Uſe. The beſt, at leaſt moſt innocent, of all diſtill'd Liquors is *Milk-Water*, made with *Balm*, *Carduus*, *Mint*, and *Wormwood*; which has many good Effects in Illneſſes of the Stomach, and none ill. The beſt and ſafeſt ſtrong Water, if any be ſo, for common Uſe, I eſteem to be that made of *Juniper Berries*, eſpecially in Accidents of Stone and Colick.

Of all Cordials, I eſteem my Lady *Kent*'s Powder the beſt, the moſt innocent, and the moſt univerſal; Though the common Practice of Phyſick abounds in nothing more, and the Virtue ſeems to be little elſe, beſides an Alluſion of the Name to the Heart.

Upon the Gout I have writ what I had known or practiſed, in an Eſſay of *Moxa*; and upon the Spleen, what I had obſerved in a Chapter, upon the Diſpoſitions of the People in the *Netherlands*. I ſhall only add for the Help of my Fellow-Sufferers in the firſt; that beſides what is contained in that former Eſſay, and ſince thoſe Pains have grown more diffuſed, and leſs fixed in one Point, ſo as to be burned with *Moxa*, which never failed of giving me preſent Eaſe; I have found the moſt Benefit from three Methods. The firſt, is that of moving the Joint where the Pain begins, as long as I am able in my Bed; which I have often done, and counted five or ſix hundred times or more, till I found firſt a great Heat, and then Perſpiration in the Part: The Heat ſpends or diſperſes the Humour within, and the Perſpiration drives it out; and I have eſcaped many Threats of ill Fits by theſe Motions: If they go on, the only Poltice or Plaiſter I have dealt with, is Wool from the Belly of a fat Sheep, which has often given me Eaſe in a very little time. If the Pains grow ſharp, and the Swellings ſo diffuſed, as not to be burned with *Moxa*; the beſt Remedy I have found, is from a Piece of Scarlet dipt in ſcalding Brandy, laid upon the afflicted Part, and the Heat often renewed, by dropping it upon the Scarlet as hot as can be endured. And from this I have often found the ſame Succeſs as from *Moxa*, and without breaking the Skin, or leaving any Sore.

To what I have ſaid in another Place of the Spleen, I ſhall only add here, That whatever the Spleen is; whether a Diſeaſe of the Part ſo called, or of People that ail ſomething, but they know not what; it is certainly a very ill Ingredient into any other Diſeaſe, and very often dangerous. For as Hope is the ſoveraign Balſam of Life, and the beſt Cordial in all Diſtempers both of Body or Mind; ſo Fear, and Regret, and melancholly Apprehenſions, which are the uſual Effects of the Spleen, with the Diſtractions, Diſquiets, or at leaſt Intranquillity they occaſion, are the worſt Accidents that can attend any Diſeaſe; and make them often Mortal, which would otherwiſe paſs, and have had but a common Courſe. I have known the moſt buſy Miniſters of State, moſt fortunate Courtiers, moſt vigorous Youths, moſt beautiful Virgins in the Strength or Flower of their Age, ſink under common Diſtempers, by the Force of ſuch Weights, and the cruel Damps and Diſturbances thereby given their Spirits and their Blood. 'Tis no matter what is made the Occaſion, if well improved by Spleen and melancholly Apptehenſions: A diſappointed Hope, a Blot of Honour, a Strain of Conſcience, an unfortunate Love, an aking Jealouſy, a repining Grief, will ſerve the Turn, and all alike.

I remember an ingenious Phyſician, who told me in the Fanatick Times, he found moſt of his Patients ſo diſturbed by Troubles of Conſcience, that he

he was forced to play the Divine with them before he could begin the Phyſician: Whoſe greateſt Skill perhaps often lies in the infuſing of Hopes, and inducing ſome Compoſure and Tranquillity of Mind, before they enter upon the other Operations of their Art: And this ought to be the firſt Endeavour of the Patient too; without which, all other Medicines may loſe their Virtue.

The two great Bleſſings of Life are, in my Opinion, *Health* and *good Humour*; and none contribute more to one another; without *Health*, all will allow Life to be but a Burthen; and the ſeveral Conditions of Fortune to be all weariſome, dull, or diſagreeable without *good Humour*: Nor does any ſeem to contribute towards the true Happineſs of Life, but as it ſerves to increaſe that Treaſure, or to preſerve it. Whatever other Differences are commonly apprehended in the ſeveral Conditions of Fortune, none perhaps will be found ſo true or ſo great, as what is made by thoſe two Circumſtances, ſo little regarded in the common Courſe or Purſuits of mortal Men.

Whether long Life be a Bleſſing or no, God Almighty only can determine, who alone knows what length it is like to run, and how 'tis like to be attended. *Socrates* uſed to ſay, that 'twas pleaſant to grow old with good Health and a good Friend; and he might have Reaſon. A Man may be content to live, while he is no Trouble to himſelf or his Friends, but after that, 'tis hard if he be not content to die. I knew and eſteemed a Perſon Abroad, who uſed to ſay, a Man muſt be a mean Wretch, that deſired to live after threeſcore Years old. But ſo much I doubt is certain; that in Life as in Wine, he that will drink it good, muſt not draw it to the Dregs.

Where this happens, one Comfort of Age may be, that whereas younger Men are uſually in Pain, when they are not in Pleaſure; old Men find a ſort of Pleaſure, whenever they are out of Pain. And as Young Men often loſe or impair their preſent Enjoyments, by raving after what is to come, by vain Hopes, or fruitleſs Fears; ſo Old Men relieve the Wants of their Age, by pleaſing Reflections upon what is paſt. Therefore Men, in the Health and Vigour of their Age, ſhould endeavour to fill their Lives with Reading, with Travel, with the beſt Converſation, and the worthieſt Actions, either in their Publick or Private Stations; that they may have ſomething agreeable left to feed on, when they are old, by pleaſing Remembrances.

But, as they are only the clean Beaſts which chew the Cud, when they have fed enough; ſo they muſt be clean and virtuous Men, that can reflect with Pleaſure upon the paſt Accidents or Courſes of their Lives. Beſides, Men who grow old with good Senſe, or good Fortunes, and good Nature, cannot want the Pleaſure of pleaſing others, by aſſiſting with their Gifts, their Credit, their Advice, ſuch as deſerve it; as well as their Care of Children, Kindneſs to Friends, and Bounty to Servants.

But there cannot indeed live a more unhappy Creature, than an ill-natured old Man, who is neither capable of receiving Pleaſures, nor ſenſible of doing them to others; and in ſuch a Condition, 'tis time to leave them.

Thus have I traced, in this Eſſay, whatever has fallen in my Way or Thoughts to obſerve concerning Life and Health, and which I conceived might be of any publick Uſe to be known or conſidered: The Plainneſs wherewith 'tis written, eaſily ſhews, there could be no other Intention: And it may at leaſt paſs like a *Darbyſhire* Charm, which is uſed among ſick Cattle, with theſe Words; If it does thee no Good, it will do thee no Harm.

To ſum up all; the firſt Principle of Health and long Life, is derived from the Strength of our Race or our Birth, which gave Occaſion to that ſaying, *Gaudeant bene nati*: Let them rejoice that are happily born. Accidents are not in our Power to govern: So that the beſt Cares or Proviſions for Life and Health that are left us, conſiſt in the diſcreet and temperate Government of Diet and Exerciſe: In both which, all Exceſs is to be avoided, eſpecially in the common Uſe of Wine: Whereof the firſt Glaſs may paſs for

for Health, the ſecond for good Humour, the third for our Friends; but the fourth is for our Enemies.

For Temperance in other kinds, or in general, I have given its Character and Virtues in the Eſſay of *Mixa*, ſo as to need no more upon that Subject here.

When in default or deſpight of all theſe Cares, or by Effects of ill Airs and Seaſons, acute or ſtrong Diſeaſes may ariſe; Recourſe muſt be had to the beſt Phyſicians that are in reach; whoſe Succeſs will depend upon Thought and Care, as much as Skill. In all Diſeaſes of Body or Mind, 'tis happy to have an able Phyſician for a Friend, or a diſcreet Friend for a Phyſician; which is ſo great a Bleſſing, that the Wiſe Man will have it to proceed only from God, where he ſays, *A faithful Friend is the Medicine of Life, and he that fears the Lord ſhall find him.*

THOUGHTS

ESSAY

OF

Ancient and *Modern* LEARNING.

I Have been induced by ſeveral Motives to take a further Survey of the Controverſy ariſen of late Years concerning the Excellence of Ancient or Modern Learning. Firſt, the common Intereſt of Learning in general, and particularly in our Univerſities; and to prevent the Diſcouragement of Scholars, in all Degrees, from reading the Ancient Authors, who muſt be acknowledged to have been the Foundation of all Modern Learning, whatever the Superſtructure may have been been. Next, a juſt Indignation at the Inſolence of the Modern Advocates, in defaming thoſe Heroes among the Ancients, whoſe Memory has been ſacred and admired for ſo many Ages; as *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, &c. This, I confeſs, gave me the ſame kind of Horror I ſhould have had, in ſeeing ſome young barbarous *Goths* or *Vandals* breaking or defacing the admirable Statues of thoſe ancient Heroes of *Greece* or *Rome*, which had ſo long preſerved their Memories honoured, and almoſt adored, for ſo many Generations.

My laſt Motive was, to vindicate the Credit of our Nation, as others have done that of the *French*, from the Imputation of this Injuſtice and Preſumption that the Modern Advocates have uſed in this Caſe. For which end it will be neceſſary to relate the whole State of this Controverſy.

It is by themſelves confeſs'd, that till the New Philoſophy had gotten Ground in theſe Parts of the World, which is about fifty or ſixty Years Date, there were but few that ever pretended to exceed or equal the Ancients; thoſe that did, were only ſome Phyſicians, as *Paracelſus* and his Diſciples, who introduced new Notions in Phyſick, and new Methods of Practice, in oppoſition to the *Galenical*; and this chiefly from Chymical Medicines or Operations. But theſe were not able to maintain their Pretence long; the Credit of their Cures as well as their Reaſons ſoon decaying with the Novelty of them, which had given them Vogue at firſt.

Deſ-

Des-Cartes was the next that would be thought to excel the Ancients, by a new Scheme or Body of Philosophy, which I am apt to think he had a mind to impose upon the World, as *Nostradamus* did his Prophecies, only for their own Amusement, and without either of them believing any of it themselves: For *Des-Cartes*, among his Friends, always called his Philosophy, *His Romance*. Which makes it as pleasant to hear young Scholars possess'd with all his Notions, as to see Boys taking *Amadis*, and the *Mirror of Knighthood*, for true Stories.

The next that set up for the Excellency of the new Learning above the old, were some of *Gresham* College, after the Institution of that Society by King *Charles* the Second: These began early to debate and pursue this Pretence, and were followed by the *French* Academy, who took up the Controversy more at large, and descended to many Particulars: Monsieur *Fontenelle* gave the Academy the Preference in Poetry and Oratory, as well as in Philosophy and Mathematicks; and Monsieur *Perrault*, in Painting and Architecture, as well as Oratory and Poetry; setting up the Bishop of *Meaux* against *Pericles* and *Thucydides*; the Bishop of *Nismes* against *Isocrates*: *F. Bourdelone* against *Nicias*; *Balsac* against *Cicero*; *Voiture* against *Pliny*; *Boileau* against *Horace*; and *Corneille* against all the ancient and famous Dramatick Poets.

About five or six Years ago, these Modern Pretences were opposed in *An Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning*; and the *Miscellanea* (whereof that Essay was a Part) being translated into *French*, the Members of that Academy were so concerned and ashamed, that a Stranger should lay such an Infamy upon some of their Society, as Want of Reverence for the Ancients, and the Presumption of preferring the Moderns before them; that they fell into great Indignation against the few Criminals among them; they began to pelt them with Satyrs and Epigrams in writing, and with bitter Raillieries in their Discourses and Conversations; and led them such a Life, that they soon grew weary of their new-fangled Opinions; which had perhaps been taken up at first, only to make their Court, and at second-hand to flatter those who had flatter'd their King.

Upon the *Miscellanea*'s first Printing in *Paris*, Monsieur *Boileau* made this short Satyr.

Quelqu'un vint l'autre jour se plaindre au Dieu des Vers.
Qu'en certain lieu de l'Univers
L'on traite d'Auteurs frotds, de Poetes steriles,
Les Homeres & les Virgiles:
Cela ne sauroit être, l'on se mocque de vous,
Reprit Apollon en courroux;
Ou peut on avancer une telle infamie?
Est-ce chez les Hurons, chez les Topinambous?
C'est a Paris. C'est dont a l'Hôpital de fous?
Non, c'est au Louvre en pleine Academie.

Upon the same Occasion, and about the same Time, Monsieur *Racine* made this other, which more particularly touched Monsieur *Perrault*, as the first did Monsieur *Fontenelle*.

D'ou vient, que Ciceron, Platon, Virgile, Homere,
Et tous ces grands Auteurs que l'univers revere,
Traduits en vos écrits nous paroissent si sots,
Perrault? C'est qu'en prêtant a ces esprits sublimes
Vos facons de parler, vos bassesses, vos rymes,
Vous les fais tous paroitre des Perraults.

Some of the *French* Academy took the Care to send these, and other such Pieces into *England*, and other Countries, to clear their Reputation from the

Slander drawn upon them by two or three of their Body; and treated the Reverence of the Ancients as ſomething ſacred, and the Want of it as barbarous and prophane.

Monſieur *Perrault*, to eſcape the reſt of this Storm, ſoon changed his Party, profeſſing it upon all Occaſions; and to ſhew the Truth of his Converſion, publiſh'd among other ſmall Pieces the Dialogue in *Homer* between *Hector* and *Andromache*, which he had tranſlated into *French*, and preſented to the Academy, *March* the 3d, 1693, after a Speech made them upon this Subject, wherein are theſe Lines, both the Verſes and the Speech being ſince printed together.

" Whatever Care I have taken to praiſe *Homer* upon all Occaſions, and " to acknowledge him for the moſt excellent, the vaſteſt, and the nobleſt " Genius that has ever been in Poeſy; yet, becauſe I have taken the Liberty of " remarking ſome Defaults in his Works, Men have riſen up againſt me, as " if I had committed ſome High-Treaſon; and that which ought to have " been regarded but as the Part of a Grammarian, has been taken up as an " audacious Enterprize, which deſerved all the Scorn and Indignation of " *Parnaſſus*.

" Now, that I may not be believed to have ſo ill a Taſte, as to be inſenſible of the Beauties of this excellent Poet, and to admire what is admirable in him, I have rranſlated one of the fineſt Paſſages of his *Iliads*: I thought, if the Proteſtations I have ſo often made to honour the Author of this Poem could not perſwade the World, yet this Tranſlation might do it, ſince it is that one would not take the Pains to tranſlate into *French* a Piece of *Greek* Poeſy, unleſs one extreamly eſteemed it.

By this it appears with what Indignation and Scorn this new Opinion of our modern Admirers has been uſed in *France*, and how penitent a Recantation Monſieur *Perrault* thought fit to make for his former Errors; ſo as thoſe who have ſince followed and defended him or his firſt Opinions, ſeem to have been decoyed into the Net by another Duck, that flew away as ſoon as they were caught. Therefore the late Objections againſt that Eſſay, and in favour of the Moderns, ſeem to have been writ without any Intelligence of what paſſed at *Paris* before or about that Time, having had the ill Fortune to be deſerted in *France*, and not countenanced that I know of in *England*. For the learned Author of the *Antediluvian* World, though moſt concerned in that Eſſay upon this Subject, has been ſo far from defending this new Aſſertion, that he has ſince publiſhed his *Archæologiæ*, and therein ſhewn both his great Knowledge and Eſteem of the ancient Learning, and proved thereby that whoever knows it muſt eſteem it; and left ſuch modern Advocates for an Evidence of the contrary, that whoever deſpiſes it, in compariſon of the new, does not know it.

The modern Advocates to deſtroy the Monuments of ancient Learning, firſt think it neceſſary to ſhew what mean contemptible Men were the Founders of it, and fall foul upon *Pythagoras*, the ſeven Sages, *Empedocles* and *Democritus*.

For *Pythagoras*, they are ſo gracious as to give him ſome Quarter, and allow him to be a wiſer Man than the Fools among whom he lived, in an ignorant Age and Country: In ſhort, they are content he ſhould paſs for a Law-giver, but by no means for a Philoſopher. Now the good Judgment ſhewn in this wiſe Cenſure of ſo great a Man, will eaſily appear to all that know him. *Pythagoras* was indeed deſired to frame the Inſtitutions of a Civil State in a ſmall Town of *Italy* where he lived; but that he had the Misfortune to periſh by a Sedition in the Government he had formed; ſo that there remain no Records or Traces of any of his Civil Inſtitutions. Whereas, on the other ſide, he has in all Ages, from his own till our Time, by all learned Nations and Perſons, even Chriſtians as well as Pagans, been eſteemed the Prince of Philoſophers, and to have excelled in all Natural and Moral Knowledge, as well as Civil and Mathematical: From him *Socrates* derived the Principles of Virtue and Morality, as well as *Plato* both theſe, and moſt

of

of his Natural Speculations. Nor was the Memory of any other Philoſopher ſo adored by all his Followers; nor any of their Inſtructions ſo ſucceſsful in forming the Lives of the moſt excellent Men, whereof three were bred up together under a *Pythagorean* Philoſopher at *Thebes*, who were not excelled by any others of their own, nor perhaps ſucceeding Ages; which were *Epaminondas*, *Pelopidas*, and *Philip* of *Macedon*.

To diſcredit all the Fountains from which *Pythagoras* is ſaid to have drawn his admirable Knowledge, they cannot gueſs to what Purpoſe he ſhould have gone to *Delphos*; nor that *Apollo*'s Prieſteſſes there ſhould have been famous for diſcovering Secrets in Natural or Mathematical Matters, or Moral Truths. In this they diſcover their deep Knowledge of Antiquity, taking the Oracle of *Delphos* to have been managed by ſome frantick or fanatick Wenches; whereas the *Pythia*'s there were only Engines managed by the Prieſts of *Delphos*, who, like thoſe of *Egypt*, were a College or Society of wiſe and learned Men in all ſorts of Sciences, though the Uſe of them was in a manner wholly applied to the Honour and Service of their Oracle. And we may gueſs at the reſt by the laſt High-Prieſt we know of at *Delphos*, I mean *Plutarch*, the beſt and moſt learned Man of his Age, if we may judge by the Writings he has left. Nor could it have been without the ſage Councils, the wiſe Anſwers, or ingenious and ambiguous Evaſions of theſe *Delphick* Prieſts, that the Credit of that Oracle ſhould have continued for ſo long a Courſe of Time, as from the Age of the *Argonauts* (and how much before no Man knows) to the latter End at leaſt of *Trajan*'s Reign, wherein *Plutarch* writ: And how great the Credit was wherein that Oracle was preſerved by the wiſe Conduct of their Prieſts, may be gathered from the vaſt Riches which were there heaped up, from the Offerings of the *Grecian*, and ſo many diſtant Nations. For before the Seiſure made of the Temple of *Delphos* by the *Phoceans*, they were reported by ſome ancient Authors to have been as great as thoſe which *Alexander* found in the Palaces and Treaſuries of the Kings of *Perſia*; and 'tis agreed, that the *Phoceans*, to pay their Armies in the ſacred War, made bold at once with ſuch a Part of thoſe Treaſures as amounted to above ten thouſand Talents.

I have been ſometimes apt to think, from the prodigious Thunders, and Lightnings, and Storms, by which this Temple is ſaid, in the beſt ancient Authors, to have been defended from the *Perſians* and the *Gauls*, that the Prieſts of *Delphos* had ſome admirable Knowledge of that kind, which was called Magical; or that they knew the Uſe and Force of Gun-powder ſo many Ages ſince, and reſerved it, as they did the Effects of all their Sciences, for the Service of their God: Nor if it were ſo, would it be ſtranger, that ſuch an Invention ſhould have been found out then by the Prieſts of *Delphos*, than that it was ſo of late by a poor *German* Frier.

For the ſeven *Sages*, who are treated like the wiſe Men of *Gotham*, and I doubt by ſuch as are alike acquainted with both, I ſhall ſay nothing in their Defence, but direct the Reader to the Eſſay it ſelf.

For *Empedocles* and *Democritus*, I confeſs, the modern Advocates could not have done their Cauſe or themſelves more Right, than in chuſing theſe two great Men of the Ancients, after *Thales* and *Pythagoras*, for the Objects of their Scorn; for none among them had ever ſo great Eſteem, and almoſt Veneration, as theſe four. The two laſt were the Heads or Founders of the *Ionick* and *Italick* Sects of Philoſophers, and brought not only Aſtronomy and Mathematicks, but Natural and Moral Philoſophy firſt among the *Grecians*, whom we may obſerve in *Homer*'s Time to have been as barbarous as the *Thracians*, governed by nothing but Will and Paſſion, Violence, Cruelty, and ſottiſh Superſtition.

Empedocles was the Glory and the Boaſt of *Sicily*, and of whom his Countryman *Diodorus*, who was moſt particular in the Story of all that was wonderful in that Iſland, ſays, that the Birth of *Empedocles* had been Glory enough to *Sicily*, though nothing elſe great or excellent had been produced there. He was an an admirable Poet, and thought even to have approached

Homer,

Homer, in a Poem he writ of Natural Philosophy, and from which *Aristotle* is believed to have drawn the Body of his, so much followed afterwards in the World. He first invented the Art of Oratory, and the Rules of it. He was an admirable Physician, and stopt a Plague at *Agrigentum* by the Disposal of Fires, which purged the Air. He performed such Cures of desperate Diseases, that for this, and his foretelling many strange Events, his Citizens would have given him Divine Honours. He had so much Credit in his State, that he changed the Form and Number of their great Council, and was offered the Principality of *Agrigentum*, but refused it, being as excellent in his Morals as in all other Sciences.

Democritus was the Founder of that Sect which made so much Noise afterwards in the World under the Name of *Epicurus*, who owed him both his Atoms and his Vacuum in his Natural Philosophy, and his Tranquillity of Mind in his Morals. He spent a vast Patrimony in Pursuit of Learning, by his Travels, to learn of the *Magi* in *Chaldea*, the Priests of *Egypt*, as far as those of *Meroe*, and the *Gymnosophists* of *India*. He was admirable in Physick, in the Knowledge of Natural Causes and Events. He left many Writings in all sorts of Sciences, whereof one, *Of the World*, was sold for an hundred Talents: And 'tis obvious to guess at the Value of the rest by that of this one; for it may be presumed with Appearance enough, that what Person soever has written one excellent Book, will never write an ill one; as, on t'other side, whoever has writ and published one foolish Book, will never write a good one. If we knew nothing of *Democritus*, but from that excellent Epistle of *Hippocrates* to *Demagetus*, with an Account of the Wisdom of *Democritus*, and the Folly of the *Abderites*; the Testimony of one so great Man might have left some little Respect for the other. But this is a just Return upon him, after two thousand Years; *Democritus* laughed at the World, and our modern Learned laugh at *Democritus*.

I think the Excellency of the ancient or modern Sciences may be further concluded from the Greatness and Excellency of those Effects that have been produced by those Causes; and to this End I might be allowed to describe, or rather transcribe out of the best ancient Authors, the Accounts that are left us of the Walls of *Babylon*, with the Palace and Temple of *Belus*, built by the *Assyrians*: The Town and Fortress of *Ecbatan*, by the *Medes*: The City and Palace of *Persepolis*, by the *Persians*: The Pyramids and Obelisks of *Egypt*, the Temple of *Vulcan* there, with the Lake and Labyrinth of *Moeris*: The *Colossus* of *Rhodes*: The Station for two hundred Gallies at *Carthage*, built upon two hundred Arches in the Sea, with Galleries over them to hold their Stores: The Amphitheatres and Aqueducts at *Rome*: The Bridge of *Trajan* over the *Danube*: The seven Towers at *Byzantium*, when it was taken and ruined by *Severus*; built with such admirable Art, that any Words spoken at the first, were convey'd from one to t'other till the very last, tho' all at Distances between them.

These and many other Productions of the Ancients, tho' perhaps as little valued by the Moderns as their Worthies; yet, I confess, are beyond my Comprehension how they could be effected, without some other Mathematical Skill and Engines than have been since known in the World.

I might add upon the Subject of Naval Fabrick, wherein we seem most justly to have Advantage, the two prodigious Ships or Galleys built, the one by *Hiero* at *Syracuse*, and sent from thence into *Egypt*, wherein were not only contained all Apartments for a Prince's Palace and Attendants, but a Garden with natural Flowers, and Fruits, and Fish-ponds, and other usual Ornaments of great Palaces. The other was built by *Ptolomy Philopator* at *Alexandria*; and besides Room for the King's Court, Attendants, and Guards, contained four thousand Men at the Oar.

I might further relate from the most credited Authors, those long and stupendious Defences that were made at *Tyre* against all the Forces of *Alexander*, at *Rhodes* against *Demetrius*, and at *Syracuse* against the *Roman* Powers, by the sole Force of Mathematical Skill and Engines, which raised such vast Weights

into

into the Air with such Ease, and directed their Fall with such Certainty, as might have almost given Credit to that bold Word of *Archimedes*; *Give me but where to stand firm, and I will remove the Earth.*

But 'tis enough to give these Instances of the wonderful Effects and Operations of the ancient Sciences, and thereby Occasion of Enquiry, and I am sure Entertainment, to such as are not acquainted with them.

In the mean time, since the modern Advocates yield, tho' very unwillingly, the Pre-eminence of the Ancients in Poetry, Oratory, Painting, Statuary and Architecture; I shall proceed to examine the Account they give of those Sciences, wherein they affirm the Moderns to excell the Ancients; whereof they make the chief to be, the Invention of Instruments; Chymistry; Anatomy; Natural History of Minerals, Plants, and Animals; Astronomy and Opticks; Musick; Physick; Natural Philosophy; Philology; and Theology: Of all which I shall take a short Survey.——

Here, it is supposed, the Knowledge of the Ancients and Moderns in the Sciences last mentioned was to have been compared; but whether the Author designed to have gone through such a Work himself, or intended these Papers only for Hints to some body else that desired them, is not known.

After which the rest was to follow, written in his own Hand, as before.

Though it may easily be conjectured, from the wonderful Productions of the Ancients, how great their Sciences were, especially in the Mathematicks, which is of all other the most valuable to the Use and Benefit of Mankind; yet we have all the Testimonies besides, that can be given, of the Height they were at among the *Egyptians*, from the ingenuous Confessions of the *Greek* Authors, as well as from the Voyages that were made into *Egypt*, *Phenicia*, *Babylon*, and even the *Indies*, by those who are allowed for the greatest among the *Greek* Lawgivers and Philosophers; whereof so distinct an Account has been given in that Essay of the *Miscellanea* (already mentioned) upon ancient and modern Learning. But the modern Advocates can believe nothing of it, because we know none of the Records or Histories of those Nations remaining, but what was left us by the *Greeks*; and conclude the Infancy of the *Egyptians* in other Sciences, because they left no Account of their own History, or the Reigns of their Kings.

I might content my self with what has been already made so plain in this Matter, by shewing how those ancient Eastern Nations were generally without Learning, except what was possess'd by the Priests, and preserved as sacred in their Colleges and Temples; so that when those came to be ruined, their Learning was so too. It has been also demonstrated in the same Essay, how all the Traces and Memorials of Learning and Story may be lost in a Nation by the Conquest of barbarous People, great Plagues, and great Inundations; and for instance, how little is known in *Ireland* of what is so generally believed, of Learning having flourished there. And how little we should know, even of ancient *Greece* or *Italy*, or other Parts of *Europe* and *Asia*, if the two learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin* had not been preserved, and continued in Credit and in Use among the few Pretenders to any sort of Learning in those Parts of the World, upon the Ravages and Destructions in them by the barbarous Northern Nations.

But to put this Matter past Dispute, I shall shew more particularly when and how the ancient Learning decay'd in those Nations where it so much flourished in the Height of their Empires, and fell or declined with the Loss of their Liberties, or Subjection to new Conquerors.

I will not determine, from what Antiquity of Time Learning flourished among the *Egyptians* or *Assyrians*; because these Moderns will not allow the plainest Accounts given us by the best *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, of the Duration of those Empires, though not contrary to the Periods allowed us by the Scriptures: But the Reasons they give for not believing them, seem too weak and frivolous to be taken notice of: As first, That we have no Account of the

the *Aſſyrian* Kings in Scripture, till *Tiglath-Pileſer*, and others; whereas the Scriptures take no notice of the Story, of either *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Tyrians*, or *Sydonian* Governments, but as they had at ſome certain times a Relation to the Affairs of the *Jews* or their Common-wealth. And as it has never ſucceeded with ſo many learned Men, that have ſpent their whole Time and Pains, to agree the Sacred with the Profane Chronology (not to except Sir *John Marſham*'s great Induſtry) ſo I never expect to ſee it done to any Purpoſe. Their next Reaſon is, becauſe we have no Account of the Actions of ſo many *Aſſyrian* Kings, as are reckoned from *Semiramis* to *Sardanapalus*; they cannot conceive, that their Lives were paſt in their Palaces, and the Entertainments of Leiſure and Pleaſure, during the uninterrupted Felicity, as well as vaſt Extent of their Empire, beyond the Deſires of encreaſing, or the Fears of loſing any part of it, while the the excellent Orders at firſt eſtabliſhed were obſerved; and thereby, as well as by their Princes ſeldom appearing out of their vaſt Palaces and Paradiſes (or Gardens and Parks about them) the Adoration of thoſe Kings was preſerved among their Subjects.

Now I confeſs, a Man of an eaſy and quiet Temper might be allowed hardly to imagine what Kings in ſuch a Poſture of Fortune and Power ſhould do, more than to preſerve the Order and Quiet of their Kingdoms; or how they ſhould furniſh their Ages with more Story, than of their Magnificence in their Buildings and Treaſures; nor do we find much more recorded of *Solomon*'s long and happy Reign among the *Jews*: Nor are they, in the *Miſcellanea*, employ'd in Gardening all that Time, though the firſt Accounts of Gardening are there deduced from *Aſſyria*. But ſuppoſe thoſe idle Kings, beſides the Entertainment of Luxury and Pleaſure, ſhould have ſpent their Time (or what lay upon their Hands) in Chymiſtry, in Anatomy, in the Stories of Plants and Animals; in Opticks and Philology; in ſuch Speculations as the Royal Society entertain themſelves and the World with; or in converſing with their *Magi*, or other learned Men: I hope it cannot be denied, but Princes might paſs their Lives in ſuch Entertainments, without bloody and violent Actions, that make the Subject of common Hiſtory.

And yet who knows but many ſuch there were too, in the Courſe of thoſe Empires, during thoſe Ages; but the Records of them loſt, with their other Sciences, further than ſome Memory and ſhort Accounts given us by the few *Greek* Authors that we have now remaining. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.*

The ancient *Aſſyrian* Learning, which had run ſo long a Courſe of Time, and grown to ſo great a Height in the Colleges or Societies of their *Magi*, or *Chaldeans*, began to decay upon the Conqueſt of that Empire, firſt by the *Medes*, and afterwards by *Cyrus* and his *Perſians*, who were then a ſort of barbarous Nation, that knew nothing beyond what they had learned and practiſed, from the Civil or Military Inſtitutions of *Cyrus*, a wiſe Lawgiver as well as great Captain, and thereby the Founder of that mighty Kingdom. But the laſt and fatal Blow given to that ancient Learning was in the Time of *Darius*, Father of *Xerxes*, who with the reſt of the *Perſians*, ſpighted at the *Magi*, upon the Uſurpation of the Crown by one of their Number (that counterfeited a young Son of *Cyrus* after the Death of *Cambyſes*) when he came to be ſettled in that Throne, endeavour'd to aboliſh, not only their Learning and Credit, but their Language too, by changing the old *Aſſyrian* Characters, and introducing thoſe of *Perſia*, which grew to be the common Uſe of that whole Empire.

Under the firſt and ſecond Race of theſe *Perſian* Kings, the Genius of that Nation being wholly Military, their Conqueſts were indeed vaſtly extended, beyond the Bounds of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, by ſubduing *Lydia*, the leſſer *Aſia*, and the whole Kingdom of *Egypt*, which had ever been a Rival of the *Aſſyrian* Greatneſs: But during the Succeſſions of this Monarchy, all Learning was ſo loſt among them, that no certain Records were preſerved,

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either of Actions or of Times, under the Races of the *Assyrian* Kings: So as the first Period of Story which remains in any prophane Authors, seems to begin with *Cyrus*: And all before his Birth is so obscure, so variously reported, or so mingled with Fable and Truth, that no sound or certain Judgment can be fixed upon them, whatever Pains have been employ'd to reconcile them. For all other Sciences, they were in a manner extinguish'd during the Course of this Empire, excepting only a Smatter of Judicial Astrology, by which, under the Name of *Chaldeans*, some of that Race long amused ignorant and credulous People.

But upon the Sun-set of this ancient *Assyrian* Learning, it began to dawn in *Greece*, with the Growth and Flourishing of the *Athenian* State, by whose Navigations and Traffick several Noble Wits, among them and the rest of the *Grecians*, entered into Commerce with the *Egyptians* and *Phenicians*; and from them, or their Priests, drew the first Rudiments of those Sciences which they brought into *Greece*, and by which they grew so renowned in their own and After-ages. Such were *Solon*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, and many others; whose Lives, and Voyages in those Eastern Regions, we are less acquainted with, by the Loss of so many Books, and the Injuries of devouring Time.

The Learning of the *Egyptians*, whenever it began, continued in great Height and Admiration of their Neighbours, till the Reign of *Nectanebus*; when, after a Revolt of the *Egyptians* from the *Persian* Empire, which lasted and prospered in two or three Kings Reigns; one of the *Artaxerxes* subdu'd *Egypt*, and this last of the *Egyptian* Kings; reduced the whole Kingdom to the *Persian* Obedience; but enraged at their Rebellion and obstinate Resistance, executed his Conquest with Rage, that besides infinite Slaughters, he razed many of their Cities, and the Walls of them all; ruined their Temple, destroyed or dispersed their Priests, and the Archives or Records of those famous Colleges, and whatever of them he thought fit to preserve he carried away with him into *Persia*.

This happened during the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and gave a fatal Period to the ancient *Egyptian* Learning, and Sciences. After which Time, we know of no Voyages made by the *Greek* Philosophers into *Egypt*, upon that Search; but *Plato* was the last of Renown that undertook that Voyage, who lived, and was in *Egypt*, not long before this cruel Revolution.

'Tis true, the *Grecian* Races of Kings, afterwards in *Egypt*, called *Ptolemyes*, during the Quiet and Felicity of many Reigns, endeavoured all they could the Restoration of Learning among them, by Countenance, and all sorts of Encouragement to their Priests that remained, and by the Collection of that vast Library at *Alexandria*: But the Learning and Science of the Old *Egyptian* Priests was never recovered; and that professed by the New was turned to Superstition and Mystery, Initiations and Expiations, the procuring or foretelling Events by mystical Sacrifices, or magical Operations, which lasted indeed to *Adrian*'s Time, but without Credit or Esteem among the wiser part of the World.

The same, or rather a greater Desolation, than that of *Egypt* in the Time of *Nectanebus*, was made of the *Sidonians*, and their whole City and Territory, by the same *Artaxerxes*, in his Passage from *Persia* to *Egypt*, upon the Rebellion of that City. The like happened to *Tyre*, upon the cruel Conquest by *Alexander* the Great, of that famous City. (Though the ancient *Tyre* that stood upon the Continent had been ruined long before.) And with the Ruin of these two perished the *Phenician* Learning, which had flourished there for so many Ages, and no Account left us of them, besides what remains in the very few ancient *Greek* or *Latin* Books that are preserved among us. How few they are indeed may be very justly bewailed, the Compass of them extending but from the Time of *Hippocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which was about four hundred Years; and yet the number of those, written in that Period, and preserv'd to our Age, is more to be deplored. But I shall not enter into Search of the Causes, or Times of the Loss of so many

of the reſt, as we find mentioned by *Diodorus*, *Origen*, *Atheneus*, or others, whereof ſome were not long before *Conſtantine*. And it is recorded, that the young Emperor *Gordian* was ſo great a Lover of Learning, that in his ſhort Reign he collected a Library of ſixty two thouſand Volumes; but what became of them, or when ſo many Monuments of the ancient Learning were loſt, I cannot undertake to find out: Only 'tis certain, that beſides infinite Numbers of *Greek* Hiſtories and Poets, thoſe of all the ſeveral Sects of Philophers are loſt, beſides what has been preſerved of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*.

I cannot but take notice, how hardly the modern Advocates part with their own Conceſſions to the Ancients, in Poetry and Eloquence; and upon what judicious Grounds they detract from them in the firſt, and conteſt with them in the other.

They allow indeed the Sweetneſs of the *Greek* Poetry to be inimitable, but attribute it wholly to the Language, and the Sounds and Syllables that compoſe it. They might as well ſay, the Excellence of Picture comes from the Beauty of the Colours; and of Statuary, from the Fineneſs of the Marble; whereas a common Hand, with the fineſt Colours in the World, can paint nothing better than a Sign-Poſt; And the drawing of a Hand in black and white, may be of ten times more Art and Value, as well as Beauty, than a common Picture, though never ſo finely coloured. 'Tis the ſame Thing in Poetry; the Language is but the Colouring; 'tis the Conception, the Invention, the Judgment, that give the Life and Spirit, as well as Beauty and Force, to a Poem. And I deſire to know, whether any of the *Greek* Poets, that writ after the End of the *Ptolemies* Race in *Egypt*, are at all comparable to thoſe that writ before; yet we have but too many of them left us to make the Compariſon.

Upon the Subject of Eloquence, they will have it, that *Padre Paolo*'s Council of *Trent*, and *Comines*'s Memoirs, are equal to *Herodotus* and *Livy*; and ſo would *Strada* be too, if he were but impartial. This is very wonderful, if it be not a Jeſt; for *Padre Paolo*, he muſt be allowed for the greateſt Genius of his Age, and perhaps of all the Moderns, as appears in his other Writings, as well as the Council of *Trent*; which is indeed no Hiſtory of any great Actions, but only an Account of a long and artificial Negotiation, between the Court and Prelates of *Rome*, and thoſe of other Chriſtian Princes: So that I do not ſee, how it can properly be ſtiled an Hiſtory; the Subject whereof are great Actions and Revolutions: And by all the ancient Criticks upon Hiſtory, the firſt Part of the Excellence of an Hiſtorian, is the Choice of a noble and great Subject, that may be worth his Pains.

For *Philip de Comines*, none ever call'd it a Hiſtory; nor he himſelf, other than Memoirs; nor does either the Subject deſerve it, or the Author; who is valued only for his great Truth of Relation, and Simplicity of Stile.

There are three, which I do not conceive well, how they can be brought into the Number of Sciences; which are, Chymiſtry, Philology, and Divinity.

For that Part of Chymiſtry, which is converſant in diſcovering and extracting the Virtue of Metals, or other Minerals, or of any Simples, that are employ'd with Succeſs, for Health or Medicine, 'tis a Study that may be of much Uſe and Benefit to Mankind, and is certainly the moſt diverting Amuſement to thoſe that purſue it. But for the other part, which is applied to the Tranſmutation of Metals, and the Search of the Philoſopher's Stone, which has enchanted, not to ſay turned, ſo many Brains in the latter Ages: "Tho' ſome Men cannot comprehend, how there ſhould have been ſo much "Smoak for ſo many Ages in the World about it, without ſome Fire:" 'Tis eaſie, I think, to conceive, that there has been a great deal of Fire, without producing any thing but Smoak. If it be a Science, 'tis certainly one of the Liberal ones; for the Profeſſors or Followers of it have ſpent more Money upon it, than thoſe of all other Sciences together; and more than they will ever recover, without the Philoſopher's Stone. Whether they are now any nearer than they were when they began, I do not know; nor could ever find

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it determined among wiſe and learned Men, whether Alchymy were any thing more than a wild Viſion or Imagination of ſome ſhatter'd Heads, or elſe, a Practice of Knaves upon Fools, as well as ſometimes of Fools upon themſelves. For, however *Borrhicus*, or any others, may attribute the vaſt Expences of the Pyramids, and Treaſures of *Solomon*, to the Philoſopher's Stone; I am apt to believe, none ever yet had it, except it were *Midas*, and his Poſſeſſion ſeems a little diſcredited by his Aſs's Ears: And I wiſh the Purſuit of many others may not fall under the ſame Prejudice. For my own part, I confeſs I have always look'd upon Alchymy in Natural Philoſophy, to be like Enthuſiaſm in Divinity, and to have troubled the World much to the ſame Purpoſe. And I ſhould as ſoon fall into the Study of the *Roſycruſian* Philoſophy, and expect to meet a *Nymph* or a *Sylph*, for a Wife or a Miſtreſs, as with the Elixir for my Health, or Philoſopher's Stone for my Fortune.

'Tis not ſo difficult to comprehend, how ſuch a Folly ſhould laſt ſo long in the World, and yet without any Ground in Nature, or in Reaſon; if a Man conſiders, how the Pagan Religion laſted for ſo many Ages, with ſuch general Opinion and Devotion; which yet all now confeſs to have been nothing but an Illuſion or a Dream, with ſome Practice of cunning Prieſts, upon the credulous and ignorant People, which ſeems to have been the Caſe of this Modern Science; for ancient it is none, nor any at all that I know of.

For Philology, I know not well what to make of it; and leſs, how it came into the Number of Sciences: If it be only Criticiſm upon ancient Authors and Languages, he muſt be a Conjurer that can make thoſe Moderns with their Comments, and Gloſſaries, and Annotations, more learned than the Authors themſelves in their own Languages, as well as the Subjects they treat.

I muſt confeſs, that the Criticks are a Race of Scholars I am very little acquainted with; having always eſteemed them but like Brokers, who having no Stock of their own, ſet up and trade with that of other Men; buying here, and ſelling there, and commonly abuſing both Sides, to make out a little paultry Gain, either of Money or of Credit, for themſelves, and care not at whoſe Coſt. Yet the firſt Deſign of theſe kind of Writers, after the Reſtoration of Learning in theſe Weſtern Parts, was to be commended, and of much Uſe and Entertainment to the Age. 'Tis to them we owe the Editions of all the ancient Authors, the beſt Tranſlations of many out of *Greek*, the reſtoring of the old Copies, maimed with Time or Negligence, the correcting of others miſtaken in the tranſcribing, the explaining Places obſcure, in an Age ſo ignorant of the Stile or Cuſtoms of the Ancients: And in ſhort, endeavouring to recover thoſe old Jewels out of the Duſt and Rubbiſh, wherein they had been ſo long loſt or ſoiled; to reſtore them to their native Luſtre, and make them appear in their true Light.

This made up the Merit and Value of the Criticks for the firſt hundred Years, and deſerved both Praiſe and Thanks of the Age, and the Rewards of Princes, as well as the Applauſe of common Scholars, which they generally received. But ſince they have turned their Vein, to debaſe the Credit and Value of the Ancients, and raiſe their own above thoſe, to whom they owe all the little they know; and inſtead of true Wit, Senſe, or Genius, to diſplay their own proper Colours of Pride, Envy, or Detraction, in what they write: to trouble themſelves and the World with vain Niceties and captious Cavils, about Words and Syllables, in the Judgment of Stile; about Hours and Days, in the Account of ancient Actions or Times; about antiquated Names of Perſons or Places, with many ſuch worthy Trifles; and all this, to find ſome Occaſion of cenſuring and defaming ſuch Writers as are, or have been, moſt eſteemed in the World; Raking into ſlight Wounds where they find any, or ſcratching till they make ſome, where there were none before: There is, I think, no ſort of Talent ſo deſpiſable, as that of ſuch common Criticks, who can at beſt pretend but to value themſelves, by diſcovering the Defaults of other Men, rather than any Worth or Merit of

their own: A ſort of Levellers, that will needs equal the beſt or richeſt of the Country, not by improving their own Eſtates, but reducing thoſe of their Neighbours, and making them appear as mean and wretched as themſelves. The Truth is, there has been ſo much written of this kind of Stuff, that the World is ſurfeited with the ſame Things over and over; or old common Notions, new dreſt, and perhaps embroider'd.

For Divinity, wherein they give the Moderns ſuch a Preference above the Ancients, they might as well have made them excell in the Knowledge of our Common Law, or of the *Engliſh* Tongue; ſince our Religion was as little known to the ancient Sages and Philoſophers, as our Language or our Laws: And I cannot but wonder, that any Divine ſhould ſo much debaſe Religion or true Divinity, as to introduce them thus prepoſterouſly into the Number of human Sciences: Whereas they came firſt to the *Jews*, and afterwards to the firſt Chriſtians, by immediate Revelation or Inſtruction from God himſelf: Thus *Abraham* learn'd, that there was but one true God, and in purſuit of that Belief, contrary to the Opinion of the learned *Chaldeans*, among whom he lived, was content to forſake his own Country, and come into *Paleſtine*: So *Moſes* was inſtructed to know God more particularly, and admitted both to ſee his Glory, and to learn his Name, *Jehovah*, and to inſtitute from Heaven the whole Religion of the *Jews*: So the Prophets, under the Old Teſtament, were taught to know the Will of God, and thereby to inſtruct the People in it, and enabled to propheſy, and do Miracles, for a Teſtimony of their being truly ſent from Heaven. So our Bleſſed Saviour came into the World, to ſhew the Will of his Father, to teach his Precepts and Commands; and ſo his Apoſtles and their Diſciples were inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, for the ſame Ends. And all other Theology in the World, in how learned Nations and Ages ſoever it flouriſhed, yet ended in groſs Superſtition and Idolatry; ſo that Human Learning ſeems to have very little to do with true Divinity, but on the contrary, to have turned the Gentiles into falſe Notions of the Deity, and even to have miſguided the *Jews* and the Chriſtians, into the firſt Sects and Hereſies that we find among them.

We know of little Learning among the *Jews*, beſides that of *Moſes* and of *Solomon*, till after the Captivity, in which their Prieſts grew acquainted with the Language and Learning of the *Chaldeans*; but this was ſoon loſt, in ſuch a broken State as theirs was, after their Return to ſuch a ruined City, and deſolate Country, and ſo often perſecuted, by the Credit of their Enemies at the *Perſian* Court: The Learning, which afterwards we find among the *Jews*, came in with the *Grecian* Empire, that introduced their Learning and Language with their Conqueſt into *Judea*. Before this, there were no Diviſion or Sects among the *Jews*, but of ſuch as followed the true Prophets or the falſe, and worſhipped God or *Baal*. With the *Grecian* Language and Learning entered their Philoſophy, and out of this aroſe the two great Sects of *Phariſees* and *Sadducees*: The *Phariſees*, in all Opinions which they could any way conform to their own Worſhip or Inſtitutions, followed the Philoſophy of *Plato*; the *Sadducees* of *Epicurus*. The firſt profeſſed the ſtricteſt Rules of Virtue and Vice, the Hopes and Fears of Rewards and Puniſhments in another World; the Exiſtence of Angels, and Spirits ſeparate from Bodies: But the *Sadducees* believed little or nothing of any of theſe, further than to cover themſelves from the Hatred and Perſecution of another Sect, which was the moſt popular.

For that Rabbinical Learning, that is pretended by the *Jews* to have begun ſo long before the Captivity, and to have continued by Tradition down to the Time of the *Talmud*; I muſt confeſs, that notwithſtanding the Credit that has been given to it, and all the Legends introduced by it, in the laſt Age; I cannot find any Traces of it, which ſeem at all clear, beyond the Time of the laſt Diſperſion of the *Jews* in the Reign of *Adrian*, or the firſt, in that of *Veſpaſian*; and how little the *Jews* have gained by all this Learning of their *Rabbins*, how ancient or modern ſoever, I leave to others to conſider and determine, who have more Eſteem for it than I.

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For Chriſtianity, it came into the World, and ſo continued in the firſt Age, without the leaſt Pretence of Learning and Knowledge, with the greateſt Simplicity of Thought and Language, as well as Life and Manners, holding forth nothing but Piety, Charity, and Humility, with the Belief of the *Meſſias* and of his Kingdom; which appears to be the main Scope of the Goſpel, and of the Preaching of the Apoſtles; and to have been almoſt concealed from the Wiſe and the Learned, as well as the Mighty and the Noble, by both which Sorts it was either derided or perſecuted.

The firſt that made any Uſe of Learning, were the Primitive Fathers of the Second Age, only to confute the idolatrous Worſhip of the Heathens, and their Plurality of Gods; endeavouring to evince the Being of One God, and Immortality of the Soul, out of ſome of their own ancient Authors, both Poets and Philoſophers, eſpecially out of the Writers of the *Platonick* Sect, and the Verſes of *Orpheus* and the *Sibyls*, which then paſſed for Genuine, though they have ſince by the Moderns been queſtioned, if not exploded: Thus *Minutius Felix*, *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, made uſe of the Learning of ſuch as were then Ancient to them, and thereby became Champions of the Chriſtian Faith againſt the *Gentiles*, by force of their own Weapons.

After the third Century, and upon the Riſe of the *Arian* and other Hereſies in the Chriſtian Church, their Learning ſeems chiefly to have been employed in the Defence of the ſeveral Opinions, profeſſed by the Orthodox or the *Arians*, the Weſtern or the Eaſtern Churches, and ſo to have long continued, by the frequent Riſe of ſo many Hereſies in the Church.

And I doubt this kind of Learning has been but too great, and made too much Uſe of, upon all the Diviſions of *Chriſtendom*, ſince the Reſtoration of Learning in theſe Weſtern Parts of the World: Yet this very Polemical Learning has been chiefly employ'd, to prove their ſeveral Opinions to be moſt agreeable to thoſe of the ancient Fathers, and the Inſtitutions of the Primitive Times; which muſt needs give the Preference to the Ancients above the Moderns in Divinity, ſince we cannot pretend to know more of what they knew and practiſed, than themſelves; And I did as little believe, that any Divine in *England* would compare himſelf or his Learning with thoſe Fathers, as that any of our Phyſicians would theirs with *Hippocrates*, or our Mathematicians with *Archimedes*.

One would think that the modern Advocates, after having confounded all the Ancients, and all that eſteem them, might have been contented; but one of them, I find, will not be ſatisfied to condemn the reſt of the World, without applauding himſelf; and therefore falling into a Rapture upon the Contemplation of his own wonderful Performance, he tells us; *Hitherto in the main I pleaſe my ſelf, that there cannot be much ſaid againſt what I have aſſerted*, &c.

I wonder a Divine upon ſuch an Occaſion, ſhould not at leaſt have had as much Grace as a *French* Lawyer in *Montagne*; who after a dull tedious Argument, that had wearied the Court and the Company, when he went from the Bar, was heard muttering to himſelf; *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*: But this Writer, rather like the proud *Spaniard*, that would not have St. *Lawrence*'s Patience upon the Grid-Iron aſcribed to the Grace of God, but only to the true *Spaniſh* Valour; will not have his own Perfections and Excellencies owing to any thing elſe, but the true Force of his own Modern Learning; and thereupon he falls into this ſweet Ecſtaſy of Joy, wherein I ſhall leave him till he come to himſelf.

The whole Cauſe between the Pretenſions of ancient and modern Learning, will be beſt decided by the Compariſon of the *Perſons* and the *Things* that have been produced under the Inſtitutions and Diſcipline of the one, or the other.

I leave that of *Perſons* to the Obſervation of the preſent or laſt Age, to which it ſeems the Modern Pretences are confined; and to the Accounts given us by the beſt *Roman* and *Greek* Hiſtorians, of what great Spirits both

Princes

Princes and Generals, as well as Lawgivers and Philoſophers, have been formed under the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the ancient Sciences; and to the Characters of *Epaminondas*, *Ageſilaus*, *Alcibiades*, *Philip* of *Macedon*, the two *Scipios*, *Julius Cæſar*, *Trajan*, *Marcus Antoninus*, and ſeveral others; and of the noble and tranſcendent Virtues and Heroick Qualities of theſe, and ſuch other Ancients moſt renowned in Story; their Fortitude, their Juſtice, their Prudence, their Temperance, their Magnanimity, their Clemency, their Love to their Country, and the Sacrifice they made of their Lives, or at leaſt, of their Eaſe and Quiet, to the Service thereof: Their eminent Virtues both Civil and Military, by which they gained ſuch famous Victories over their Enemies, ſuch paſſionate Love for their own Countries, and ſuch Admiration of all Men, both in their own and ſucceeding Ages.

For *Things* to be conſidered, they muſt be ſuch as have been either of general Uſe or Pleaſure to Mankind. In thoſe of Pleaſure, as Poetry, Picture, Statuary, Eloquence, Architecture; the Point is yielded by the Moderns; and muſt of neceſſity be ſo by any Man that reads the Deſcriptions of thoſe ancient Fabricks mentioned before, all in a Breath; which were and will be the Wonders of the World. Among other Teſtimonies of their Wit and Science, in their Inventions of Pleaſure; one might obſerve, that their very Luxury was learned, in the Diſpoſition, Order, and Variety of their Feaſts; ſo contrived, as to entertain not only all the Senſes, but the Imagination and Intellectuals too; by Perfumes, Muſick, Mimick, both Dumb and Vocal; ſhort Scenes and Repreſentations; Buffooneries, or Comical Diſputes to divert the Company, and deceive as well as divide the Time; beſides more Serious and Philoſophical Diſcourſes, Arguments, and Recitations.

But above all others, they were moſt wonderful in their *Shews* or *Spectacula*, exhibited ſo often at *Rome*, to entertain the People in general, firſt by their *Ædils* and Conſuls, and afterwards by their Emperors: Not to ſpeak of the Magnificence and Order of their Theatres and Triumphs: 'Tis ſtrange, how ſuch Thoughts could ſo much as enter into any Man's Head, to derive, of a ſudden, ſo much Water into the midſt of a Town or a Field, as might repreſent a Sea upon dry Ground, bring Ships or Gallies rowing into it, and order an abſolute Sea-Battle to be fought upon the Land. At another time, to plant a vaſt Wood of great and green Trees, in a plain Field, all encloſed and repleniſhed with all ſorts of wild Beaſts, for the People to hunt, to kill, and to eat, next Day at their Feaſts; and the Day after, all this to diſappear, as if it had only been an Apparition, or raiſed by Inchantment. Such ſort of Atchievements among the Ancients, and ſuch Effects of their admirable Science and Genius in the Invention and Diſpoſition of them, ſeem as difficult for us in theſe Ages to comprehend, as for them to execute.

Now for Things of general Uſe to Mankind; they are the Productions of Agriculture, Phyſick, and Legiſlature, or Political Orders and Inſtitutions.

For the firſt; We owe them all to the Ancients, who were the Inventors of all Arts neceſſary to Life and Suſtenance, as Plowing, Sowing, Planting, and conſerving the Fruits of the Earth to a longer Seaſon. All ſorts of Grain, Wine, Oil, Honey, Cheeſe, are the moſt ancient Inventions, and not at all improved by the Moderns.

For Phyſick; I leave it to be compared in the Books and Practice of *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and the ancient *Arabians*, who followed their Rules and Methods, with thoſe of *Paracelſus* and his Chymical Followers.

For Political Inſtitutions, that tend to the Preſervation of Mankind, by Civil Governments: 'Tis enough to mention thoſe of *Cyrus*, *Theſeus*, *Licurgus*, *Solon*, *Zaleucus*, *Charondas*, *Romulus*, *Numa Pompilius*, beſides the more ancient Inſtitutions of the *Aſſyrian* and *Egyptian* Governments and Laws, wherein may be obſerved, ſuch a Reach of Thought, ſuch Depths of Wiſdom, and ſuch Force of Genius, as the Preſumption, and Flattery in ſelf of our Age, will hardly pretend to parallel, by any of our modern Civil Inſtitutions.

I know not why a very good Reaſon for the great Advantage of ancient above modern Learning, may not be juſtly drawn from the Force and Influence of Climates, where they have grown; and why the Regions of *Aſſyria*, *Phenicia*, *Egypt*, the Leſſer *Aſia*, *Greece*, *Rome*, and eſpecially *China*, may not be allowed to produce naturally greater Force of Wit and Genius, of Invention and Penetration, than *England*, *Holland*, or the Northern Parts of *France* and *Germany*, to which all our Modern Learning ſeems to have been confined: Nor do I ſee, why the mighty Progreſs of Sciences in thoſe Countries, may not in a great meaſure be aſcribed unto the long Peace and flouriſhing Condition of thoſe ancient Empires, wherein the *Magi* and Prieſts were ſo much honoured of old; and alſo to the Freedom of Thought and Enquiry, in the *Grecian* and *Italian* Republicks, wherein the ancient Philoſophers were ſo much eſteemed: Nor is it ſtrange, that all Learning ſhould have been extinguiſh'd in thoſe noble Regions, by the Conqueſts of barbarous Nations, and thoſe violent Governments which have ſucceeded them; nor that the Progreſs of it ſhould be maimed by the perpetual Wars and Diſtractions that have infeſted *Europe*, ever ſince the Fall of the *Roman* Empire made way for ſo many ſeveral *Gothick* Kingdoms or Governments in this part of the World, where Learning pretends to be ſo much advanced.

The greateſt Modern Inventions ſeem to be thoſe of the *Load-Stone* and *Gun-powder*; by the firſt whereof, Navigation muſt be allowed to have been much improved and extended; and by the laſt, the Art Military, both at Sea and Land, to have been wholly changed; yet 'tis agreed, I think, that the *Chineſe* have had the Knowledge and Uſe of Gun-powder, many Ages before it came into *Europe*: And beſides, both theſe have not ſerved for any common or neceſſary Uſe to Mankind; one having been employed for their Deſtruction, not their Preſervation; and the other, only to feed their Avarice, or increaſe their Luxury: Nor can we ſay, that they are the Inventions of this Age, wherein Learning and Knowledge are pretended to be ſo wonderfully encreaſed and advanced.

What has been produced for the Uſe, Benefit, or Pleaſure of Mankind, by all the airy Speculations of thoſe, who have paſſed for the great Advancers of Knowledge and Learning theſe laſt fifty Years (which is the Date of our modern Pretenders) I confeſs I am yet to ſeek, and ſhould be very glad to find. I have indeed heard of wondrous Pretenſions and Viſions of Men, poſſeſs'd with Notions of the ſtrange Advancement of Learning and Sciences on foot in this Age, and the Progreſs they are like to make in the next: As, The Univerſal Medicine, which will certainly cure all that have it: The Philoſopher's Stone, which will be found out by Men that care not for Riches: The Transfuſion of young Blood into old Men's Veins, which will make them as gameſome as the Lambs, from which 'tis to be derived: An Univerſal Language, which may ſerve all Mens Turn, when they have forgot their own: The Knowledge of one anothers Thoughts, without the grievous Trouble of Speaking: The Art of Flying, till a Man happens to fall down and break his Neck: Double-bottom'd Ships, whereof none can ever be caſt away, beſides the firſt that was made: The admirable Virtues of that noble and neceſſary Juice called Spittle, which will come to be ſold, and very cheap, in the Apothecaries Shops: Diſcoveries of new Worlds in the Planets, and Voyages between this and that in the Moon, to be made as frequently as between *York* and *London*: Which ſuch poor Mortals as I am think as wild as thoſe of *Arioſto*, but without half ſo much Wit, or ſo much Inſtruction; for there, theſe modern Sages may know, where they may hope in Time to find their loſt Senſes, preſerved in Vials, with thoſe of *Orlando*.

One great Difference muſt be confeſſed between the Ancient and Modern Learning; theirs led them to a Senſe and Acknowledgement of their own Ignorance, the Imbecility of Human Underſtanding, the Incomprehenſion even of Things about us, as well as thoſe above us; ſo as the moſt ſublime Wits among the Ancients ended in their Ἀκαταληψία; Ours leads us to Pre-

Presumption, and vain Ostentation of the little we have learned, and makes us think, we do or shall know, not only all Natural, but even what we call Supernatural Things; all in the Heavens, as well as upon Earth; more than all mortal Men have known before our Age; and shall know in time as much as Angels.

Socrates was by the *Delphick* Oracle pronounced the wisest of all Men, because he professed that he knew nothing: What would the Oracle have said of a Man that pretends to know every thing? *Pliny* the elder, and most learned of all the *Romans* whose Writings are left, concludes the Uncertainty and Weakness of human Knowledge, with, *Constat igitur inter tanta incerta, nihil esse certi; præterquam hominem, nec miserius quicquam nec superbius.* But sure, our modern Learned, and especially the Divines of that Sect, among whom it seems this Disease is spread, and who will have the World to be ever improving, and that nothing is forgotten that ever was known among Mankind, must themselves have forgotten that Humility and Charity are the Virtues which run through the Scope of the Gospel; and one would think they never had read, or at least never minded, the first Chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, which is allowed to have been written, not only by the wisest of Men, but even by Divine Inspiration; where *Solomon* tells us,

The thing that has been, is that which shall be, and there is no new Thing under the Sun; Is there any Thing whereof it may be said, See, this is new? It has been already of old Time which was before us: There is no Remembrance of former Things, neither shall there be any Remembrance of Things that are to come, with those that shall come after.

These, with many other Passages in that admirable Book, were enough, one would think, to humble and mortify the Presumption of our Modern *Scribists*, if their Pride were not as great as their Ignorance; or if they knew the rest of the World any better than they know themselves.

HEADS

HEADS,

Designed for an

ESSAY

UPON THE

Different Conditions of LIFE *and* FORTUNE.

WHETHER a good Condition, with Fear of being ill, or an ill, with Hope of being well, pleases or displeases most.

The Good of Wisdom, as it most conduces to Happiness.

The Effect of Happiness best discovered, by good Humour, and Satisfaction within.

Difference between being Satisfied, and Content.

The Value of Virtue double, as of Coin; one of Stamp, which consists in the Esteem of it; the other intrinsick, as most contributing to the Good of Private Life, and Publick Society.

Against *Rochefoucault's* Reflections upon Virtue; *qu'elle n'ira pas loin, si elle n'est soutenuë par la vanité.*

A Man's Wisdom, his best Friend; Folly, his worst Enemy.

No Happiness with great Pain; and so all are exposed to small and common Accidents.

The Sting of a Wasp, a Fit of the Stone, the Biting of a mad Dog, destroy for the Time; the two first, Happiness; and the other, Wisdom it self.

The only Way for a rich Man to be healthy, is, by Exercise and Abstinence, to live as if he were poor; which are esteemed the worst Parts of Poverty.

Leisure and Solitude, the best Effects of Riches, because Mother of Thought. Both avoided by most rich Men, who seek Company and Business, which are Signs of being weary of themselves.

Business, when loved, but as other Diversions, of which, this is in most Credit: Nothing so prejudicial to the Publick.

How few busy to good purpose, for themselves or Country.

Virgil's Morals in

Hic quibus invisi fratres, &c.

And, *Hic manus ob patriam*, &c.

Solomon's, Enjoy the Good of Life, Fear God, and keep his Commandments.

Horace, in his *Non es avarus*,
to, *Quid te exempta juvat ſpinis de pluribus una?*

To mortify Mankind in their Deſigns of any tranſcendent Happineſs, *Solomon*'s *Eccleſiaſtes*, and *Marcus Antoninus*'s Meditations, with *Almanzor*; the greateſt Princes of their Times, and greateſt Men at all Times.

The old Man near the *Hague*, that ſerved my Houſe from his Dairy, grew ſo rich that he gave it over; bought a Houſe and furniſh'd it, at the *Hague*, reſolving to live at eaſe the reſt of his Life; grew ſo weary of being idle, he ſold it, and returned again to his Dairy.

If without other Fears, yet that of Death enough to ſpoil the greateſt Enjoyments.

Never to be foreſeen —— *Quod quiſque vitet nuſquam homini ſatis cautum eſt in horas.*

A thinking Man can never live well, unleſs content to die.

'Tis difficult to love Life, and yet be willing to part with it.

The Golden Sentences at *Delphos*; Know thy ſelf. Nothing too much. Fly Contention and Debt.

—— *Quid te tibi reddat amicum.*

El mucho ſe guaſta, y el poco haſta.

Many Friends may do one little Good; one Enemy, much Hurt.

In no Man's Power to avoid Enemies; they injure by Chance, in a Crowd ſometimes, and without Deſign; then hate always, whom they have once injured.

To rich Men, the greateſt Pleaſures of Senſe either grow dull for want of Difficulty, or hurt by Exceſs.

The greateſt Advantages Men have by Riches, are, to Give, to Build, to Plant, and make pleaſant Scenes, of which, Pictures and Statues make the pleaſanteſt Part.

The greateſt Prince, poſſeſs'd with Superſtition and Fears of Death, more unhappy, than any private Man of common Fortune and well conſtituted Mind.

A Prince above all Deſires of More, or Fears of Change, falls to enjoy the Pleaſures of Leiſure and good Scenes: For in thoſe of Senſe, he can have but his Share, in which Nature has ſtinted all Men.

To what we are capable of, a common Fortune will reach; the reſt is but Oſtentation and Vanity, which are below a wiſe and thinking Man.

Sir Phil. Sidney.

Who for each fickle Fear from Virtue ſhrinks,
Shall in this World enjoy no worthy Thing:
No Mortal Man the Cup of Surety drinks;
But let us pick our Good from out much Bad,
That ſo our little World may know its King.

A little Moor that rode Poſtillion.

Quiry's Philoſophy; that when he could not get off his Boots at Night, ſaid, he knew as good a way; to go to ſleep with them on.

Whoever can die eaſily, may live eaſily.

The Purſuit of Wealth, by endleſs Care and Pains, is grounded but upon the Deſire of being ſo much further from Want. That of Power, Place, and Honour, but upon the Proſpect of being ſo much ſafer, from the Reſpect it gives; or the having others in our Power, inſtead of our being in theirs.

To

To take every thing by the right Hand, rather than the left, or the best End.

Life have I worn out, thrice thirty Years, Spencer.
Some in much Joy, many in Fears.
Yet never complain'd of Cold or Heat;
Of Winter Storms, or Summer Sweat;
But gently took all that ungently came ———

The last Pope's way of getting the Keys; *Nil petere, nil recusare, de nemine conqueri.*

How far the Temper of Mind and Body may go towards Relief of the worst Conditions of Fortune. How little, the best Accidents, or Conditions of Fortune, towards relieving the Distempers of Body or Mind.

The true End of Riches (next to doing Good) Ease and Pleasure; the common Effect, to encrease Care and Trouble.

A Man's Happiness, all in his own Opinion of himself and other Things.

A Fool happier in thinking well of himself, than a wise Man in others thinking well of him.

Any Man unhappier, in reproaching himself, if guilty; than in others reproaching him, if innocent.

If a reasonable Man satisfy himself, it will satisfy all others, that are worth the Care of it.

Truth will be uppermost, one time or other, like Cork, tho' kept down in the Water.

To take care of the first ill Action; which engages one in a Course of them, unless owned and repented. It draws on Disguise; that, Lying, and unjust Quarrels.

A shattered Reputation, never again entire: Honour in a Man to be esteemed like that of a Woman; once gone, never recovered.

All great and good Things in the World brought to pass by Care and Order.

The End of all Wisdom, Happiness: In private, of one's own Life; in publick Affairs, of the Government.

The difference of both between one Man and another; only whether a Man governs his Passions, or his Passions Him.

We ought to abstain from those Pleasures, which upon Thought we conclude are likely to end in more Trouble or Pain, than they begin in Joy or Pleasure.

Youth naturally most inclined to the better Passions; Love, Desire, Ambition, Joy. Age to the worst; Avarice, Grief, Revenge, Jealousy, Envy, Suspicion.

As nothing in this World is unmix'd, so Men should temper these Passions one with another; according to what, by Age or Constitution, they are most subject.

Pride and Sufficiency in Opinion of one's self, and Scorn in that of others, the great Bane of Knowledge and Life.

One Man's Reason better than another's, as it is more convincing; else every Man's Pretence to right Reason, alike.

'Tis hard going round the Pole, to know what the greatest number of Men agree in.

The wisest Men, easiest to hear Advice, least apt to give it.

Men have different Ends, according to different Tempers; are wise, as they chuse Ends that will satisfy, and the means to attain them.

Nothing so uncertain as general Reputation; a Man injures me upon Humour, Passion, or Interest, or standing in his Way; hates me because he has injured me; and speaks ill of me because he hates me.

Besides, no Humour so general, so find fault with others, as the Way to value themselves.

A good Man ought to be content, if he have nothing to reproach himſelf.

A Reſtleſneſs in Men's Minds to be ſomething they are not, and have ſomething they have not, the Root of all Immorality.

Coolneſs of Temper and Blood, and conſequently of Deſires, the great Principle of all Virtue.

This equally neceſſary, in moderating good Fortune, and bearing ill.

None turned more to Philoſophy than *Solomon* and *Antoninus*, in the moſt proſperous Fortunes.

The Violences of *Tiberius* made more Stoicks at *Rome*, than all their Schools.

Padre Paolo at ſeventy Years: *When the Spirits that furniſh Hopes fail, 'tis time to live no longer.*

The Temper of great Men ſhould have force of vital Spirits, great Heat, and yet Equality, which are hardly found together.

A Humour, apt to put great Weight upon ſmall Matters, and conſequently to make much Trouble out of little; is the greateſt Ingredient to Unhappineſs of Life. The contrary, the greateſt to Happineſs.

The beſt Philoſophy, that which is natural to Men, diſpoſed to ſucceed in it, by their natural Tempers, though improved by Education, Learning, and Thought.

Sharpneſs cuts ſlight Things beſt; Solid, nothing cuts thro' but Weight and Strength; the ſame, in the Uſe of Intellectuals.

The two greateſt Miſtakes among Mankind, are to meaſure Truth by every Man's Reaſon: And not only to wiſh every body like one's ſelf, but to believe them ſo too, and that they are only diſguiſed in what they differ from us. Both the Effect of natural Self-love.

Men come to deſpiſe one another, by reckoning they have all the ſame Ends with him that judges, only proceed fooliſhly towards them; when indeed their Ends are different.

One Man will not, for any Reſpect of Fortune, loſe his Liberty ſo much, as to be obliged to ſtep over a Kennel every Morning; and yet, to pleaſe a Miſtreſs, ſave a beloved Child, ſerve his Country or Friend, will ſacrifice all the Eaſe of his Life, nay his Blood and Life too, upon occaſion.

Another will do the ſame for Riches.

One will ſuffer all Injuries without Reſentment, in purſuit of Avarice or Ambition; another will ſacrifice all for Revenge.

Pompey fled among the *Egyptian* Slaves to ſave his Life, after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, and Loſs of Empire, and Liberty of *Rome*. *Cæſar* choſe to die once, rather than live in fear of dying. *Cato*, to die, rather than outlive the Liberties of his Country, or ſubmit to a Conqueror.

Atticus preferred the Quiet of Life, before all Riches and Power; and never enter'd into Publick Cares.

Yet theſe all Contemporaries, and the four greateſt of *Rome*.

Mr. *H.* to me. If a King were ſo great to have nothing to deſire nor fear, he would live juſt as you do.

Does any thing look more deſirable, than to be able to go juſt one's own Pace and Way? Which belongs in the greateſt degree to a private Life. *Ut mihi vivam quod ſupereſt ævi.*

A Man in Publick Affairs, is like one at Sea; never in his own Diſpoſal, but in that of Winds and Tides.

To be bound for a Port one deſires extreamly, and ſail to it with a fair Gale, is very pleaſant: But to live always at Sea, and upon all Adventures, is only for thoſe who cannot live at Land.

Non agimus tumidis velis, Aquilone ſecundo;
Non tamen adverſis ætatem ducimus Auſtris.

When after much working, one's Head is very well ſettled; the beſt is, not to ſet it a working again. The more and longer it has work'd at firſt, perhaps the finer and ſtronger: But every new working does but trouble and weaken it.

The

The greateſt Pleaſure of Life, is Love: The greateſt Treaſure, is Contentment: The greateſt Poſſeſſion, is Health: The greateſt Eaſe, is Sleep: And the greateſt Medicine, is a true Friend.

Happineſs of Life depends much upon natural Temper, which turns one's Thoughts, either upon Good, in Poſſeſſion and Hopes; or Evil, in preſent Senſe or Fears.

This makes the difference between Melancholly and Sanguin, between Old and Young, greater, than between thoſe placed in any different Degree of Fortune.

The Uſe of Plenty, is the Abuſe of Riches: For unleſs a rich Man will in ſome Things live like a poor one, he is not the better for his Riches: His Life will be the worſe, and the ſhorter.

Every Man will be happy; and none, by the Conſtitution of Nature, is capable of being ſo. We are capable of few Pleaſures; and Reaſon and Reflection cut off many of thoſe.

If the Sun or Moon eclipſes; if a Comet appear; a Man is in Pain: If a great Storm of Thunder or Lightning, or violent Seaſons, or Tempeſts: If any thing touch his Life or his Fortune; any Paſſion at Heart; or if he fears for his Soul; he is an unhappy Man.

Pride, the Ground of moſt Paſſions, and moſt Frenzies.

The Deſign of diſtinguiſhing one's ſelf in ſome kind, general to all Men; and from which moſt Troubles ariſe.

Man is a thinking Thing, whether he will or no: All he can do, is to turn his Thoughts the beſt way.

Since, in ſome Degree, we muſt always either hope or fear, we ſhould turn our Thoughts upon ſome Deſign or Courſe of Life, that will entertain them with ſome kind of Hopes. *Lente in voto.* If that cannot be, the next is, to ſeek Diverſion from Thought, by Buſineſs, Sports, or Labour.

After all, Life is but a Trifle, that ſhould be plaid with till we loſe it; and then it is not worth regretting.

If Men are ſo happy, from Nature or Fortune, as to have nothing elſe to complain of, they trouble themſelves with the Thoughts, that they muſt, or may die.

They take no Pleaſure in the Feaſt, becauſe it muſt end.

There is but one general undiſputed Truth yet agreed on; That whatever lives muſt die.

Dying is a Piece of our Nature, as well as Living; therefore if not content with one, we cannot be perfectly ſo with the other.

Since Death is unavoidable, nothing ſo impertinent as to trouble our ſelves about it: But Pain is not of ſo abſolute Neceſſity, therefore 'tis pardonable to endeavour to avoid it.

The *Stoicks* Opinion of Pain not being an Evil, a Mockery unnatural, and a Strain of the higheſt Diſguiſe and Affectation.

Whether Conditions of Life and Fortune are not in all much alike; at leaſt ſo, in one great part of our Lives: For Sleep levels the Poor and the Rich, the Honoured and Diſgraced, the Prince and the Peaſant.

Non domus aut fundi, non æris, &c.

Theſe may entertain or heighten good Humour where it is; not raiſe it where it is not: Otherwiſe, 'tis like Muſick in Mourning.

The Plant may be improved by Seaſons and Pains, but the Root muſt be in the Ground.

The Intemperate give themſelves no leave to feel Hunger, Thirſt, want of Sleep, or any other ſtrong and natural Deſires, without which, the Pleaſures of Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, and the reſt, are all but weak and faint.

Reſtleſneſs of Mind is the great Cauſe of Intemperance, ſeeking Pleaſures when Nature does not ask, nor Appetite prepare them.

No Poſſeſſions good, but by the good Uſe we make of them; without which Wealth, Power, Friends, Servants, do but help to make our Lives more unhappy.

HEADS,

HEADS,

Deſigned for an

ESSAY

ON

CONVERSATION.

MEN naturally or generally ſeek it with others, and avoid it with themſelves.

Both are neceſſary, one gives the Stock, the other improves it: One without t'other, unrefined.

Ability is drawn out into Uſe, by Occaſions and Accidents.

Paulum ſepultæ diſtat inertiæ
Celata Virtus.

Sometimes in one Age, Great Men are without Great Occaſions; in another, Great Occaſions without Great Men; and in both, one loſt, for want of the other.

No Man willingly lives without ſome Converſation: Delicacy and Diſtinction, makes Men called Solitary.

Thoſe that do upon Vows or Choice, in danger of ſome degrees of Frenzy; the Mind is like the Stomach, when empty, preying upon it ſelf.

Scipio, of all Active and Great Men, the moſt Contemplative; yet open to *Lælius* and other private Friends.

Women and Children, ſome ſort of Fools, and Madmen, the greateſt Talkers.

Men talk without thinking, and think without talking.

Order, the Effect of Thought, and Cauſe of all good Productions.

Silence in Company (if not Dulneſs or Modeſty) is Obſervation or Diſcretion.

To play or wreſtle well, ſhould be uſed with thoſe that do it better than you.

A Man among Children, long a Child: A Child among Men, ſoon a Man.

Nothing keeps a Man from being rich, like thinking he has enough: Nothing from Knowledge and Wiſdom, like thinking he has both.

No-

Nothing ſo unreaſonable or inſufferable in common Converſation, as Sufficiency.

Meaſuring all Reaſon by our own, the commoneſt and greateſt Weakneſs; is an Encroachment upon the common Right of Mankind.

Neither general Rules, nor general Practice, to be found further than Notion.

Taſte in Converſation, from Love or Friendſhip, Eſteem or Intereſt, Pleaſantneſs or Amuſement: The two firſt engage the firſt Part of our Lives; the two ſecond, the middle; and the laſt the latter End.

Something like Home that is not Home, like Alone that is not Alone, to be wiſhed, and only found in a Friend, or in his Houſe.

Men that do not think of the preſent, will be thinking of the paſt or future; therefore Buſineſs or Converſation is neceſſary to fix their Thoughts on the preſent.

In the reſt, ſeldom Satisfaction, often Diſcontent and Trouble, unleſs to very ſanguin Humours.

The ſame in general Speculations: Witneſs *Solomon* and *Antoninus*; for whoſe Thoughts are not loſt in the Immenſity of Matter, the Infinity of Forms, the Variety of Productions, and continual Viciſſitude, or Change of one to the other.

In Converſation, Humour is more than Wit, Eaſineſs more than Knowledge; few deſire to learn, or think they need it; all deſire to be pleaſed, or, if not, to be eaſy.

A Fool may ſay many wiſe Things, a wiſe Man no fooliſh ones: Good Senſe runs throughout.

Mr. *Grantam*'s Fool's Reply to a great Man, that asked whoſe Fool he was? I am Mr. *Grantam*'s Fool: Pray whoſe Fool are You?

Sudden Replies eſteemed the beſt and pleaſanteſt Veins of Wit, not always ſo, of good Senſe.

Of all Paſſions, none ſo ſoon and ſo often turns the Brain, as Pride.

A little Vein of Folly or Whim, pleaſant in Converſation; becauſe it gives a Liberty of ſaying Things, that diſcreet Men, though they will not ſay, are willing to hear.

The firſt Ingredient in Converſation is Truth, the next good Senſe, the third good Humour, and the fourth Wit.

This laſt was formerly left to Fools and Buffoons, kept in all great Families.

Henry the Fourth of *France*, and King *James* the Firſt of *England*, Firſt gave Repute to that ſort of Wit; encreaſed by King *Charles* the Second.

In King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, all Wit, Love, and Honour, heightned by the Wits of that Time into Romance.

Lord *Goreing* took the Contrepied, and turned all into Ridicule.

He was followed by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and that Vein favoured by King *Charles* the Second, brought it in Vogue.

Truth is allowed the moſt eſtimable Quality: The Lye is the greateſt Reproach.

Therefore allowed formerly a juſt Occaſion of Combat by Law, and ſince that Time, by Honour, in private Duels.

Good Breeding a neceſſary Quality in Converſation, to accompliſh all the reſt, as Grace in Motion and Dancing.

It is harder in that, to dance a Courant well than a Jigg: So in Converſation, Even, Eaſy, and Agreeable, more than Points of Wit; which unleſs very naturally they fall in of themſelves, and not too often, are diſliked in good Company: Becauſe they pretend to more than the reſt, and turn Converſation from good Senſe to Wit, from Pleaſant to Ridicule, which are the meaner Parts.

To make others Wit appear more than one's own, a good Rule in Converſation: A neceſſary one, to let others take Notice of your Wit, and never do it your ſelf.

Flat-

Flattery, like Poiſon, requires of all others the fineſt Infuſion.

Of all Things the moſt nauſeous, the moſt ſhocking, and hardeſt to bear.

K. *James* the Firſt uſed to ſay, Nay, by my Soul, that's too hard.

Pride and Roughneſs may turn one's Humour, but Flattery turns one's Stomach.

Both Extreams to be avoided: If we muſt lean one way, better to Bluntneſs and Coldneſs, which is moſt Natural, than to Flattery, which is Artificial.

This is learn'd in the Slavery of Courts, or ill Fortune; the other in the Freedom of the Country, and a Fortune one is content with.

Nothing ſo nauſeous as undiſtinguiſh'd Civility; 'tis like a Whore, or an Hoſteſs, who looks kindly upon every body that comes in.

It is fit only for ſuch Perſons of Quality as have no other way to draw Company, and draws only ſuch as are welcome any where elſe.

Court Converſation, without Love or Buſineſs, of all the other, the moſt taſtleſs.

A Court, properly a Fair, the End of it Trade and Gain: For none would come to be juſtled in a Crowd, that is eaſie at home, nor go to Service, that thinks he has enough to live well of himſelf.

Thoſe that come to either for Entertainment, are the Dupes of the Traders, or at leaſt, the Raillery.

All the Skill of a Court is to follow the Prince's preſent Humour, talk the preſent Language, ſerve the preſent Turn, and make uſe of the preſent Intereſt of one's Friends.

Bluntneſs and Plainneſs in a Court, the moſt refined Breeding.

Like ſomething in a Dreſs that looks neglected, and yet is very exact.

When I conſider, how many noble and eſtimable Men, how many lovely and agreeable Women, I have outlived among my Acquaintance and Friends, methinks it looks impertinent to be ſtill alive.

Changes in Veins of Wit, like thoſe of Habits, or other Modes.

Upon K. *Charles* the Second's Return, none more out of Faſhion among the New Courtiers, than the old Earl of *Norwich*, that was eſteemed the greateſt Wit in his Father's Time, among the old.

Our Thoughts are expreſs'd by Speech, our Paſſions and Motions as well without it.

Telling our Griefs leſſens them, and doubles our Joys.

To hate Company unnatural, or to be always ſilent in it.

Sociable, a Quality aſcribed to Mankind.

Yet Hatred, or Diſtaſte, brought *Timon* to live alone, and the Shipwrack'd Men in an Iſland of the *Indies*.

'Tis very different to live in little Company, or in none.

Proper for Age to retire, as for Youth to produce it ſelf in the World.

One ſhews Merit, or the Hopes they may one Day have it: The other has none, they never can.

Proper for one to ſhew Excellencies in any kind; for the other to hide their Defaults.

'Tis not to live, to be hid all one's Life; but if one has been abroad all Day, one may be allowed to go home upon any great Change of Weather or Company.

Nothing ſo uſeful as well choſen Converſation, or ſo pernicious as ill.

There may be too much, as well as too little.

Solitude damps Thought and Wit; too much Company diſſipates and hinders it from fixing.

In Retreat a Man feels more how Life paſſes; if he likes it, is the happier; if he diſlikes it, the more miſerable, and ought to change for Company, Buſineſs, or Entertainments, which keep a Man from his own Thoughts and Reflections.

Study gives Strength to the Mind; Converſation, Grace: The firſt apt to give Siffneſs, the other, Suppleneſs: One gives Subſtance and Form to the Statue, t'other poliſhes it.

'The

The great Happineſs is to have a Friend to obſerve and tell one of one's Faults, whom one has Reaſon to eſteem, and is apt to believe.

The great Miſcarriages of Life come from the Want of a good Pilot, or from a Sufficiency to follow one's own Courſe or Humour.

Sometimes out of Pride to contradict others, or ſhew one needs no Inſtruction.

Do nothing to loſe common Reputation, which is the beſt Poſſeſſion of Life, eſpecially that of Honour and Truth.

Roughneſs or Authority in giving Counſel, Eaſineſs to receive all, or Obſtinacy to receive none, equally to be avoided.

Too much Delicacy in one, or the other, of ill Effect.

Mark what makes other Men eſteemed, and imitate; what diſeſteemed, and avoid it.

Many very learned and able, without being agreeable; more the contrary.

Company to be avoided, that are good for nothing; to be ſought and frequented, that excel in ſome Quality or other.

Of all Excellencies that make Converſation, good Senſe and good Nature the moſt neceſſary, Humour the pleaſanteſt.

To ſubmit blindly to none, to preſerve the Liberty of one's own Reaſon, to diſpute for Inſtruction, not Victory, and yield to Reaſon as ſoon as it appears to us, from whence ſoever it comes.

This is to be found in all Conditions and Degrees of Men, in a Farmer or Miller ſometimes, as well as a Lawyer or Divine, among the Learned and the Great; tho' their Reputation or Manner often impoſes on us.

The beſt Rules to form a young Man, to talk little, to hear much, to reflect alone upon what has paſt in Company, to diſtruſt one's own Opinions, and value others that deſerve it.

The chief Ingredients into the Compoſition of thoſe Qualities that gain Eſteem and Praiſe, are good Nature, Truth, good Senſe, and good Breeding.

Good Nature is ſeen in a Diſpoſition to ſay and do, what one thinks will pleaſe or profit others.

Good Breeding in doing nothing one thinks will either hurt or diſpleaſe them.

Good Nature and good Senſe come from our Births or Tempers; good Breeding and Truth, chiefly by Education and Converſe with Men. Yet Truth ſeems much in one's Blood, and is gained too by good Senſe and Reflection; that nothing is a greater Poſſeſſion, nor of more Advantage to thoſe that have it, as well as thoſe that deal with it.

Offenſive and undiſtinguiſh'd Rallery comes from ill Nature, and Deſire of Harm to others, tho' without Good to one's ſelf.

Or Vanity and a Deſire of valuing our ſelves, by ſhewing other Faults and Follies, and the Compariſon with our ſelves, as free from them.

This Vein in the World was originally Railing; but becauſe that would not paſs without Return of Blows, Men of more Wit than Courage brought in this Refinement, more dangerous to others, and leſs to themſelves.

Charles Brandon's Motto at a Turnament, upon his Marriage with the Queen; the Trappings of his Horſe being half Cloth of Gold, and the other half Frize.

Cloth of Gold do not deſpiſe,
Tho' thou art match'd with Cloth of Frize:
Cloth of Frize be not too bold,
Tho' thou art match'd with Cloth of Gold.

VIRGIL's LAST ECLOGUE.

ONE Labour more, O *Arethuſa*, yield,
Before I leave the Shepherds and the Field:
Some Verſes to my *Gallus* e're we part,
Such as may one Day break *Lycoris*' Heart,
As She did his. Who can refuſe a Song,
To one that lov'd ſo well, and dy'd ſo young!
So may'ſt thou thy belov'd *Alpheus* pleaſe,
When thou creep'ſt under the *Sicanian* Seas.
Begin, and ſing *Gallus*' unhappy Fires,
Whilſt yonder Goat to yonder Branch aſpires
Out of his Reach. We ſing not to the Deaf;
An Anſwer comes from ev'ry trembling Leaf.
What Woods, what Foreſts had intic'd your Stay,
Ye *Nayades*, why came ye not away
When *Gallus* dy'd by an unworthy Flame?
Parnaſſus knew, and lov'd too well, his Name,
To ſtop your Courſe; nor could your haſty Flight
Be ſtaid by *Pindus*, which was his Delight.
Him the freſh Lawrels, Him the lowly Heath
Bewail'd with dewy Tears; his parting Breath
Made lofty *Mænalus* hang his piny Head;
Lycæan Marbles wept, when he was dead.
Under a lonely Tree he lay, and pin'd,
His Flock about him, feeding on the Wind,
As he on Love; ſuch kind and gentle Sheep,
The fair *Adonis* would be proud to keep.

There

There came the Shepherds, there the weary Hinds,
There *Menalcas*, parch'd with Froſt and Winds;
All ask'd him whence, for whom, this fatal Love:
Apollo came, his Arts and Herbs to prove.
Why, *Gallus?* why ſo fond? he ſays; thy Flame,
Thy Care, *Lycoris*, is another's Game;
For him ſhe ſighs and raves, him ſhe purſues,
Through mid-Day's Heats, and through the Morning Dews;
Over the ſnowy Cliffs, and frozen Streams,
Through noiſy Camps. Up, *Gallus*, leave thy Dreams:
She has left thee. Still lay the drooping Swain,
Hanging his mourning Head: *Phœbus* in vain,
Offers his Herbs, employs his Counſel here;
'Tis all refus'd, or anſwer'd with a Tear.
What ſhakes the Branches! what makes all the Trees
Begin to bow their Heads, the Goats their Knees!
Oh! 'tis *Sylvanus*, with his moſſy Beard
And leafy Crown, attended by a Herd
Of Wood-born Satyrs; ſee! he ſhakes his Spear,
A green young Oak, the talleſt of the Year.
Pan, the *Arcadian* God, forſook the Plains,
Mov'd with the Story of his *Gallus'* Pains.
We ſaw him come, with Oaten-pipe in hand,
Painted with Berries-juice; we ſaw him ſtand,
And gaze upon his Shepherd's bathing Eyes;
And, What no end, no end of Grief! he cries:
Love little minds all thy conſuming Care,
Or reſtleſs Thoughts; they are his daily Fare.
Nor cruel Love with Tears, nor Graſs with Show'rs,
Nor Goats with tender Sprouts, nor Bees with Flow'rs,
Are ever ſatisfy'd. So ſaid the God,
And toucht the Shepherd with his Hazle Rod:
He, ſorrow-ſlain, ſeem'd to revive, and ſaid,
But yet, *Arcadians*, is my Grief allay'd,
To think, that in theſe Woods, and Hills, and Plains,
When I am ſilent in the Grave, your Swains
Shall ſing my Loves, *Arcadian* Swains inſpir'd
By *Phœbus*; Oh! how gently ſhall theſe tir'd
And fainting Limbs, repoſe in endleſs Sleep,
Whilſt your ſweet Notes my Love immortal keep!
Would it had pleas'd the Gods, I had been born
Juſt one of you, and taught to wind a Horn,
Or wield a Hook, or prune a branching Vine,
And known no other Love, but, *Phillis*, thine;

Or thine, *Amintas*; What though both are brown?
So are the Nuts and Berries on the Down;
Amongſt the Vines, the Willows, and the Springs,
Phillis makes Garlands, and *Amintas* ſings.
No cruel Abſence calls my Love away,
Farther than bleeting Sheep can go aſtray.
Here, my *Lycoris*, here are ſhady Groves,
Here Fountains cool, and Meadows ſoft; our Loves
And Lives may here, together, wear and end:
O the true Joys of ſuch a Fate and Friend!
I now am hurried, by ſevere Commands,
To Eaſtern Regions, and among the Bands
Of armed Troops; there, by my Foes purſu'd,
Here, by my Friends; but ſtill by Love ſubdu'd.
Thou far from home, and me, art wandring o'er
The *Alpine* Snows, the fartheſt Weſtern Shore,
The frozen *Rhine*. When are we like to meet?
Ah gently, gently, leſt thy tender Feet
Be cut with Ice. Cover thy lovely Arms;
The Northern Cold relents not at their Charms:
Away I'll go, into ſome ſhady Bow'rs,
And ſing the Songs I made in happy Hours;
And charm my Woes. How can I better chuſe,
Than among wildeſt Woods my ſelf to loſe,
And carve our Loves upon the tender Trees?
There they will thrive: See, how my Love agrees
With the young Plants: Look how they grow together,
In ſpight of Abſence, and in ſpight of Weather.
Mean time, I'll climb that Rock, and ramble o'er
Yon woody Hill; I'll chaſe the grizly Boar.
I'll find *Diana*'s, and her Nymphs Reſort;
No Froſts, no Storms, ſhall ſlack my eager Sport.
Methinks I'm wandring all about the Rocks,
And hollow ſounding Woods: Look, how my Locks
Are torn with Boughs and Thorns! My Shafts are gone,
My Legs are tir'd, and all my Sport is done.
Alas! this is no Cure for my Diſeaſe;
Nor can our Toils that cruel God appeaſe.
Now neither Nymphs, nor Songs, can pleaſe me more,
Nor hollow Woods, nor yet the chaſed Boar;
No Sport, no Labour can divert my Grief;
Without *Lycoris*, there is no Relief.
Though I ſhould drink up *Heber*'s Icy Streams,
Or *Scythian* Snows, yet ſtill her fiery Beams

Would

Would ſcorch me up. Whatever we can prove,
Love conquers all, and we muſt yield to Love.

HORACE. Lib. IV. Ode 7.

THE Snows are melted all away,
The Fields grow flow'ry, green and gay,
The Trees put on their tender Leaves;
And all the Streams that went aſtray,
The Brook again into her Bed receives.

See! the whole Earth has made a Change,
The Nymphs and Graces naked range
About the Fields, who ſhrunk before
Into their Caves. The empty Grange
Prepares its room, for a new Summer's Store.

Leſt thou ſhouldſt hope immortal Things,
The changing Year Inſtruction brings,
The fleeting Hour, that ſteals away
The Beggar's Time, and Life of Kings,
But ne'er returns them, as it does the Day.

The Cold grows ſoft with Weſtern Gales,
The *Summer* over *Spring* prevails,
But yields to *Autumn*'s fruitful Rain,
As this to *Winter* Storms and Hails;
Each Loſs the haſting Moons repair again.

But we, when once our Race is done,
With *Tullus*, and *Anchiſes'* Son,
(Though rich like one, like t'other good)
To Duſt and Shades, without a Sun,
Deſcend, and ſink in deep Oblivion's Flood.

Who knows, if the kind Gods will give
Another Day to Men that live
In hope of many diſtant Years;
Or if one Night more ſhall retrieve
The Joys thou loſeſt, by thy idle Fears?

The

The pleaſant Hours thou ſpend'ſt in Health,
The Uſe thou mak'ſt of Youth and Wealth,
As what thou gav'ſt among thy Friends,
Eſcapes thy Heirs; ſo thoſe the Stealth
Of Time and Death, where Good and Evil ends.

For when that comes, nor Birth, nor Fame,
Nor Piety, nor Honeſt Name,
Can e'er reſtore thee. *Theſeus* bold,
Nor chaſt *Hippolytus*, could tame
Devouring Fate, that ſpares not young nor old.

HORACE. Lib. I. Ode 13.

WHEN thou commend'ſt the lovely Eyes
Of *Telephus*, that for thee dies,
His Arms of Wax, his Neck, or Hair;
Oh! how my Heart begins to beat,
My Spleen is ſwell'd with Gall and Heat,
And all my Hopes are turn'd into Deſpair.

Then both my Mind and Colour change,
My jealous Thoughts about me range,
In twenty Shapes; my Eyes begin,
Like Winter-ſprings, apace to fill;
The ſtealing Drops, as from a Still,
Fall down, and tell what Fires I feel within.

When his Reproaches make thee cry,
And thy freſh Cheeks with Paleneſs die,
I burn, to think you will be Friends;
When his rough Hand thy Boſom ſtrips,
Or his fierce Kiſſes tear thy Lips,
I die, to ſee how all ſuch Quarrel ends.

Ah! never hope a Youth to hold,
So haughty, and in Love ſo bold;
What can him tame in Anger keep?
Whom all this Fondneſs can't aſſuage,
Who even Kiſſes turns to Rage,
Which *Venus* does in her own *Nectar* ſteep.

Thrice

Thrice happy they, whose gentle Hearts,
Till Death it self their Union parts,
An undisturbed Kindness holds,
Without Complaints or jealous Fears,
Without Reproach or spited Tears,
Which damps the kindest Heats with sullen Colds.

Upon the Approach of the Shore at *Harwich*, In *January*, 1658.

Begun under the MAST.

WElcome the fairest and the happiest Earth,
Seat of my Hopes and Pleasures, as my Birth:
Mother of well-born Souls, and fearless Hearts,
In Arms renown'd, and flourishing in Arts.
The Island of good Nature, and good Cheer,
That elsewhere only pass, inhabit here.
Region of Valour and of Beauty too;
Which shews, the Brave are only fit to woo.
No Child thou hast, ever approach'd thy Shore,
That lov'd thee better, or esteem'd thee more.
Beaten with Journies, both of Land and Seas,
Weary'd with Care, the busy Man's Disease;
Pinch'd with the Frost, and parched with the Wind;
Giddy with rowling, and with fasting pin'd;
Sprighted and vex'd, that Winds, and Tides, and Sands,
Should all conspire to cross such great Commands,
As haste me home, with an Account, that brings
The Doom of Kingdoms to the best of Kings:
Yet I respire at thy reviving Sight,
Welcome as Health, and chearful as the Light.
How I forget my Anguish and my Toils,
Charm'd at th' Approach of thy delightful Soils!
How, like a Mother, thou hold'st out thy Arms,
To save thy Children from pursuing Harms,
And open'st thy kind Bosom, where they find
Safety from Waves, and shelter from the Wind:
Thy Cliffs so stately, and so green thy Hills,
This with Respect, with Hope the other fills

All that approach thee; who believe they find
A Spring for Winter, that they left behind.
Thy ſweet Incloſures, and thy ſcatter'd Farms,
Shew thy Secureneſs from thy Neighbours Harms:
Their Sheep in Houſes, and their Men in Towns,
Sleep only ſafe; thine rove about the Downs,
And Hills, and Groves, and Plains, and know no Fear
Of Foes, or Wolves, or Cold, throughout the Year.
Their vaſt and frightful Woods ſeem only made
To cover cruel Deeds, and give a Shade
To Savage Beaſts, who on the weaker prey,
Or human Savages more wild than they.
Thy pleaſant Thickets, and thy ſhady Groves,
Only relieve the Heats, and cover Loves,
Shelt'ring no other Thefts or Cruelties,
But thoſe of killing or beguiling Eyes.
Their famiſh'd Hinds, by cruel Lords enſlav'd,
Ruin'd by Taxes, and by Soldiers brav'd,
Know no more Eaſe than juſt what Sleep can give;
Have no more Heat and Courage but to live:
Thy brawny Clowns, and ſturdy Seamen, fed
With manly Food, that their own Fields have bred,
Safe in their Laws, and eaſie in their Rent,
Bleſt in their King, and in their State content;
When they are call'd away from Herd and Plough
To Arms, will make all foreign Forces bow,
And ſhew how much a lawful Monarch ſaves,
When twenty Subjects beat an hundred Slaves.
Fortunate Iſland! if thou didſt but know
How much thou do'ſt to Heav'n and Nature owe!
And if thy Humour were as good, as great
Thy Forces, and as bleſt thy Soil and Seat:
But then with Numbers thou would'ſt be o'er-run;
Strangers, to breathe thy Air, their own would ſhun;
And of thy Children, none abroad would roam,
But for the Pleaſure of returning home.
Come and embrace us in thy ſaving Arms,
Command the Waves to ceaſe their rough Alarms,
And guard us to thy Port, that we may ſee
Thou art indeed the Empreſs of the Sea.
So may thy Ships about the Ocean courſe,
And ſtill increaſe in Number and in Force.
So may no Storms ever infeſt thy Shores,
But all the Winds that blow encreaſe thy Stores.

May never more contagious Air ariſe,
To cloſe ſo many of thy Children's Eyes;
But all about thee Health and Plenty vye,
Which ſhall ſeem kindeſt to thee, Earth or Sky.
May no more Fires be ſeen among thy Towns,
But charitable Beacons on thy Downs,
Or elſe victorious Bonfires in thy Streets,
Kindled by Winds that blow from off thy Fleets.
May'ſt thou feel no more Fits of factious Rage,
But all Diſtempers may thy *Charles* aſſwage,
With ſuch a well-tun'd Concord of his State,
As none but ill, and hated Men, may hate.
And may'ſt thou from him endleſs Monarchs ſee,
Whom thou may'ſt honour, who may honour thee.
May they be *wiſe* and *good*: Thy happy Seat,
And Stores will never fail to make them *Great*.

HORACE. Lib. III. Ode 29.

I.

Mecænas, Off-ſpring of *Tyrrhenian* Kings,
And worthy of the greateſt Empire's Sway,
Unbend thy working Mind a-while, and play
With ſofter Thoughts, and looſer Strings;
Hard Iron ever wearing, will decay.

II.

A Piece untouch'd of old and noble Wine
Attends thee here; ſoft Eſſence for thy Hair,
Of purple Violets made, or Lillies fair;
The Roſes hang their Heads and pine,
And till you come, in vain perfume the Air.

III.

Be not inveigled by the gloomy Shades
Of *Tyber*, nor cool *Anien*'s chryſtal Streams;
The Sun is yet but young, his gentle Beams
Revive, and ſcorch not up the Blades,
The Spring, like Virtue, dwells between Extreams.

IV.

Leave fulſom Plenty for a-while, and come
From ſtately Palaces, that towre ſo high,
And ſpread ſo far; the Duſt and Buſineſs fly,
The Smoak and Noiſe of mighty *Rome*,
And Cares, that on embroider'd Carpets lye.

V.

It is Viciſſitude, that Pleaſure yields
To Men with greateſt Wealth and Honours bleſt;
And ſometimes, homely Fare, but cleanly dreſt,
In Country Farms, or pleaſant Fields,
Clear up a clowdy Brow, and thoughtful Breaſt.

VI.

Now the cold Winds have blown themſelves away,
The Froſts are melted into pearly Dews;
The chirping Birds each Morning tell the News
Of chearful Spring, and welcome Day.
The tender Lambs follow the bleating Ewes.

VII.

The vernal Bloom adorns the fruitful Trees
With various Dreſs; the ſoft and gentle Rains
Begin with Flowers to enamel all the Plains.
The Turtle with her Mate agrees;
And wanton Nymphs with their enamour'd Swains.

VIII.

Thou art contriving in thy Mind, what State
And Form, becomes that mighty City beſt:
Thy buſie Head can take no gentle Reſt,
For thinking on th' Events and Fate
Of factious Rage; which has her long oppreſt.

IX.

Thy Cares extend to the remoteſt Shores
Of her vaſt Empire; how the *Perſian* Arms;
Whether the *Bactrians* join their Troops; what Harms
From the *Cantabrians*, and the *Moors*
May come, or the tumultuous *German* Swarms.

X.

But the wiſe Powers above, that all Things know,
In ſable Night have hid th' Events, and Train
Of future Things; and with a juſt Diſdain
Laugh, when poor Mortals here below
Fear without Cauſe; and break their Sleeps in vain.

XI.

Think how the preſent thou may'ſt beſt compoſe
With equal Mind, and without endleſs Cares;
For the unequal Courſe of State Affairs,
Like to the Ocean, ebbs and flows,
Or rather like our neighbouring *Tyber* fares,

XII. Now

XII.

Now ſmooth and gentle through her Channel creeps,
With ſoft and eaſy Murmurs purling down:
Now ſwells and rages, threatning all to drown:
Away both Corn and Cattle ſweeps,
And fills with Noiſe and Horror Fields and Town.

XIII.

After a while grown calm, retreats again
Into her ſandy Bed, and ſoftly glides.
So *Jove* ſometimes, in fiery Chariot rides
With Cracks of Thunder, Storms of Rain,
Then grows ſerene, and all our Fears derides.

XIV.

He only lives content, and his own Man,
Or rather Maſter, who each Night can ſay,
'Tis well, Thanks to the Gods, I've liv'd to Day;
This is my own, this never can,
Like other Goods, be forc'd or ſtolen away.

XV.

And for To-morrow, let me weep or laugh,
Let the Sun ſhine, or Storms or Tempeſts ring,
Yet 'tis not in the Power of Fates, a Thing
Should ne'er have been, or not be ſafe,
Which flying Time has cover'd with her Wing.

XVI.

Capricious *Fortune* plays a ſcornful Game
With human Things; uncertain as the Wind:
Sometimes to thee, ſometimes to me is kind:
Throws about Honours, Wealth and Fame,
At random, heedleſs, humorous, and blind.

XVII.

He's wiſe, who, when ſhe ſmiles, the Good enjoys,
And unallay'd with Fears of future Ill;
But if ſhe frowns, e'en let her have her Will.
I can with eaſe reſign the Toys,
And lie wrapt up in my own Virtue ſtill.

XVIII.

I'll make my Court to honeſt Poverty,
An eaſy Wife, although without a Dower:
What Nature asks, will yet be in my Power;
For, without Pride or Luxury,
How little ſerves to paſs the fleeting Hour?

XIX.

'Tis not for me, when Winds and Billows riſe,
And crack the Maſt, and mock the Seamens Cares,
To fall to poor and mercenary Prayers;
For fear, the *Tyrian* Merchandiſe
Should all be loſt, and not enrich my Heirs.

XX.

I'll rather leap into the little Boat,
Which without flutt'ring Sails ſhall waft me o'er
The ſwelling Waves; and then I'll think no more
Of Ship, or Freight; but change my Note,
And thank the Gods, that I am ſafe a-ſhore.

HORACE.

Non domus & fundus, non æris acervus & auri.

NOR Houſe, nor Lands, nor Heaps of Plate, or Gold,
Can cure a Fever's Heat, or Ague's Cold;
Much leſs a Mind, with Grief or Care oppreſt:
No Man's Poſſeſſions e'er can make him bleſt,
That is not well himſelf, and ſound at Heart;
Nature will ever be too ſtrong for Art.
Whoever feeds vain Hopes, or fond Deſires,
Diſtracting Fears, wild Love, or jealous Fires;
Is pleas'd with all his Fortunes, like ſore Eyes
With curious Pictures; gouty Legs and Thighs
With dancing; or half dead and aking Ears
With Muſick, while the Noiſe he hardly hears.
For if the Cask remains unſound or ſowr,
Be the Wine ne'er ſo rich, or ſweet, you pour,
'Twill take the Veſſel's Taſte, and loſe its own,
And all you fill were better let alone.

TIBULLUS. Lib. IV. El. 2.

TO worſhip thee, O mighty *Mars*, upon
Thy ſacred Calends, is *Sulpitia* gone:
If thou art wiſe, leave the Celeſtial Sphere,
And for a while come down to ſee her here;
Venus will pardon; but take heed her Charms
Make thee not, gazing, ſoon let fall thy Arms:
When Love would ſet the Gods on Fire, he flies
To light his Torches at her ſparkling Eyes.
Whate'er *Sulpitia* does, where-e'er ſhe goes,
The Graces all her Motions ſtill compoſe:
How her Hair charms us, when it looſely falls;
Comb'd back and ty'd, our Veneration calls:
If ſhe comes out in Scarlet, how ſhe turns
Us all to Aſhes; though in white, ſhe burns.
Vertumnus ſo a thouſand Dreſſes wears,
So in a thouſand, ever Grace appears:
Of all the Virgins, ſhe deſerves alone
In *Tyrian* Purple to adorn a Throne:
She, to poſſeſs, and reap the ſpicy Fields,
Gather the Gums, that rich *Arabia* yields;
She, all the Orient Pearls, that grow in Shells
Along the Shores, where the tann'd *Indian* dwells.
For her, the Muſes tune their charming Lays,
For Her, upon his Harp *Apollo* plays:
May ſhe this Feaſt for many Years adore,
None can become, deſerve an Altar more.

FINIS.

HYMNS.

MEMOIRS.

THE

THIRD PART.

PREFACE.

FROM THE

PEACE concluded 1679,

TO THE

Time of the AUTHOR'S Retirement from Publick Buſineſs.

Et Ille quidem plenus Annis abiit, plenus Honoribus, illis etiam quos recuſavit. Plin. Epiſt. Lib. 2. Epiſt. 1.

LONDON:

Printed for BENJAMIN MOTTE.

MDCCXXXI.

MDCCXXXI

Printed for BENJAMIN MOTTE.

LONDON:



Et illo denique tyranno Natus erat, tyranni Hannibal, miri cujusdam mons

Fin. Epit. Lib. 2. Epit. 1.

accedunt.

Time of the Author's Retirement from

PUBLICK BUSINESS.

TO THE

PEACE concluded 1697.

FROM THE

THIRD PART

OF THE

MEMOIRS.

THE PREFACE.

IT was perfectly in compliance to some Persons for whose Opinion I have great Deference, that I so long with-held the Publication of the following Papers. They seem'd to think, that the Freedom of Passages in these Memoirs might give Offence to several who were still alive; and whose Part in those Affairs which are here related, could not be transmitted to Posterity with any Advantage to their Reputation. But, whether this Objection be in it self of much Weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no Restraint in that Particular; Since I am not of an Age to remember those Transactions, nor had any Acquaintance with those Persons whose Counsels or Proceedings are condemn'd, and who are all of them now dead.

But, as this Author is very free in exposing the Weakness and Corruption of ill Ministers, so he is as ready to commend the Abilities and Virtue of others, as may be observ'd from several Passages of these Memoirs; particularly, of the late Earl of Sunderland, *with whom the Author continu'd in the most intimate Friendship to his Death; and who was Father of that most learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State: As likewise, of the present Earl of* Rochester; *and the Earl of* Godolphin, *now Lord Treasurer, represented by this impartial Author as a Person in that time deservedly entrusted with so great a Part in the prime Ministry; an Office he now Executes again with such universal Applause, so much to the Queen's Honour and his own, and to the Advantage of his Country, as well as of the whole Confederacy.*

There are two Objections I have sometimes heard to have been offer'd against these Memoirs that were Printed in the Author's Life-time, and which these now Publish'd may perhaps be equally liable to. First, as to the Matter; That the Author speaks too much of himself: Next, as to the Stile; That he affects the Use of French *Words, as well as some Turns of Expression peculiar to that Language.*

I believe, those who make the former Criticism, do not well consider the Nature of Memoirs. 'Tis to the French *(if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of Writing; and Sir* William Temple *is not only the first, but I think the only* English-man *(at least of any Consequence) who ever attempted it. The best* French *Memoirs are writ by such Persons as were the principal Actors in those Transactions they pretend to relate, whether of Wars or Negotiations. Those of Sir* William Temple *are of the same Nature; and therefore, in my Judgment, the Publisher (who sent them into the World without the Author's Privity) gave them a wrong Title, when he call'd them* Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, *&c. whereas it should rather have been,* Memoirs of the Treaty at Nimeguen, *which was plainly the Sense of the Author, who in the Epistle tells his Son, that* in Compliance with his Desire, he will leave him some Memoirs of what pass'd in his publick Employments Abroad; *And in the Book it self, when he deduces an Account of the State of War in* Christendom, *he says it is only to prepare the Reader for a Relation of that famous Treaty; where he and Sir* Lionel Jenkins *were the only Mediators that continu'd any considerable Time; and as the Author was first in Commission, so in Point of Abilities or Credit, either Abroad*

or at Home, there was no ſort of Compariſon between the Two Perſons. Thoſe Memoirs therefore are properly a Relation of a General Treaty of Peace, wherein the Author had the Principal, as well as the moſt Honourable Part, in Quality of Mediator; ſo that the frequent Mention of himſelf, ſeems not only excuſable but neceſſary. The ſame may be offer'd in Defence of the following Papers, becauſe during the greateſt part of the Period they treat of, the Author was in chief Confidence with the King his Maſter. To which it may be added, that in the few Preliminary Lines at the Head of the firſt Page, the Author profeſſes he writ thoſe Papers for the Satisfaction of his Friends hereafter, upon the Grounds of his Retirement, and his Reſolution never to meddle again with publick Affairs.

As to the Objection againſt the Stile of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French *Words and Turns of Expreſſion; it is to be conſider'd, that at the Treaty of* Nimeguen, *all Buſineſs, either by Writing or Diſcourſe, paſs'd in the* French *Tongue; and the Author having liv'd ſo many Years abroad in that and former Ambaſſies, where all Buſineſs, as well as Converſation, run in that Language, it was hardly poſſible for him to write upon publick Affairs without ſome Tincture of it in his Stile; tho' in his other Writings, there be little or nothing of it to be obſerv'd: And as he has often aſſur'd me it was a Thing he never affected; ſo upon the Objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out ſome* French *Words in theſe, and plac'd* Engliſh *in their ſtead, though perhaps not ſo ſignificant.*

There is one Thing proper to inform the Reader, why theſe Memoirs are called the Third Part, *there having never been publiſh'd but one Part before, where in the Beginning, the Author mentions a former Part, and in the Concluſion promiſes a Third. The Subject of the Firſt Part was chiefly the Triple Alliance, during the Negotiation of which my Lord* Arlington *was Secretary of State and chief Miniſter: Sir* William Temple *often aſſur'd me, he had burnt thoſe Memoirs; and for that Reaſon was content his Letters, during his Ambaſſies at the* Hague *and* Aix la Chapelle, *ſhould be Printed after his Death, in ſome manner to ſupply that Loſs.*

What it was that mov'd Sir William Temple *to burn thoſe firſt Memoirs, may perhaps be conjectur'd from ſome Paſſages in the Second Part, formerly Printed: In one Place the Author has theſe Words,* My Lord, *Arlington,* who made ſo great a Figure in the former Part of theſe Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit, *&c. In other Parts he tells us, That Lord was of the Miniſtry which broke the Triple League; adviſ'd the* Dutch *War and* French *Alliance; and in ſhort, was at the Bottom of all thoſe Ruinous Meaſures which the Court of* England *was then taking; ſo that, as I have been told from a good Hand, and as it ſeems very probable, he could not think that Lord a Perſon fit to be celebrated for his Part in forwarding that famous League while he was Secretary of State, who had made ſuch Counterpaces to deſtroy it. At the End I have ſubjoyn'd an Appendix, containing, beſides one or two other Particulars, a Speech of Sir* William Temple's *in the Houſe of Commons, and an Anſwer of the King's to an Addreſs of that Houſe, relating to the Bill of Excluſion, both which are mention'd in theſe Memoirs.*

I have only further to inform the Reader, that altho' theſe Papers were corrected by the Author, yet he had once intended to inſert ſome Additions in ſeveral Places, as appear'd by certain Hints or Memorandums in the Margin; but whether they were omitted out of Forgetfulneſs, Neglect, or Want of Health, I cannot determine: One Paſſage relating to Sir William Jones *he was pleas'd to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix. The reſt I know nothing of; but the Thread of the Story is intire without 'em.*

JONATHAN SWIFT.

ME-

MEMOIRS.

THE

THIRD PART.

Written for the Satisfaction of my Friends hereafter, upon the Grounds of my Retirement, and Reſolution never to meddle again with any Publick Affairs from this preſent February, 16$\frac{80}{81}$.

UPON my Return from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, after the Emperor's Ambaſſadors having Sign'd the Peace, the King ſignified His Pleaſure to me, by a Letter from my Lord * Treaſurer, that he would have me come over to enter into the Secretary's Office in Mr. *Coventry*'s Room, according to the Reſolution he had taken the Year before, when he ſent for me over into *England* from *Nimeguen* to that purpoſe.

* *Earl of* Danby, *now Duke of* Leeds.

I ſent my humble Acknowledgments to the King, in my Anſwer to the Lord Treaſurer's Letter; but withal, my humble Excuſes for not putting His Majeſty upon the Uſe of an old beaten Horſe, in ſuch hard Service as I took that Station then to be; and propos'd my Colleague, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, for that purpoſe. And having long promis'd the Great Duke, that I would make him a Viſit at *Florence*, if I liv'd; I turn'd my Thoughts wholly to get leave for that Journey, as ſoon as the Congreſs at *Nimeguen* ſhould wholly break up, as it was like to do ſome time that Spring, 167$\frac{8}{9}$.

This gave ſome Reſpite at Court to the Reſolutions of my Return, and an Overture for Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s coming over in my Room; ſo that I prepar'd for a ſhort Return to *Nimeguen*; when moſt unexpectedly came a Yacht to *Rotterdam*, with Letters from my Lord Treaſurer, and from the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had newly ſucceeded Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*. And in both thoſe Diſpatches, there was a poſitive Command from the King, for my immediate Repair into *England*, in order to my entering upon the Secretary's Office.

The King writ the ſame thing at the ſame time to the Prince, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, which he did, as a thing he thought they would be pleas'd with (as he was himſelf, and indeed all my Friends;) tho' while I was forc'd to ſtay at the *Hague*, about a Fortnight before my Imbarking, they all found me in very different Thoughts, both upon my Diſcourſes and my Letters; inſomuch that the Prince told me, he look'd upon it as a Piece of Predeſtination, that I ſhould be Secretary of State at laſt, in ſpight of all I had done ſo long to avoid it.

Upon my Arrival in *England*, I met with the moſt ſurpriſing Scene that ever was: The Long Parliament diſſolv'd, and the Reſolution taken for the Duke's going into *Holland*, and that he was to depart next Day: So that I had only one occaſion of ſpeaking to him; when he told me with great Freedom the Paces that had been made towards that Reſolution, much againſt his own Opinion, and bid me remember what he foretold me, That however this was thought likely to ſtop the violent Humour then rais'd by the *Plot*, yet I ſhould ſee it would go on next to my Lord Treaſurer's Ruin, though he did not expect it.

When the Duke was gone, and the King had told me with the greateſt Kindneſs that could be, of his Reſolution to have me Secretary; and that I had no Reaſon to take it well, becauſe he knew not one Man beſides in *England* that was fit for it upon Mr. *Coventry*'s Removal; and on the other ſide, my Friends had told me, they had the Money ready for me to lay down, which was five thouſand Pounds; I began to conſider the Ground, and the Journey, and my own Strength to go through with it. I found nothing ſo neceſſary for His Majeſty's Affairs Abroad, and thoſe of Chriſtendom, as Great Union at Home; which might enable him to make ſuch a Figure as the Preſervation of his Allies requir'd; and indeed the general Intereſt of Chriſtendom; which ſeemed to depend wholly upon His Majeſty's Meaſures. On t'other ſide, I never ſaw greater Diſturbance in Mens Minds at Home, than had been rais'd by the *Plot*, and the Purſuit of it in the Parliament; and obſerv'd, that tho' it was generally believ'd by both Houſes, by City and Country, by Clergy and Laity; yet when I talk'd with ſome of my Friends in private, who ought beſt to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet Myſterious; that they could not ſay the King believ'd it; but however that the Parliament and Nation were ſo generally and ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with it, that it muſt of neceſſity be purſued as if it were true, whether it were ſo or not: And that without the King's Uniting with his People upon this Point, he would never grow either into Eaſe at Home, or Conſideration Abroad.

Upon three Days Thought of this whole Affair, I concluded it a Scene unfit for ſuch Actors as I knew my ſelf to be; and reſolv'd to avoid the Secretary's Place, or any other publick Employment at Home, my Character Abroad ſtill continuing. This I acquainted my neareſt Friends with; order'd the Money to be return'd, which had been provided by them; and fell into the Conſultations how I might get off this Point, without any thing that might appear Undutiful or Ungrateful to His Majeſty.

The Elections were Canvaſing for a new Parliament, and I order'd my Pretenſions ſo as they came to fail. In the mean time I defer'd my entring into the Secretary's Place, till I might likewiſe enter into the Houſe of Commons, which both His Majeſty and Lord Treaſurer were ſatisfied with, though not Lord *Sunderland*. But when that Parliament was choſen, and I not of the Houſe; I repreſented to His Majeſty how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet without his having one Secretary of the Houſe of Commons, and how uſeful Mr. *Coventry* would be to him there; and ſo obtain'd a Reſpite till I could be choſen of the Houſe; which was endeavour'd upon each doubtful Election, eſpecially that at *Windſor*, but however could not be carry'd.

The ſhort Parliament met, with the Diſputes between the Court and the Commons about the Speaker, begun indeed upon a Pique between the Treaſurer and Mr. * *Seymour*, or rather between my Lady *Danby* and him. However it was, this ſoon ran the Houſe into ſuch Violences againſt my Lord Treaſurer, as ended in his Ruin; firſt by the King's ſudden Reſolution to remove him; then by the Commons continuing their Purſuits and Impeachments; and laſt, by his Lordſhip's firſt concealing, and then producing himſelf in the Face of this Storm, which ended in the Tower.

* *Afterwards Sir* Edw. Seymour.

After theſe Heats of the Commons, which encreas'd into new Meaſures and Motions among them, as they were ſway'd by popular Humours upon the

the *Plot*, and many new *Plots* lay'd by the Ambitions of private Perſons, carry'd on under Covert of the other; I never ſaw any Man more ſenſible of the miſerable Condition of His Affairs, than I found His Majeſty upon many Diſcourſes with him, which my Foreign Employments and Correſpondences made way for. But nothing he ſaid to me mov'd me more, than when upon the ſaid Proſpect of them all, he told me, he had none leſt, with whom he could ſo much as ſpeak of them in Confidence, ſince my Lord Treaſurer's being gone. And this gave, I ſuppoſe, His Majeſty the occaſion of entring into more Confidence with me, than I could deſerve or expect.

On the other ſide I found, that the Counſel of my Lord Treaſurer's Removal had been carry'd on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in Conjunction with the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* and Lord *Eſſex*, who was then in the greateſt Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and by him and Lord *Sunderland* newly brought into the Treaſury. I found my Lord *Sunderland* at leaſt in Compliance with this Knot, and that all were reſolv'd to bring my Lord *Shaftsbury* again into Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Eſſex*, and had a near Relation to Lord *Sunderland*. I obſerved the great Affection his Majeſty had to the Duke of *Monmouth*, and ſaw plainly the Uſe his Grace intended to make of it, in caſe he could introduce a Miniſtry at his own Devotion, or in his Intereſts: And this being a Matter that might concern the very Succeſſion of the Crown, and not only an Injury to the Duke, but through him to his Children, and the Prince of *Orange*; I reſolved firſt, if it were poſſible, to break the Growth of that Miniſtry, tho' I ſaw no Men whom I could deſign to fix in it, with any Satisfaction or Advantage to the King or his Service.

On t'other ſide, I obſerv'd the Parliament to grow every day more Violent, upon the Support they receiv'd from the Humours rais'd by the *Plot*, and the Incentives given them by the Ambitions of Perſons playing that Game. I ſaw a Probability of Matters growing to ſuch a Paſs, that his Majeſty might be forc'd to part with them; and yet I ſaw not Authority enough left in the Crown either to do that without the Venture of great Miſchiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the preſent Humours might cool. And both theſe Conſiderations meeting together, caſt me upon the Thoughts of the King's Eſtabliſhing a new Council, of ſuch a Conſtitution as might either gain Credit enough with the preſent Parliament, by taking in ſo many Perſons of thoſe who had Moſt among them, and thereby give Eaſe and Quiet both to the King and his People; Or if, on the other ſide, the Humours ſhould grow Outragious and beyond Oppoſing, the King might yet at the Head of ſuch a Council, with more Authority and leſs Hazard of ill Conſequences, either Prorogue or Diſſolve them, as any Neceſſities of his own, or Extravagancies of theirs ſhould require.

For theſe Ends it ſeem'd neceſſary to take into the Council ſome Lords and Commoners, who were of moſt appearing Credit and Sway in both Houſes, without being thought either principled or intereſted againſt the Government; and mix them with others of his Majeſty's more general Choice, for making up one Half of the Council: whilſt the other Half, being Fifteen, were ever to be preſent, chief Officers of his Crown and Houſhold: Who being all of his Majeſty's known Truſt, as well as Choice, would be ſure to keep the Council ſteady to the true Intereſt of his Majeſty and the Crown.

But one chief Regard neceſſary to this Conſtitution, was that of the perſonal Riches of this new Council; which in Revenues of Land or Offices, was found to amount to about three hundred thouſand Pounds a Year: Whereas thoſe of a Houſe of Commons are ſeldom found to have exceeded four hundred thouſand Pounds. And Authority is obſerved much to follow Land: And at the worſt, ſuch a Council might out of their own Stock, and upon a Pinch, furniſh the King ſo far, as to relieve ſome great Neceſſity of the Crown.

This

This whole Matter was conſulted and deduc'd upon Paper, only between the King and me, and laſted in the Debate and Digeſtion about a Month: But when the Forms and Perſons were agreed, and his Majeſty ſeem'd much ſatisfied with the Thing, and reſolv'd to go on with it, I humbly deſired him not to take a Reſolution of that Importance, without firſt communicating it to three or four Perſons of thoſe his Majeſty could moſt rely upon in Point of Judgment, Secrecy, and Affection to his Service. The King reſolv'd I ſhould go and Communicate the whole Scheme, with all the Particulars of it, to my * Lord Chancellor, Lord *Sunderland*, and Lord *Eſſex*; but one after another; and with Charge from him of the laſt Secrecy; and ſhould bring him Word of their Opinions upon it; and if they concurr'd with his, ſhould appoint them to attend his Majeſty next Morning; the Chancellor only entering into his Lodgings by the common Way, but the other two and I by the private one below.

* *Finch.*

When I acquainted them with it, they all receiv'd it with equal Amazement and Pleaſure. My Lord Chancellor ſaid, it look'd like a Thing from Heaven fallen into his Majeſty's Breaſt: Lord *Eſſex*, that it would leave the Parliament and Nation in the ſame Diſpoſitions to the King which he found at his coming in: And Lord *Sunderland* approv'd it as much as any.

Next Day we attended his Majeſty, and had a very long Audience, upon which no Difficulty aroſe but two that were wholly Perſonal. I had propos'd Lord *Hallifax* as one of the Lords, whom the King had indeed keck'd at in our firſt Conſultations, more than any of the reſt: But upon ſeveral Repreſentations, of his Family, his Abilities, his Eſtate and Credit, as well as Talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was ſpited at, I thought his Majeſty had been contented with it: But at this Meeting, he rais'd new Difficulties upon it, and appear'd a great while invincible in them, though we all join'd in the Defence of it: And at laſt, I told the King, we would fall upon our Knees to gain a Point that we all thought neceſſary for his Service: And then his Majeſty conſented.

The other was concerning Lord *Shafsbury*, who had never been mention'd in our firſt Debates; and the King either had not thought of him before upon this Affair, or had not mention'd him to me, as knowing upon all Occaſions of private Diſcourſe with his Majeſty, what Opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord *Hallifax* had paſs'd, the King ſaid there was another, who if he were left out might do as much Miſchief as any, and named Lord *Shafsbury*; to which the other three agreed; and concluded farther, that he would never be content with a Counſellor's Place among Thirty, and therefore it was propos'd to add one to the Number by making a Preſident, which ſhould be he. I diſputed this Point from the firſt Mention to the laſt Concluſion of it, foretelling he would deſtroy all the Good that we expected from the whole Conſtitution; and ſaid all that I could with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that when by his Majeſty's agreeing with the other Three I ſaw it would be concluded, I walked away to the other End of the Room, not knowing well whether I ſhould have gone out or not, if the Door had been open; but turning again, I deſir'd his Majeſty to remember, that I had no part in Lord *Shafsbury*'s coming into his Council or his Affairs; that his Majeſty and the other three Lords had reſolv'd it without me; and that I was ſtill abſolutely againſt it. The King laugh'd, and turn'd my Anger into a Jeſt; and ſo went on with the reſt of the Conſtitution intended, till the whole was reſolv'd and executed publickly in *Eaſter* 1679.

See the Appendix.

The Night before the Thing was to be done, his Majeſty thought fit to tell it the Duke of *Monmouth*; having kept it ſecret till then, further than to the four already named. But as ſoon as the Duke of *Monmouth* knew, though only in general, that the Council ſhould be chang'd, he told it ſo many, that it was common Talk next Morning; which we interpreted either Lightneſs or Vanity, to have it thought that he had part in an Affair likely to paſs ſo well. And indeed when the Thing was done in the Forms that are known,

it

it was receiv'd with general Applauſe in the Country, with Bonfires in the City, and the ſame in *Ireland*: In *Holland* the Actions of the *Eaſt-India* Company roſe upon it immediately, and very much; and the States deſign'd one of their beſt and moſt conſiderable Men, Monſieur *Van Lewen*, to come over Miniſter into *England* upon this Occaſion. *France* alone was unſatisfy'd with it, and Monſieur *Barillon* ſaid it was making *des Etats* [*States*] and not *des Conſeils* [*Councils*] but the Reaſons were eaſy to ſee, and ſo not much conſider'd.

The Houſe of Commons receiv'd it with moſt Coldneſs, where the contrary was moſt expected: And the pretending Knowers among them, who were not of the Council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new Revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court Juggle, and to refer it to Time to tell what it was in truth; in the mean while to ſuſpend their Judgments.

This was the firſt Effect of my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s good Meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was entered, but not with the perſonal or tranſcendent Credit he aim'd at with his Majeſty, and which he thought thoſe who had been Authors of this new Conſtitution had the greateſt Share in. This made him fall in more abſolutely with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and uſe all their Endeavours to riſe ſuch Diſcontents and Heats in the Houſes, upon the Apprehenſions of Popery, and Propoſitions to prevent it, that the King found himſelf ſoon upon as uneaſy Terms with this Seſſion of Parliament, as he had been with the laſt; the Humours being engag'd by my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s pretending among his Patriots, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had ſo much Credit with the King, that his Majeſty deſir'd but a good Occaſion of conſenting to all the Parliament ſhould inſiſt on, which would be given him by their Heat and Obſtinacy in ſo popular a Point as that againſt Popery: And if that were once gain'd, the Duke of *Monmouth* and he ſhould be able to ſteer all the reſt, to the Satisfaction of thoſe who call'd themſelves the *Good* or the *Honeſt* Party.

Such a Miſchief could never have grown, if Lord *Shaftsbury* had not work'd himſelf up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King and in the Council where he was Preſident; and by the Infuſions given of his having or growing yet into greater, by a more ſecret Spring, which was the Intereſt of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Kindneſs of his Majeſty Increaſing, as appear'd ſince the Duke's Abſence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new Conſtitution, Lord *Shaftsbury* had been left out, as a Perſon mark'd by his Majeſty, and never to enter more into his Affairs or Confidence; which the whole Courſe of his Life, from his very firſt Entrance upon publick Stages, if examin'd never ſo ſtrictly, would have given good Ground for. But this Fate, as I could not prevent by all my Endeavours, ſo I had foretold it His Majeſty the Year before: When upon my coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent Expreſſions that could be againſt him; I told his Majeſty, that with his good Leave, I would hold any Wager, I ſhould yet ſee that Lord again in his Buſineſs; and when the King ask'd me what made me think ſo, I ſaid, becauſe I knew he was reſtleſs while he was out, and would try every Door to get in; had Wit and Induſtry to find out the Ways; and when Money would work, had as much as any body to beſtow, and Skill enough to know where to place it.

This Turn in the King's Affairs upon this new Conſtitution, gave me ſo great a Vexation, and ſo ill a Proſpect, that having delay'd the Time preſcribed for every Man's receiving the Sacrament according to Law, after his Entrance into publick Employment, till it was very near expired; I once reſolv'd, by that Omiſſion, to make my ſelf abſolutely incapable of bearing any for the future: And was not perſuaded to lay aſide that Thought, till after long Debates upon it with my Wife and Siſter here at *Sheen*: But that Matter paſs'd in Form, and I continued barely of the Council, with a Reſolution of not entring upon the Secretary's Office, though often and earneſtly urg'd to it by Lord *Sunderland*, with others of my Friends. Up-

Upon the new Conſtitution of the Council, my Lord *Sunderland* had, by Mr. *Sydney*, deſir'd that we two might joyn together in perfect Confidence, and diſtinct from any others, in the Courſe of the King's Affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's Office or not; which I ſaid I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no Need of it, conſidering how much the general Affairs were devolv'd upon the Council or the particular Committees, and how much I thought it was fit that they ſhould continue ſo, without running into any private Channels. This Confidence had not run on above a Fortnight, when my Lord *Sunderland* ask'd me, if I were willing my Lord *Eſſex* ſhould be receiv'd into it; which I conſented to, though with Intimation to Lord *Sunderland* of the Opinion I had (for ſome time of late) of Lord *Eſſex*, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met for a while once a Day by Turns, at each of our Houſes, and conſulted upon the chief Affairs that were then on the Anvil, and how they might be beſt prepar'd for the Parliament or the Council: But Matters growing very untoward, by the Practices of Lord *Shaftsbury*, with the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Cover at leaſt, and upon the ill Humour of the Houſe of Commons about the Buſineſs of Religion; and my Lord *Halliſax* appearing unſatisfy'd, by obſerving where the King's Confidence was; I propos'd to my Lords *Sunderland* and *Eſſex*, to receive him into all our Conſultations; which I thought would both enter him into Credit with the King, and give us more Eaſe in the Courſe of his Affairs. Lord *Eſſex* receiv'd this Overture with his uſual Dryneſs; Lord *Sunderland* oppos'd it a good deal, and told me, I ſhould not find Lord *Halliſax* the Perſon I took him for, but one that could draw with no body, and ſtill climbing up to the Top himſelf. However, I continued reſolute in preſſing it, and ſo at length the Thing was concluded, and we fell all four together into the uſual Meetings and Conſultations.

The chief Matters that lay before the King at that Time, were; firſt, the Satisfaction of his People, by falling into ſome Meaſures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look Abroad in ſuch a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was neceſſary for preventing the common Fears of a new Invaſion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*, which look'd very deſperate, without ſome ſtrong and reſolute Protection from *England*.

The Second, was, a Reſolution to be taken in Anſwer to the Inſtances made by Monſieur *Van Lewen* from the States, about a new Guaranty to be given upon the late General Peace by his Majeſty; particularly to *Spain* in the Buſineſs of *Flanders*.

The Third, was, the giving ſome Eaſe to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to ſwell about this Time; and which we conceiv'd could be no way done ſo eaſily, as by Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*; a Man too much hated both here and there, to be fit for the Temper his Majeſty ſeem'd reſolved to uſe in his Affairs.

For this Laſt, we could not upon any Terms obtain it of the King, by all the Arguments us'd (both jointly and ſeverally) by us all four; the King's Defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew *Scotland* ſo well as his Majeſty himſelf.

For the Second, we eaſily agreed upon the Meaſures that ſeem'd neceſſary for the Satisfaction of the States, and the Safety of *Flanders*; being all four of the Committee, where all the Foreign Affairs were conſulted; and taking the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* into the firſt Digeſtion of this Treaty with *Holland*, at a Meeting for that purpoſe, at my Lord *Halliſax*'s Houſe; which was the only time I ever had any Thing to do, or ſo much as Talk, with my Lord *Shaftsbury*, further than the Council Chamber.

For the firſt Thing, which was the moſt important, we found it more perplex'd than we could imagine. Both Houſes of Parliament ſeem'd to have no Eyes, but for the Dangers of Popery upon the Duke's Succeſſion to the Crown; which Humour was blown up by all the Arts and Intrigues of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*. The King ſeem'd willing to ſecure

ſecure them all that could be againſt thoſe Fears, without changing the Laws in Point of Succeſſion. The Houſe of Commons were buſie in finding out Expedients to ſecure this Point, but could agree on none; being ſtill diverted from fixing on any, by Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Practices. The Council fell upon the ſame Scent with great Earneſtneſs and Endeavour; and after much Hammering, agreed upon many Heads to be offer'd the Parliament, which are commonly enough known. *See the Appendix.*

Theſe Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except my Lord *Shaftsbury* and me; who were againſt them, upon very different Grounds. Mine were two; Firſt, becauſe I believ'd, that nothing that came firſt from the King upon theſe Points, would be accepted by the Commons; who, if they would be ſatisfy'd at all, I thought ſhould firſt agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuſe. The Second was, that as I did not ſee any certain Baſe theſe Expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houſes; ſo it was evident to all Men, that they would leave the Crown after him in Shackles, which put on upon the Duke's Occaſion, and in his Time, would not be eaſily knock'd off by any Succeſſor. My Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Ground was plain, and ſo expreſs'd by him upon all Occaſions; which was, that there could be no Security againſt the Duke, if once in Poſſeſſion of the Crown: And this being well infus'd by his and the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Friends into the Houſe of Commons, occaſion'd their ſullen rejecting all the Expedients offer'd them by the King, and lay'd the Foundation for the Proceedings of the late Houſe of Commons, and the ſtrange Diſorders wherein they have left Affairs at Home, and thereby the deſperate Condition of Affairs Abroad.

During all theſe Tranſactions, the three Lords and I continued our conſtant Meetings and Conſultations; and with ſo much Union, and ſo diſintereſted Endeavours for the General Good of his Majeſty's Service and the Kingdom's, that I could not but ſay to them, at the end of one of our Meetings, That we four were either the four honeſteſt Men in *England*, or the greateſt Knaves; for we made one another at leaſt believe, that we were the honeſteſt Men in the World.

But this Conjunction held not long: For, after the Houſes rejecting the Expedients offer'd by the King and Council, my Lord *Shaftsbury* finding himſelf neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the Houſe of Commons, and inflam'd them to that degree, as made the three Lords of my Commerce begin to grow uneaſy, and to caſt about which Way they might lay this Storm. At length my Lord *Sunderland* told me, that Lord *Eſſex* and Lord *Halifax* were of Opinion, that it was neceſſary to take in the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* into the firſt Digeſtion of Affairs, conſidering the Influence they had upon the Houſe; and for this End to agree with them in the Baniſhment of the Duke, either for a certain Term, or during the King's Life; and deſired to know whether I would fall into it with them, and joyn in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord *Sunderland* poſitively I would not: For, Firſt, I would never have any thing to do with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; and next, I would never enter into Matters of Difference between the King and his Brother; having upon ſeveral Occaſions told them both, that I would ever do all I could towards the Union of the whole Royal Family; but never would have any thing to do in the Diviſions of it; and no Man ſhould ever reproach me with breaking my Word, and much leſs the King or the Duke.

This was peremptory, and ſo it ended; and thereupon the three Lords fell into Meetings and Conſultations with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; which I knew nothing of, and began to come leſs to Council, and to meet no more with my uſual Company but upon Occaſion, and without the firſt Confidence; but we ſtill continued our Kindneſs where-ever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating what paſs'd in their new Conſultations.

But this lasted not long neither: For within a Fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the House of Commons, to endeavour bringing the King into Necessities of yielding all Points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury* absolutely at the Head of all Affairs; so that the three Lords began to make their Complaints of it, and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the Parliament, as the only Remedy left in the present Distemper. I agreed with them in this Overture, and the rather, because I foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords from all Commerce with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*: And so we agreed to propose it to his Majesty, and that it should be debated and resolved at Council; where the chief Officers depending upon the King, being one half of the Council, and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent Choice, we concluded, the Resolution could not fail to be taken by the Majority of the Council; if the Reasons and Necessity of it should not prevail with some of those who seem'd most in my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Confidence, to leave him upon this Occasion. And in this Resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again two Days after for the fixing it with his Majesty; upon my engaging to go for so long down into the Country, where I stay'd my two Days, and came up the third Morning early.

Upon my Arrival, I found my Lord *Sunderland* had call'd or sent several times to my House the Night before, and left Word that he must needs speak with me so soon as I came to Town. I sent immediately to *Whitehall*, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord *Essex*, who was nearest me, and ask'd whether any thing new had happen'd. He told me, that the King had found out, there were Remonstrances ready prepar'd in the House of Commons, to inflame the City and Nation upon the Points of *Plot* and *Popery*; and that their three Lordships having upon it consulted with his Majesty, he had resolved the Parliament should be Prorogued that Morning, upon the King's coming to the House; and that it could not be allow'd Time or Vent by a Debate of Council; which, for my part, I thought an ill Omission, and that it ought to have the Authority of the King with Advice of his Council, according to the usual Forms: But it pass'd otherwise, and with very great Resentment of both Houses; and such Rage of my Lord *Shaftsbury*, that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the Heads of those who were the Advisers of this Prorogation.

During this Session of Parliament, I had several Notices given me, of a Practice set on Foot in the House of Commons, for Impeaching me, as one that had been an Instrument of making the general Peace; and this was urg'd by Stories, of being a Man of Arbitrary Principles, and one that had written several Things, tho' without Name, against the Constitution of Parliaments, and in Favour of Popery: And this went so far, that * Mr. *Mountague* went a great Way from Man to Man in the House, to know whether, if such an Accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon Hatred to the late Treasurer, whose Friend they took me to be, and upon Envy at my being design'd for Secretary of State; but yet in no such Numbers that Mr. *Mountague* could hope to make any thing of it: And when some of my Friends acquainted me with it, I only desir'd them to obtain Leave of the House, that I might hear my Accusation at the Bar of the House, and assur'd them that I should be glad to have that Occasion of telling there both Mr. *Mountague*'s Story and my own. This fell; But upon the Knowledge of these Practices, my Lord *Sunderland*, and Mr. * *Sidney*, who thought that a Man who had such a part in the King's Affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, press'd me to suffer several small Things I had formerly written, and of which Copies had run, to be then Printed, as they were, under the Title of *Miscellanea*. They thought, by that Publication, Men would see, I was not a Man of the dangerous Principles pretended; and I might assure the World, of being

* *Late Duke of* Mountague.

* *Late Earl of* Rumney.

being Author of no Books that had not my Name. The Thing ſeem'd to paſs well enough; only Lord *Halifax* commending them to me in general, told me as a Friend, that I ſhould take heed of carrying too far that Principle of Paternal Dominion (which was deduc'd in the Eſſay of Government) for fear of deſtroying the Rights of the People. So tender was every body of thoſe Points at that Time.

The three Lords and I went on unanimous in our Conſultations; conſidering how to make way for a calmer and better temper'd Seſſion of Parliament, after the ſhort Prorogation which had been made. To which purpoſe, we again endeavour'd the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or at leaſt the Admiſſion of other Nobles of *Scotland* into thoſe Affairs. We concluded the Meaſures with *Holland* in all Points, to the Satisfaction of their Ambaſſador; and thought of ſuch Acts of Council, as might expreſs his Majeſty's Care for ſuppreſſing Popery, even in the Intervals of Parliament. We only diſagreed in one Point, which was, the leaving ſome Prieſts to the Law upon the Accuſation of being Prieſts only, as the Houſe of Commons had deſired; which I thought wholly unjuſt, without giving them publick Warning by Proclamation to be gone, or expect the Penalties of Law within ſuch a Time; ſince the Connivances had laſted now through three Kings Reigns: Upon this Point, Lord *Halifax* and I had ſo ſharp a Debate at Lord *Sunderland*'s Lodgings, that he told me if I would not concur in Points which were ſo neceſſary for the People's Satisfaction, he would tell every body I was a Papiſt: And upon his Affirming, that the Plot muſt be handled as if it were true, whether it were ſo or not, in thoſe Points that were ſo generally believed by City or Country as well as both Houſes; I reply'd, with ſome Heat, that the Plot was a Matter long on Foot before I came over into *England*; that to underſtand it, one muſt have been here to obſerve all the Motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it: In other Things I was content to joyn with them, where they thought I could be of Uſe to the King's Service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excus'd; and very glad to leave his Majeſty's Affairs in ſo good Hands as theirs.

Notwithſtanding ſome ſuch Differences between me and the three Lords, yet we continued our Conſultations and Confidence; and two of them, Lord *Sunderland* and *Halifax*, preſs'd me extreamly about this time to come into the Secretary's Place. Lord *Halifax*, particularly, offering to bring it to a Point with his Uncle *Coventry* upon the Money that was to be paid; pretending to be very deſirous to ſee me poſted there; and profeſſing to grow weary of the Buſineſs, ſince he could find no Temper like to grow in the next Seſſion of Parliament between the King and them. For ſince the laſt Prorogation, Lord *Shaftsbury* had been buſie in preparing Fewel for next Seſſion, not without perpetual Appearance of ill Humour at Council, which broke into ſpightful Repartees often betwixt him and Lord *Halifax*. And on t'other ſide, the Duke of *Monmouth* had broken all Meaſures with Lord *Eſſex*, with whom he had been long in the laſt Confidence: So as this grew to a ſpighted Quarrel between theſe Four; and though commonly ſmother'd when they met, yet not without Smoak appearing where they were obſerv'd.

In this Condition of Affairs, the Rebellion in *Scotland* broke out; upon which it was pleaſant to obſerve the Counterpaces that were made. The King was for ſuppreſſing it immediately, by Force from hence to be diſpatch'd and joyn'd with thoſe in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Monmouth* to go and Command them all. Lord *Shaftsbury* ſhew'd plainly at Council, and in other Places, that he was unwilling this Riſing ſhould be wholly or too ſoon ſuppreſs'd, or otherwiſe than by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might be thereby introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there, with the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*: Yet on the other ſide, he was willing to ſee the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by ſuch a Command of the King's Forces both *Engliſh* and *Scotch*; and agreed with that Duke, to put the King upon another Project at the ſame time, and to the ſame end, which was (upon

the Duke of *Monmouth*'s carrying ſo many of the Forces here into *Scotland*) to raiſe a Troop of two hundred Gentlemen for the Guard and Safety of the King's Perſon, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth* to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of Officers who were out of Employment, and whoſe Merits were beſt known to the Duke of *Monmouth*.

On t'other ſide, Lord *Eſſex*, though he agreed with the King's Opinion to have the *Scotch* Inſurrection ſuppreſs'd; yet he had a mind it ſhould be done by the *Scotch*, to prevent the Duke of *Monmouth*'s growing greater than he yet was by that Command; eſpecially if it ſhould be follow'd with Succeſs. And tho' he would not oppoſe his Majeſty in his Reſolution of ſending the Duke of *Monmouth* upon this Expedition; yet he did very openly the other Deſign, which the King himſelf ſeem'd much bent upon, as well as the Duke of *Monmouth*, to raiſe the Troop of two hundred Gentlemen. The other two Lords and I fell in with him in this laſt; though Lord *Eſſex* was moſt inſtrumental in breaking it, by raiſing invincible Difficulties in the Treaſury, where he was at the Head: So as upon Compoſition, Money was found for the Duke of *Monmouth*'s marching into *Scotland*, and with great Eaſe to him in his Perſonal Pretenſions; and the new Troop was let fall upon want of Money.

The Duke of *Monmouth* went into *Scotland*; ſucceeded; took the Body of Rebels; ſuppreſs'd abſolutely the Rebellion; order'd the Puniſhment of ſome; gave Pardon to the reſt; return'd in Triumph; was receiv'd with great Applauſes and Court from all; and with great Appearance of Kindneſs and Credit by the King, who was now remov'd to *Windſor*, and the Council to *Hampton-Court*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* was receiv'd.

The Term of the Prorogation of Parliament drew near expiring; and all agreed that a Seſſion could not conveniently begin before *October*; and a Day was appointed for conſidering that Matter at Council. The Duke of *Monmouth* was greater than ever: Lord *Shaftsbury* reckon'd upon being ſo too, upon the next Meeting of Parliament, and at the coſt of thoſe whom he took to be Authors of the laſt Prorogation: Lord *Eſſex*, and *Halifax* look'd upon themſelves as moſt in his Danger, and aim'd at by Lord *Shaftsbury*'s Threats, and out of all Meaſures with the Duke of *Monmouth*. This induc'd a Conſultation among us, whether conſidering the Diſtempers of the preſent Parliament, the beſt Courſe were not to diſſolve it, and have another call'd in *October*; wherein the three Lords and I agreed, and the King was perfectly of the ſame Mind, conſidering with what Diſtempers that Parliament both began and continued. So it was reſolv'd, that the King ſhould propoſe at next Council, whether it were beſt to Prorogue that Parliament, or Diſſolve it and at the ſame time call another; and that in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor, and the other chief Officers depending upon the King, ſhould be acquainted with his Mind, either by his Majeſty or the three Lords. For ſince the King's going to *Windſor*, I continued at *Sheen*, and only went to *Hampton-Court* on Council Days; though the three Lords came often to me, and preſs'd me as often to come as they did to Court, and Lord *Halifax* proteſted he would burn my Houſe, and that if I would not enter upon the Secretary's Office, his Uncle *Coventry* would look out for ſome other Chapman; for as ſoon as he had found one, he was reſolv'd to part with it. I told him I was very willing, and would ſpeak to the King, that his Market ſhould not be ſpoil'd upon my Occaſion. Whether his Lordſhip believ'd me or not, I did ſo, and deſir'd his Majeſty to think of ſome other for that Place; for my ill Health increaſing with my Age, made me find my ſelf unable to go through with the Toils of that Office, if executed in the Forms and with the Attendance it requir'd. The King told me, he could not conſent to it; that if he ſhould, he knew not a Man in *England* fit for it beſides me, ſo that I had no Reaſon to take it kindly of him. I deſir'd his Majeſty to give me leave, and I would propoſe three Perſons, of which I would undertake every one ſhould be fitter than I. The King would not ſo much as hear me name them, but told me,

'twas

'twas a Point he had been ſo long fixt in, that he could not change his Reſolution.

In our laſt Meeting, we had calculated how many at Council could in any probability oppoſe the Diſſolving of the preſent Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above Six in the whole Council that could be againſt it, at the moſt; which we thought would be a great Support to the King's Reſolution, againſt all the Exclamations we expected from Lord *Shafteſbury* and his Friends; and at leaſt that it would be ſafe againſt the Conſequences which were uſually deduc'd from the Forms of calling Parliaments always by Advice of the Council, that the Diſſolving them ought to be ſo too, at leaſt when it was not at their own Deſire.

The Council Day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and Three Lords with ſome others already there, I ask'd Lord *Sunderland* and *Halifax*, whether all was prepar'd, and Lord Chancellor and other chief Officers had been ſpoke to? They ſaid, No, it had been forgotten or neglected; but the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that Morning, and before the Council began. I thought it hard, a Point of that Importance ſhould be neglected ſo long; but was fain to content my ſelf with what they told me would be done. The outward Room, where the King was, filled apace; every one made his Leg to His Majeſty, and fill'd the Circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart, in a Corner of the Room, till it grew late, and Lord Chancellor told the King that it was ſo, and I ſaw the King turn from the Chancellor, and go into the Council Chamber: All followed; the Council ſat; the King propos'd his Thoughts, whether it were beſt for his Affairs, to Prorogue this Parliament till *October*, or to Diſſolve it and call another at that Time; and deſir'd their Lordſhips Opinions upon it.

I obſerv'd a general Surprize at the Board; which made me begin to doubt, the King had ſpoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in: But it ſoon appear'd he had not ſo much as done that neither. For after a long Pauſe, he was the firſt that roſe up, and ſpoke long and violently againſt the Diſſolution; was follow'd by Lord *Shaftsbury* in the ampleſt manner, and moſt tragical Terms; Lord *Angleſey* followed them, by urging all the fatal Conſequences that could be: The ſame Stile was purſu'd by Lord *Chamberlain*, and agreed to by the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*; and purſu'd from the Top to the very Bottom of the Table by every Man there, and at a very full Council; except the Three Lords who ſpoke for the Diſſolution, but neither with half the Length or Force of Argument they intended to have done; leaving that Part as I ſuppos'd to me, who was, I confeſs, well enough inſtructed in the Caſe, to have ſaid more upon that Argument: But I was ſpighted from the Firſt that I heard of my Lord Chancellor's Speech, and ſtill more and more as every Man ſpoke, at the Conſequences happen'd by ſuch a Negligence of my Friends, who had been perpetually about the King, and might ſo eaſily have effected what was agreed on, and thought ſo neceſſary: I was the laſt but one to ſpeak, and ſaw Argument would ſignify nothing, after ſuch Inequality was declar'd in Number; and ſo contented my ſelf to ſay in ſhort, That I thought it was every Man's Opinion, that a happy Agreement between His Majeſty and Parliament was of Neceſſity to his Affairs, both at Home and Abroad; That all the Difference, in the Continuance of this, or Aſſembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the Likelihood of agreeing better and eaſier with one than with t'other: That His Majeſty had ſpoken ſo much of his deſpairing about any Agreement with this preſent Parliament, and the Hopes he had of doing it with another; that for my part, I thought That ought to decide it; becauſe I thought His Majeſty could better judge of that Point than any body elſe. So His Majeſty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for Diſſolving that Parliament, and calling another to Aſſemble in *October* following: And thereupon the Council broke up, with the greateſt Rage in the World of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Ruſſel*, and Two or Three more, and the general Diſſatisfaction of the whole Board.

* *Earl of* Arlington.

After

After the Council ended, every Man's Head began to fill with the Thoughts of the new Elections, and ſeveral ſpoke to the King upon that Subject. I had reſolv'd to ſtand for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; and the Duke of *Monmouth* being Chancellor, I deſir'd the King to ſpeak to him, to write to ſome of his Friends in my Favour: He excus'd himſelf, firſt, upon Engagements; but the King preſs'd him upon mine, as a Thing of Importance; and that he could not be otherwiſe engag'd, before he knew of the Parliament's being diſſolv'd. I ſaid a good deal too upon it: But do what the King could, by all he was pleas'd to ſay, the Duke of *Monmouth* would not be brought further, than to ſay he would not meddle in it one Way or t'other; which gave me the firſt plain and open Teſtimony of his Diſpoſitions towards me, having ever receiv'd before all outward Civilities, though without my Viſits or Attendances. Yet, I think, his Grace kept his Word with me in this Point, better than I expected: For my Election in the Univerſity proceeded with the moſt general Concurrence that could be there, and without any Difficulties I could obſerve from that Side; thoſe which were rais'd coming from the Biſhop of *Ely*; who ow'd the oppoſing me from a Chapter of Religion in my *Obſervations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an Opinion, that mine was for ſuch a Toleration of Religion, as is there deſcrib'd to be in *Holland*.

The Council, after this Day, was put off till the King's Return to *London*, according to the Uſe of that Seaſon; and every one began to canvas for Elections in the enſuing Parliament, upon which all His Majeſty's Affairs ſeem'd to depend. The King, in the mean time, reſolv'd to do all that could help to make fair Weather there. I told my Friends I would take care of my Election, and go down about it; but for the reſt, would paſs my Time at home the Remainder of the Summer, and recommended the common Cares to the three Lords; whoſe Attendance I knew would not fail at Court, two of them from their Offices, and the * third from his Humour; which he own'd always muſt have Buſineſs to employ it, or would elſe be uneaſie.

* *The Marqueſs of* Halifax.

The Summer was declining; but the Duke of *Monmouth* in his greateſt Height; when the King fell ſick at *Windſor*, and with three ſuch Fits of a Fever as gave much Apprehenſion, and that a general Amazement; People looking upon any thing at this time that ſhould happen ill to the King, as an End of the World. I went to *Windſor*, after the ſecond Fit; and having ſeen his Majeſty, obſerv'd more Strength and fewer ill Symptoms than had been reported; nor could I think him in Danger, without Accidents, which was to be the Care of his Phyſicians, who were ſome of them wholly of my Mind. I found and left the three Lords very diligent at Court, in attending both his Perſon and Affairs, which I was very glad of; and ſo came home without entering further into any Diſcourſes with them, than of His Majeſty's Sickneſs; which was then the general Diſcourſe and Care.

About three or four Days after, having receiv'd Aſſurance of the King's certain Recovery, by being free of any Return of his Fever Fits, I went up to *London* to ſollicite a great Arrear of my Ambaſſies due from the Treaſury. The Commiſſioners were met that Morning at my Lord *Eſſex*'s Houſe, whither I went ſtrait; but by the Way, heard that the Duke was that Night paſs'd through *London*, and rode Poſt to *Windſor*; which I doubted not his Highneſs had been induc'd to by the Reports of the King's Danger, upon the News of his Sickneſs; and made no further Reflection upon it, than that of the great Surprize, and *martel en tête* [*Uneaſineſs*] that would be given Lord *Eſſex* and *Halliſax* by this ſudden Arrival of the Duke, to whoſe Intereſts they had run ſo Counter, and with ſuch Heights, for ſeveral Years. But upon their late ſeparating all Meaſures from the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shafteſbury*, I thought I had Field enough left for doing them good Offices to the Duke, when I ſhould ſee him, which I reſolv'd the next Day.

When I came to the Lord *Eſſex*'s Houſe, and ask'd for the Commiſſioners, I found they were ſat ſome time, but the Lord *Eſſex* had newly left them together, and was gone up into his Chamber, whither I was immediately ſent for;

for; his Servants went out, and left him booted, and ready to get up on Horseback. As soon as we were alone, he ask'd me, whether I had not met with strange News, and what I thought of it? I said, it did not seem very strange that the Duke should come, if he thought the King in danger. Lord *Essex* reply'd, yet 'twas strange he should come without Leave from the King; and that now His Majesty was well, sure he would not think of staying three Days: That he was going as fast as he could to *Windsor*, to see what all this Business was; and ask'd me if I would not go; which I excus'd for that Day, but promis'd the next. In this little Discourse, I observ'd all along a smearing Smile, which I knew not what to make of; I thought, if it were a Countenance, it was better put on than was usual with his Lordship; and that he should be pleas'd with it at Heart, I could not well imagine, knowing how Things had pass'd between the Duke and him.

Next Day I went to *Windsor*; and the first Man I met was Lord *Halifax* coming down from Court on Foot, and with a Face of Trouble; and as soon as he saw me, with Hands lift up two or three times; upon which I stopped, and alighting, ask'd what was the Matter: He told me, I knew as well as he; that the Duke was come; that every body was amaz'd; but where we were, or what would be next, no body knew: He bid me go on to Court before the King went out; said he was going to his Lodging, to sit and think over this new World; but desir'd we might meet, and my Lord *Sunderland*, after Dinner.

I went to the King, and after him to the Duke, who receiv'd me with great Kindness, and presently carry'd me into a little inner Room, and ask'd me, smiling and very familiarly, whether I did not wonder to see him here: I told him, not at all, if he had thought the King in danger; for in that case his Highness had nothing else to do: And that I believ'd, upon the first News of his Majesty's Illness, he would come as near as he could, either to *Newport* or *Calais*, and there expect the great News; but that His Majesty's Sickness having pass'd so soon, I confess'd I had not thought of his coming over. We talk'd of the King's Recovery, what Stay his Highness would make, which he said should be as the King pleas'd, for he would obey him in every thing. I gave the Duke a short Account of Affairs here, as they had pass'd since the Constitution of the Council; of the Mischiefs had been occasion'd by the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s having been brought in so much against my Will; of his Measures with the Duke of *Monmouth*; of the three Lords having absolutely broken from him; of the Credit they were grown into with the King; and of my Confidence, they would never fall into any Measures against his Highness: Upon which Chapter I said a good deal that I thought necessary to make Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax*'s Court, which I was very glad to see so well receiv'd by the Duke: For as to Lord *Sunderland*, I had little Reason to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court in the whole Course of his Life. For my self, I only said at last, that because I did not know what our present Distempers might end in, if the next Parliament should prove of the same Humour with the two last; nor what Measures his Highness would fall into about staying or going away again; I would only say, that let whatever would befall the King's Affairs or his Highness's, he might always reckon upon me as a *legal* Man, and one that would always follow the Crown as became me; nor could any thing make the least Scruple in this Resolution, unless Things should ever grow so desperate, as to bring in Foreigners, which (if ever it should be) would be a new Case, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the Duke laid his Hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and said, that he would ask no more of me or any Man: And so I parted, after a long and very gracious Audience, and came Home that Night, having miss'd my Lord *Hallifax* and *Essex* in the Afternoon at Lord *Sunderland*'s, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they fail'd; and Lord *Sunderland* and I talk'd deep into nothing, reserving our selves, as I thought, till the others came.

I ſtay'd at home, making the Reflections I could not avoid upon the Carriage of my Friends; till within a few Days I heard the News of the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Diſgrace; which though it came by ſome degrees, yet they were ſo ſudden one after another, as to make it appear a loſt Game in the King's Favour and Reſolutions. Though nothing could ſeem more reaſonable than that which it ended in, That while the Duke was abroad, the Duke of *Monmouth* ſhould be ſo too; having made his Pretenſions ſo evident, and purſu'd them ſo much to the Prejudice of the King's Affairs; however, I could not but wonder, how the Duke had been able in ſo few Days, or rather Hours, to get ſo great a Victory. I went within a Day or two to *London*, found my Lord *Halliſax* in Phyſick, but ſaw plainly his Diſtemper was not what he call'd it; his Head look'd very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our Talk was by Snatches; Sickneſs, ill Humour, Hate of Town and Buſineſs, Ridiculouſneſs of human Life; and whenever I turn'd any thing to the preſent Affairs after our uſual manner, nothing but Action of Hands or Eyes, Wonder, and Signs of Trouble, and then Silence.

I came home, and ſatisfy'd enough upon what Terms I was with my Friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whither it went. But I ſoon found out the whole Secret; which was, that upon the King's firſt Illneſs, the Lords *Eſſex* and *Halliſax* being about him, thought his Danger great, and their own ſo too; and that if any thing happen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of *Monmouth* would be at the Head of the Nation, in oppoſition to the Duke upon Pretence of Popery, and in Conjunction with Lord *Shaftsbury*, who had threaten'd to have their Heads upon Prorogation of the laſt Parliament; which Threat was apply'd by Lords *Eſſex* and *Halliſax* to themſelves; reckoning Lord *Sunderland* out of Danger by his Relation to Lord *Shaftsbury*, and the fair Terms that had always made between them. This Fright had ſo affected theſe Lords, that not ſtaying to ſee what the King's ſecond Fit would be, they propos'd to the King the ſending immediately for the Duke; which being reſolv'd, and the Diſpatch made with all the Secrecy and Speed imaginable, the Duke came over; but finding the King recover'd, it was agreed to paſs for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it ſhould be receiv'd by his Majeſty and the three Lords with all Signs of Surprize. When this was done, they found the Duke of *Monmouth* ſo inrag'd at this Council, as well as Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they ſaw no way but to ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's Affairs, and joining themſelves wholly with the Duke's Intereſt; which they did for that Time, till they had brought about all his Highneſs deſir'd for his Security againſt the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*; the firſt going over into *Holland*, and the other being turn'd out of the Council.

For my own part, though I was glad of any Mortification that happen'd to the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, whoſe Deſigns had run the Kingdom into ſuch incurable Diviſions and Diſtractions, at a Time that our Union was ſo neceſſary to the Affairs of Chriſtendom abroad; yet I was ſpighted to the Heart, at the Carriage of my Friends towards me in this Affair: And not ſo much for their taking ſuch a Reſolution without my Knowledge and Concert (which they never had done ſince our firſt Commerce) as for keeping me ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and ſo far, as to let me make ſuch a Figure as I did, in doing all the good Offices, and making all the Court I could to the Duke, for Lords *Eſſex* and *Halliſax*, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the Depth and Secret of his Intereſts and Counſels; and I, who had Reaſon to think my ſelf well with his Highneſs, was left wholly out of all Confidence both with him and with them. But I had Reaſon to reſent it yet further, when I found that ſome of them perceiving the Duke much unſatisfy'd with the Conſtitution of the new Council, had, to make their own Court, laid the whole Load of it upon me; whereas, if my Lord *Chancellor*, Lord *Sunderland*, and Lord *Eſſex* had not fallen into it with the greateſt Applauſe and Endeavours in the World

World to finish the Draught of it, the Thing had certainly died; and for my own part, after I could not hinder my Lord *Shaftsbury*'s being brought in, I would have been very well content it should.

I could not but tell my Lord *Sunderland* of these Resentments, and that I found my self so unfit for Courts, that I was resolv'd to pass the rest of my Life in my own Domestick, without troubling my self further about any publick Affairs, than to appear sullen in not coming sometimes to general Councils; and that Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax*'s Carriage to me had been such, after having been the two Men of *England* I had in my Power and my Fortunes most to oblige, that I would never have any Thing more to do with them. This I said only to one Person more; and how it came to be known by their two Lordships, I cannot tell; but there all Commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at Council, or in third Places; though Lord *Hallifax* came to an Eclaircissement with me the Spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the Service I could upon Occasion in the late House, as well as in Council, upon their Heats against him.

I pass'd the rest of my Summer at Home, and left the three Lords in the chief Ministry and sole Confidence, as outwardly appear'd, both with the King and Duke: And Lord *Essex* told my Brother Sir *John Temple* who was then here, that he had more Credit with the King than all the rest of the Ministers, or any Man in *England*; but the refined Courtiers, who observe Countenances and Motions, had no Opinion of it: And soon after, Lord *Essex* and *Hallifax*, upon the private Examination of an Intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor thought worth my Enquiry, which was commonly call'd the *Meal-Tub Plot*, took such a Distaste at finding themselves mention'd in it, and yet left out of the Secret Examinations about it; that the Duke was no sooner gone, but their Discontents grew open against the Court; my Lord *Essex* left the Treasury; Lord *Hallifax* in Discourse to me commended him for it, and told me his Resolution to go down into the Country; and though he could not plant Melons as I did, being in the *North*, yet he would plant Carots and Cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about publick Affairs; and accordingly he went down to *Rufford*. To their nearer Friends I heard they complained, that they found they had no found Part in the King's Confidence or the Duke's; that they were other Mens Dupes, and did other Mens Work; and that finding no Measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the Kingdom, they would have no more Part in publick Affairs.

Upon Lord *Essex*'s leaving the Treasury, Mr. * *Hyde* came of course to be first Commissioner; and he and Mr. † *Godolphin*, were brought into the Council; where I met them the next time I came, and welcom'd them, as two Persons that had always been my Friends, and agreed with me in all my Opinions and Measures about Affairs abroad, wherein only we had been conversant in our Commerce, either at *Nimeguen*, the *Hague*, or at Home. These two join'd in Confidence with Lord *Sunderland*; and the other two Lords being in Discontent or Absent, and I keeping at Home both upon my Resolution and Inclination; these three were esteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and look'd upon as the Ministry.

* *Now Earl of* Rochester.
† *Now Earl of* Godolphin.

October came on, wherein the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in *Flanders*: The Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland*: Lord *Shaftsbury* endeavour'd to enflame the Reckoning of the late Conduct and Counsels against the Sitting of the Parliament, and to set afoot Petitions in case they did not Sit: The Ministers were not able to stand the Opening of the Parliament; and so a short Prorogation was expected some Days before that appointed for their Assembly. I had not been at Court or Council in a Month or Six Weeks; when being recover'd of a Fit of the Gout, I came to Town, and went to Lord *Sunderland*, talk'd to him of my several Arrears in the Treasury, desir'd his Help, which he promis'd with great Kindness, and went with me to the King, where we propos'd and agreed the Way of my Satisfaction.

The King ſeem'd very kind to me, but neither one or t'other of them ſaid a Word to me of any publick Buſineſs. From the King's Chamber we went to the Council, where I expected nothing but ſuch common Things as I knew had paſs'd for a good while before; and ſo all paſs'd, till I thought the Council was ending, when the King after a little Pauſe told us, That upon many Conſiderations, which he could not at preſent acquaint us with, he found it neceſſary to make a longer Prorogation than he had intended of the Parliament: That he had conſider'd all the Conſequences, ſo far as to be abſolutely reſolv'd, and not to hear any thing that ſhould be ſaid againſt it: That he would have it Prorogued till that time Twelvemonth; and charg'd my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

All at Council were ſtunn'd at this ſurprizing Reſolution, and the Way of propoſing it; except thoſe few that were in the Secret, and they thought fit to be ſilent, and leave the Thing wholly upon his Majeſty: Several others roſe up, and would have entered into the Reaſonings and Conſequences of it; but the King would not hear them, and ſo all Debate ended. After which I roſe, and told the King, That as to the Reſolution he had taken, I would ſay nothing, becauſe he was reſolv'd to hear no Reaſoning upon it; therefore I would only preſume to offer him my humble Advice as to the Courſe of his future Proceedings; which was, that his Majeſty in his Affairs would pleaſe to make uſe of ſome Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices; after hearing which, his Majeſty might yet reſolve as he pleas'd. That if he did not think the Perſons or Number of this preſent Council ſuited with his Affairs, it was in his Power to diſſolve them, and conſtitute another of Twenty, of Ten, or of Five, or any Number he pleas'd, and to alter them again when he would; but to make Counſellors that ſhould not Counſel, I doubted whether it were in his Majeſty's Power or not, becauſe it imply'd a Contradiction; and ſo far as I had obſerv'd, either of former Ages or the preſent, I queſtion'd whether it was a Thing had been practis'd in *England* by his Majeſty's Predeceſſors, or were ſo now by any of the preſent Princes of Chriſtendom: And therefore I humbly adviſed him to conſtitute ſome ſuch Council, as he would think fit to make uſe of, in the Digeſtion of his great and publick Affairs.

His Majeſty heard me very graciouſly, and ſeem'd not at all diſpleas'd with any thing I had ſaid; nor any other Perſon of the Lords of the Council, but moſt very much to approve it: Yet after the Council was up, my Lord *Sunderland* came to me, told me, he was never ſo ſurpriz'd as at what I had ſaid, and expected it ſooner from any Man in *England* than me: That whatever Reſolutions had been taken about my Buſineſs in the Treaſury, he was ſure nothing ſhould be done. I reply'd, that if he liked not what I ſaid, he ſhould have prevented it, by telling me before I came to Council what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been ſo long before: And that if my Debt would not be paid, I muſt live the beſt I could without it.

Not long before, the Prince of *Orange* writ me Word, how much he found the Duke unſatisfy'd with me, upon the Belief that it was I had given the Prince thoſe Impreſſions and Sentiments which he had upon the common Affairs of Chriſtendom; whereas, he could ſay on the contrary, that it was he had given me mine, and ſhould never change his own till he were convinc'd *d'avoir tort* [*of being in the Wrong*]: However, that he thought fit out of Friendſhip to me, to give me this Advice.

I was now in a Poſture to be admirably pleas'd with having part in publick Affairs. The Duke unſatisfy'd with me of late; the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shafts bury* from the very firſt; Lord *Eſſex* and *Halliſax* out of all Commerce with me upon what had paſs'd; Great Civility from the other Miniſters, but no Communication; and the King himſelf, though very Gracious, yet very reſerv'd. Upon all this, and the melancholy Proſpect of our Diſtractions at Home, and thereupon the Diſaſters threatning Abroad; but chiefly upon my own Native Humour, born for a private Life, and particular Converſation or general Leiſure; I reſolv'd to give over all Part in pub-

lick Affairs, and come no more either to Court or Council in a Month's Time, which I ſpent chiefly in the Country.

In this Time the Lord *Ruſſel*, Lord * *Cavendiſh*, Sir *H. Capel*, and Mr. *Powle*, diſtaſted at the laſt Prorogation, as well as at the Manner of it, and pretending to deſpair of being able to ſerve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs ſo diſagreeable to the general Humour of the People; went to the King together, and deſir'd His Majeſty to excuſe their Attendance any more upon him at Council, which the King very eaſily conſented to. Lord *Salisbury*, and Lord *Halifax*, ſeem'd to have taken the ſame Reſolution, though not in ſo much Form. Upon which I thought it might be a great Prejudice to His Majeſty's Affairs, to be left by ſo many at once; And that, if I wholly gave over at the ſame time, it would look like entering into a Faction, with Perſons who were only diſpleas'd with the preſent Scene upon Hopes of entering ſoon upon another, which was no Part of my Thoughts or Deſigns. Therefore I reſolv'd to go again to Council, to ſhew I had not herded with thoſe that had left it; and that my leaving it too, might not occaſion ſome Men's greater Diſtaſtes at the Government.

* *Late Duke of Devonſhire.*

In the Intermiſſion I had made, my Wife continuing her Commerce with my Lady *Sunderland*, had met my Lord there; who taking no Notice of what had paſs'd between us, ask'd her how I had proceeded in my Buſineſs of the Treaſury, and whether I needed his Help, which he offer'd with great Friendlineſs if I had occaſion. When I came up to Town, and went the firſt time to Council; after it was done, I went to Lord *Sunderland*, told him what Regards towards His Majeſty had made me come up, and gave him Thanks for his Offers to my Wife: I found him return'd to his firſt Temper towards me; enter'd into common Affairs, but always with Profeſſions of my Reſolutions to retire, and my Thoughts of a Journey into *Italy*, which I had long promis'd the Great Duke. I liv'd on with my Lord *Sunderland* in all Kindneſs, though not Confidence, which was now wholly between him and Mr. *Hyde* and Mr. *Godolphin*. I made Uſe of his Offers, and by his Help came to an Iſſue in the moſt difficult Point of my Buſineſs in the Treaſury.

The ſecond time I was at Council, after my Return from *Sheen*, my Lord *Sunderland* told me he was to ſay ſomething to me from the King, and deſir'd we might meet after Council was up. I went to his Lodgings; where he told me, that Mr. Secretary *Coventry* being abſolutely reſolv'd to part with his Place, and the King having found I had long declin'd it, had now Thoughts of conſenting to Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s coming into it upon a Bargain with the Secretary; but that the King would do nothing in it without firſt letting me know his Thoughts; and ask'd whether I had any thing to ſay upon it. I made no Stop in the World, but told his Lordſhip that the King could do nothing for me that I would take kinder than this; that I had ſeveral times preſs'd His Majeſty to a new Choice, and once offer'd to name ſome to him that I knew were fit for it; that I had reſolv'd againſt it ſo long, that His Majeſty had no Reaſon to remember any of his Engagements to me, how voluntary ſoever; but that he was pleas'd to do it, was the moſt obliging in the World; and I was reſolv'd immediately to go and make him my Acknowledgments. I did ſo; they were extremely well taken; the King us'd me with great Kindneſs; and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* came into the Office.

I paſs'd the Winter in Town, though with much Indiſpoſition; going ſometimes to the Council, and ſometimes to the Foreign Committee, but not frequently to either, and meddling very little with any thing that paſs'd there; unleſs it was what concern'd the Affairs of *Ireland*, which happen'd to be then hot upon the Anvil; the Duke of *Ormond* and Council of that Kingdom, having tranſmitted ſeveral Acts over to the Council here, both of Grace and Supplies, in order to a Parliament to be held in *Ireland*. This brought Lord *Eſſex* again into Play, after ſo much Diſcontent and ſo little Attendance for ſeveral Months at Council: But his Eye and Heart had ever been

been bent upon his Return to the Government of *Ireland*; which made him ſteer all by that Compaſs, and purſue Court or Popular Humour, as he thought either likelieſt to further that End. Whenever the *Iriſh* Acts came into Council, he was ſure to be there; firſt raiſing twenty Difficulties in the particular Acts, and arraigning, not only the Prudence, but common Senſe of the Lord-Lieutenant and Council there: Then arguing againſt the aſſembling a Parliament in that Kingdom; and at laſt introducing Sir *James Sheen* to make Propoſals of encreaſing the King's Revenue there near eighty thouſand Pounds a Year upon a new Farm to himſelf and the Company he offer'd to be joyn'd with him; a Farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the Revenue, but of the Crown of *Ireland*.

This Scheme was ever ſupported by Lord *Eſſex*; and ever oppos'd by me, with more Sharpneſs than was uſual to me upon any Debates; becauſe I had found out the Cheat of the whole Thing, which Lord *Eſſex* had ſet on Foot as a great Maſter-piece of that Cunning, which his Friends us'd to ſay was his Talent, and was one for which of all other Talents I had ever the greateſt Averſion. The Short of this Story was, Lord *Eſſex* had a mind to be Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to hinder any Parliament being call'd till he came to the Government. He ſaw himſelf out at Court; and the Hopes of getting in by his Intereſt in Parliament, now delay'd by the Prorogation longer than he could ſtay: He projects this Farm with Sir *James Sheen*, and by him offers it to Mr. *Hyde* with the Advantages mention'd to the King's Revenue; but agrees with Sir *James*, that if the Bait were ſwallowed, he ſhould, upon the Concluſion of all, declare, That he and his Company were ready to perform all the Conditions agreed on; but could not do it, unleſs my Lord *Eſſex* might be ſent over Lieutenant of *Ireland*; without which the Condition of that Kingdom could never be ſettled enough for ſuch Advantages to the King's Service and Revenue. This I knew, under Secrecy, from a Confident of Sir *James Sheen*, who had told himſelf this whole Project and the Paces intended.

Mr. *Hyde*, who was at the Head of all Matters concerning the King's Revenue, had receiv'd this new Propoſal, and embrac'd it very warmly; whether prevail'd upon by the ſpecious Shew of ſo great Encreaſes in the Revenue, or by ſome new Meaſures growing between him and Lord *Eſſex* in other Affairs, I never could determine; but ſuch a Patronage at Council gave Strength to the Debates, being little oppos'd but by Sir *Lionel Jenkins* and me, who laid the Matter ſo bare, that it drew out into length that whole Spring; and the King joyn'd wholly with me in the Opinion of the Thing, and ſo far, that when it was to come to Council or Committee, His Majeſty ſent particularly to me to be there.

In the midſt of theſe Agitations the Duke came over out of *Flanders*, and Reſolution was taken for his going into *Scotland*. I was extremely concern'd for the Duke of *Ormond*, who had fallen into Danger of the Conſequences threaten'd by theſe Intrigues and Purſuits, after the moſt ſenſible Blow that could be given him by the Death of his * Son; and was both of an Age and Merits to expect no more Reverſes of Fortune, after ſo many as he had run through in the Courſe of his Loyalty. I ſaw Mr. *Hyde* violently bent upon Sir *James Sheen*'s imaginary Project; and I doubted, with ſome Picque to the Duke of *Ormond*, and Partiality to Lord *Eſſex*. The King ſeem'd to grow weary of ſo much Purſuit; and Lord *Sunderland* was indifferent in the Thing: So that I reſolv'd to try if I could engage the Duke to ſupport the Duke of *Ormond*; and the ſecond time I was with his Highneſs, after his coming to Court, I fell into this whole Buſineſs and the Conſequences of it, and laid open the Secret of the Thing. The Duke ſeem'd very favourable to Lord *Eſſex*, and more indifferent to the Duke of *Ormond* than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the Character of them both, which the Duke ſeem'd at laſt to allow with the Diſtinction they deſerved, and profeſs'd to deſire the Duke of *Ormond* ſhould be continued; though if he were remov'd at any time, he ſtill ſeem'd to think Lord *Eſſex* the fitteſt

* *The Earl of Oſſory.*

to

to ſucceed him. But I found ſome Days after, by Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, that His Highneſs had been very glad to find me ſo fixt in that Buſineſs to the Duke of *Ormond*, and that he would give him what Support he could.

Upon the Motions of this Affair, I grew into more Attendance upon His Majeſty, and more Commerce both with Lord *Sunderland* and Mr. *Hyde*; with whom I always liv'd very well, though we differ'd ſo much in Opinion upon this *Iriſh* Buſineſs. But continuing ſtill my Reſolutions of winding my ſelf out of all publick Buſineſs; and to that End talking often to them of my Deſign to make a Journey to *Florence*, both upon Occaſion of my Health and Promiſe; they both propos'd to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot Country, to go into *Spain*, and do it with a Character from the King, who was likely to have Affairs there; rather than make a Journey, like young Gentlemen, only to ſee the Country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge my ſelf again with the Ceremonies and Fatigue of an Ambaſſy; or to run again the Hazard I had done ſo often already, of being undone by thoſe Employments: That if I could reſolve on it, I did not ſee what Affairs the King could have in *Spain*, whilſt he had ſuch as he ſeem'd to have at preſent in *England*; nor could I ſee what Uſe any Leagues or Meaſures abroad could be to him, unleſs ſome Union at home would enable him to ſupport them. This Converſation however was often renew'd between us; and at laſt I found out, that to prepare for a good Seſſion of Parliament next Winter, the Miniſters were reſolv'd upon all Meaſures that might conduce towards it during the Summer; and, as one of the Chief, were reſolv'd to ſend Miniſters to *Spain*, *Denmark*, and other of the Confederates, and enter with them into the ſtricteſt Meaſures for the common Defence againſt the Power of *France*.

I found the Miniſters were mighty earneſt to engage me in this Ambaſſy, as believing my charging my ſelf with it would give a general Opinion, both at home and abroad, of our Sincerity in the Thing. The King ſpoke to me, and ſeemed very deſirous of my Undertaking it. I defended my ſelf a good while, having indeed no Opinion the Thing had a good Root, or that the Appearance of it would have the Effect hoped for upon the next Meeting of Parliament: But at laſt I brought it to this Point; that I would not charge my ſelf with going to make the intended Alliance in *Spain*; but if the King ſhould think fit to conclude it here with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador upon Terms of mutual Satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in *Spain*. This was done by the Miniſters; the King declar'd me his Ambaſſador Extraordinary at *Madrid*; I paſs'd my Privy-Seal, receiv'd my Equipage, and ſpent the latter End of the Summer in the Preparations for my Journey, which were in a manner finiſh'd about the middle of *September*; when the King told me, that ſince the Parliament drew ſo near, and ſo much depended upon it of all that concern'd him either abroad or at home, he was reſolved to have me ſtay at leaſt the Opening of it, by which we ſhould judge of the further Progreſs.

From what Seeds the Diſcontents and violent Proceedings of this laſt Seſſion grew, I have told already; but by what Motions and Degrees they came to ſuch a Height, is another Story, and may have had ſome Roots which I did not diſcover; but what I obſerv'd was this. After the Duke's Return into *Flanders*, he had the King's Leave to come over again in ſome Months. The Duke of *Monmouth* came back out of *Holland* without Leave, and ſo came not to Court; and thereby ſeem'd to make himſelf the Head of thoſe that were diſcontented, either with the Duke's Return, or the Interminſion of Parliament. In acting this Part, he was guided by Lord *Shaftsbury*, who reſolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he could this Summer; ſo as to make the Neceſſity the greater of the Parliament ſitting at the Time appointed. And, becauſe Boldneſs looks like Strength, to encourage his Party with an Opinion of both, he engag'd ſeveral Lords, and among them Lord *Ruſſel*, to go with him to *Weſtminſter-Hall* publick, and there at the *King's Bench* to preſent the Duke as a Recuſant. Though the Matter had no Conſequences

ſequences in the Forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a ſtrong one upon the Paſſions of all thoſe Perſons that were ſo publickly engag'd in this bold Pace againſt the Duke; which was breaking all Meaſures with him, and entering into the deſperate Reſolution of either ruining his Highneſs or themſelves: And I found it had a great Effect upon the ſmall Circle of my Acquaintance or Obſervation.

Lord *Eſſex*, who had purſu'd his Return to the Government of *Ireland* by Engines at Court for ſix Months paſt; began to let all that Buſineſs of Sir *James Sheen* cool, and to reckon upon laying a ſurer Foundation for that Deſign, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new Commerce with Lord *Shaftsbury*; who told him in thoſe ſhameleſs Words, *My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble your ſelf, we'll make you Lieutenant of* Ireland. The Way to this Return, was to oppoſe the Duke's Stay here upon the ſeveral Paſſages he made, but chiefly upon that before the Seſſion of Parliament. Lord *Halifax*, tho' he fell not in with Lord *Shaftsbury*, yet was glad to make fair Weather againſt the Parliament met, by his Oppoſitions to the Duke. Lord *Sunderland* was ſtruck with the Boldneſs of the Lords Preſentment in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Conſequence of ſuch Men being ſo deſperately engag'd in an Attempt wherein they were like to be ſeconded by the Humour of the Nation upon the Alarms of Popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to ſupport the Duke any longer, but would be forc'd to ſeparate his Intereſts from him at laſt: And he believ'd the King himſelf was of the ſame Mind. Mr. *Godolphin* fell into the ſame Thoughts with Lord *Sunderland*, both of the Thing it ſelf, and of the King's Mind in it: So as upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's Stay or going back into *Scotland* before the Parliament met, theſe four join'd abſolutely in the Reaſons and Advices for his going away: And though the reſt of the Council were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with theſe Four, and concluded the Thing; againſt the Duke's Will and his Friends, as I have been told: For during all theſe Tranſactions I was in the Country, with my Thoughts and Preparations wholly turn'd upon my *Spaniſh* Ambaſſy; and I was the willinger to be there, upon the Reſolution I had long been fix'd in, never to enter into any Differences or Perſonal Matters between the King and his Brother.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began, with the general Knowledge of ſo many great Perſons having appear'd ſo publickly againſt his Highneſs in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and ſo conſiderable Ones in the Court it ſelf and at the Council Table: Thoſe of the firſt Gang fell immediately into the Cabals of Lords and Commons who framed the Bill of Excluſion; wherein they were deſperately engag'd, not only, as they profeſs'd, upon Opinion of National Ends, but likewiſe upon that of Self-preſervation, having broken irreparably all Meaſures already with the Duke: The Generality of the Houſe of Commons were carried, partly with the Plauſibleneſs of the Thing, calculated in Appearance only againſt Popery, without any private Ends as was pretended; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Reſolution to fall into it, upon the Obſervation of ſuch Lords of the Court having engag'd ſo far in ſending away the Duke. All the Duke of *Mounmouth*'s Friends drove it on violently; not doubting he would lye in the Duke's Place, though no Proviſion ſeem'd to be made for that in the Forms of the Draught: And all theſe Circumſtances concurring, made ſo violent a Torrent for carrying on this Bill, as nothing could reſiſt, or any ways divert; and as it happens upon all Occaſions, the ſmall Oppoſition made by two or three Men, made the Violence the greater.

Beſides theſe general Circumſtances, there were two more Particular and Perſonal, that ſeem'd to me to have great Influence upon the Houſe: One was, Lord *Ruſſel* ſetting himſelf, almoſt with Affectation, at the Head of this Affair; who was a Perſon in general Repute of an honeſt worthy Gentleman, without Tricks or private Ambition, and who was known to venture as great a Stake perhaps as any Subject of *England*. The other was Sir *William*

Sir *William Jones* entering upon it ſo abruptly and ſo deſperately as he did, if I miſtake not the firſt Day he came into the Houſe (at leaſt I have been told ſo, for I was not there) which was ſome time after the Seſſion began, having been engag'd in a diſputed Election. And this Perſon having the Name of the greateſt Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very wiſe Man; beſides this, of a very rich, and of a wary or rather timorous Nature; made People generally conclude that the Thing was certain and ſafe, and would at laſt be agreed on all Parts, whatever Countenance were made at Court. *See the Appendix.*

The Bill paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and was carry'd up by Lord *Ruſſel* to the Houſe of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the Houſe. But in the Houſe of Lords it met with another kind of Reception. The King was reſolv'd and declar'd againſt the Bill: And though Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Eſſex*, and, as I remember, about fifteen more, were violently for it; yet the reſt of the Houſe were firm and poſitive againſt it, among whom Lord *Halifax* appear'd moſt in the Head of all Debates; and ſo it was, after long Conteſt, abſolutely thrown out. This enrag'd the Houſe of Commons; and having fail'd of the only Thing they ſeem'd to have at Heart, made them fall upon Perſons; engage firſt in the Purſuit of Lord *Stafford* to the Block, upon the Score of the Plot; and then in Addreſſes, either upon general Diſcontents in the publick Affairs, or upon common Fame againſt particular Men.

During the whole Proceedings of this Seſſion of Parliament, I play'd a Part very impertinent for a Man that had any Deſigns or Ambitions about him; but for me who had none (and whoſe Head was fix'd either upon my Ambaſſy into *Spain*, or upon my abſolute Retirement) the only one wherein I could have ſatisfy'd my ſelf. As I never enter'd into publick Buſineſs by my own Choice or Purſuit, but always call'd into it by the King or his Miniſters; ſo I never made the common Uſe of it, by ever asking either Money, Lands, or Honour of his Majeſty; though I have been often enough urg'd to it by my Friends, and invited by ſo great Degrees of Confidence and Favour as I have ſtood in with his Majeſty both often and long. I never had my Heart ſet upon any Thing in publick Affairs, but the Happineſs of my Country, and Greatneſs of the Crown; and in order to that, the Union of both, by which alone I thought both could be atchiev'd. When I fell firſt into Deſpair of this, I fell firſt into a Diſtaſte of all publick Affairs; which has been nouriſh'd by a Courſe of ſuch Accidents and Turns of Court, and Perſonal Inconſtancies or Infidelities, as I have related. By what Means I came to be ſo long engag'd, as to ſee this Seſſion of Parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the Vexation and Trouble which the Courſe of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the Safety of *Flanders* and *Holland* depended upon the Union of his Majeſty with his Parliament, which might enable him to make ſuch a Figure in Chriſtendom, as the Crown of *England* has done and ought always to do. The *Dutch* had ſent over Monſieur *Van Lewen* to make both Court and Country ſenſible of this Neceſſity that Chriſtendom was in; and how much all would lye at the Mercy of *France*, from the Day they ſaw the Hopes of it fail. The Houſe of Commons met, with ſuch a Bent upon what they thought the Chief of their Home Concerns, that the Name of any thing Foreign would not be allow'd among them; nay, the Mention of *Spaniſh* Leagues, Alliances with *Holland*, and Meaſures intended by the King with other Confederates, were laugh'd at, as Court Tricks, and too ſtale to paſs any more. They fell downright upon a Point invincible, which was the Bill of Excluſion; and in Default of that, upon Heats againſt the Government and the Miniſters, not without ſome glancing at the King. This was return'd with Heats at Court by thoſe Miniſters that were chiefly touch'd: Which were Lord *Halifax*, who, by a ſudden Turn, whereof I know no Account, had at the Beginning of the Seſſion fallen into the open Defence of the Duke's Intereſts; and Mr. *Hyde*, who by his Relation to the Duke, and by his Education wholly at Court, was ever reckon'd upon as well

well as found to be first in that Point. Though I did not find by them, that they thought it would be to much Purpose; only they promis'd to agree with the King upon the Draught of some Expedients in the Case, which Lord *Hallifax* had charg'd himself with, and should be charg'd with to the House of Lords, during the Heats of the Commons.

For my own part, so soon as I saw the Bent of the House of Commons, the Violence with which it was carry'd, and the Distractions it was like to engage the Kingdom in, at a time they were so little in Season; I gave over first all Hopes, and then all Thoughts upon so unpleasant a Theme. In the Business of the Bill I never meddled, nor so much as reason'd either in or out of the House; having declar'd my Opinion to the King and his Ministers, that it was to no Purpose to oppose it there; nor for the King to take Notice of the Commons Address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any Bills, or any Addresses upon Things of that Nature, were brought to him from both Houses, he would answer them. By this means I thought the King was sure of his End; for the Bill would certainly fall as often as it came into the House of Lords; and if he should be forc'd to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invincible Differences between the Two Houses, than upon any between His Majesty and the House of Commons. But this Opinion was not agreed to by the chief Ministers. After that, I press'd both the King and them to bring such Expedients as they told me were resolv'd on; that so we might make all the Strength we could to support them in the House of Commons, and thereby reduce Things to some Temper; But these, tho' daily talk'd of, never appear'd. I went not often, either to the House or Council; but when I did, and thought it to any Purpose, I endeavour'd to allay the Heats on either Side; and told the King, I expected to be turn'd out of the House in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon. Mr. *Hyde* ask'd me one Day in the Council Chamber, why I came so seldom to House or Council; I told him, 'twas upon *Solomon*'s Advice, *neither to oppose the Mighty, nor go about to stop the Current of a River:* Upon which he said, I was a Wise and a Quiet Man; and if it were not for some Circumstances he could not help, he would do so too.

See the Appendix: I do not remember to have spoken in the House, but upon the Motion of Supplies for *Tangier*; upon the Digestion of the first Address about general Grievances; and in the Cases of my Lord Chief Justice *North* and my Lord *Hallifax* being impeach'd upon common Fame: Nor at any general Councils; unless it were upon the House of Commons Address against Lord *Hallifax*, and upon a Debate about Dissolving the Parliament; wherein I desir'd the King and Council never to lay aside the Thoughts and Endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a Matter of so great Necessity to the State of His Majesty's Affairs both Abroad and at Home. Lord *Hallifax* answer'd me in few Words, That every body was sensible of the Necessity of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, though not with this: And * Mr. *Seymour* told me, he perfectly agreed with me in what I had said. The last Thing I did in House or Council, was to carry the King's last Answer to the Commons, containing his Resolutions never to consent to the Exclusion of the Duke; which Secretary *Jenkins* had been charg'd with the Night before at Council: But he was thought too unacceptable to the House, it seems, for a Message that was like to prove so; and next Morning the King would have had Sir *Robert Carr*, or Mr. *Godolphin* have carry'd it, but they both excus'd themselves; upon which the King sent for me.

* *Afterwards Sir* E. Seymour. *See the Appendix.*

I told His Majesty, I did not very well understand why a Thing agreed upon last Night at Council-Table, should be alter'd in his Chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey him, and the rather upon others having excus'd themselves, and to shew His Majesty that I intended to play no popular Games: Upon which I took the Paper, and told the King that I was very sensible how much of his Confidence I formerly had, and how much

much I had loſt, without knowing the Occaſion; or elſe I might have had part in the conſulting this Change of what was laſt Night reſolv'd, as well as in executing it; and I would confeſs to His Majeſty, that I had not ſo good a Stomach in Buſineſs, as to be content only with *Swallowing what other People had chew'd.* Upon which I went away, and carry'd my Meſſage to the Houſe, which was receiv'd juſt as was expected. I tell this Paſſage freely, as I do all the reſt; as the only Thing I could imagine the King could ever take ill of me; and yet I know not how it could be a Fault, more than in Point of Manners neither, or the Homelineſs of Expreſſion.

That which compleated my Reſolution or Receſs from all publick Buſineſs, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both Parties who could agree in nothing elſe, yet did it in this one Point of bringing Things to the laſt Extremity. Lord *Shaftsbury* and his Party thought the Points of popular Diſcontents and Petitions, or at leaſt That of the King's Wants, would at laſt bring the Court to their Mercy in one Parliament or other. Thoſe Miniſters, who were paſt all Meaſures with the Houſe of Commons, thought there was no Way, but by their Heats, to bring the King to a Diſlike, and thereby to a Diſuſe of Parliaments. And by this likewiſe the Duke's Intereſt ſeem'd at preſent only to be ſecur'd. So that where both Parties conſented in dividing to Extremity on each Side, no Man could think any longer of Uniting; nor conſequently to ſee the Crown in ſuch a Poſture as I had ever wiſh'd it, and for our Neighbours Sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more evident at the laſt Debates, during my Aſſiſtance at the Foreign Committee, concerning the Anſwer His Majeſty ſhould return to the repeated Addreſſes of the Houſe of Commons, relating to the Bill of Excluſion. I was of Opinion it ſhould be, That when both Houſes agreed upon an Addreſs to this Purpoſe, he would give them an Anſwer; but till then would ſuſpend it, and not ſend a poſitive Anſwer to one Houſe upon ſo weighty an Occaſion, which for ought he knew might be contrary to the Senſe of the other. By this means he would be ſecure from the Neceſſity of any direct Breach with the Commons; ſince he knew well enough, the Lords would not conſent to the Addreſs. And if the Parliament came to be diſſolv'd, it were better for the King it ſhould break upon Differences between the Two Houſes, than between His Majeſty and them. For this would give the Nation an Opinion, that he was reſolv'd to live without Parliaments hereafter; which might endanger perhaps our Peace at Home, but would however ruin the Hopes of our Neighbours Abroad, who had no other of defending themſelves againſt *France*, but by the Power of *England*. That if the Parliament broke upon Diſputes or Differences between the Two Houſes, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a Third, and agree with ſome of them; by which alone he could be *Great* and Safe both at Home and Abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the Mountain and *Mahomet*, who told the People what Miracles he would do when he was at the Top of the Mountain; and to that purpoſe he would on ſuch a Day call it to him; he did ſo, but the Mountain would not come; whereupon he ſaid, that if the Mountain would not come to *Mahomet*, he would go to the Mountain; for unleſs they both met, no Wonders could be done. The King ſeem'd pleas'd with all I ſaid, and with the Compariſon; but thoſe of the Committee that were chief in the private Meaſures taken at this Time, were for a poſitive Anſwer to be given the Houſe of Commons, let them take it how they pleas'd; and accordingly this was reſolv'd.

However, all theſe Conſiderations or Intereſts could not move the King to diſſolve this Parliament, without calling another at the ſame time to meet at *Oxford* in the Spring. Whereupon, the Heads of the Univerſity at *Cambridge* ſent to me, to know whether I intended to ſtand again for that Election: I went to the King to acquaint him with it, and know his Pleaſure what Anſwer I ſhould return them: He ſeem'd at firſt indifferent, and bid me do what I would; but when I ſaid I was very indifferent too, and

would do in it what His Majesty lik'd best; he said, in a Manner kind and familiar, that considering how Things stood at this time, he doubted my coming into the House would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone; which I said I would do.

When I left the King, I went to my Lord *Sunderland*, and told him what had pass'd; who took this as the first certain Sign of His Majesty's having fixt his Resolution, and left off all Thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his Measures another Way, for the Supply of his Treasures in the ill Condition they were in. He knew very well, that during the last Session, the King had always told me, that he was resolv'd to propose some Expedients to the Houses, upon which he had Hopes they might agree; That he had order'd *Hallifax* to draw them up, and had bid me reserve my Credit in the House for that Occasion: And that if there were any Thoughts of agreeing with the next Parliament, the King he was sure would have been glad to have had me in the House. He said upon it, in some Passion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he must confess I knew the King better than he had done; and so we parted.

Within few Days, imploy'd wholly in my Domestick Concerns, and in order to the Remove I intended, I left the Town and went to *Sheen*: From whence I sent the King Word by my Son, that I would pass the rest of my Life like as good a Subject as any he had; but that I would never meddle any more with any publick Affairs; and desir'd His Majesty would not be displeas'd with this Resolution. The King very graciously bid him tell me, That he was not angry with me, no not at all.

I had not been above a Week at *Sheen*, when my Lady *Northumberland* (who liv'd then at *Sion*) came to my Closet one Morning, and told me, that the Day before, my Lord *Sunderland*, my Lord *Essex*'s Names, and mine, were struck out of the Council; which was the first Word I heard of any such Thing; and upon which I neither made any Reflections nor Inquiries; though many others seem'd much to wonder, and inquir'd of me what could be the Reason of my being joyn'd with the other Two Lords, whose Proceedings had been very different.

My Lord *Sunderland* was, during the late Session of Parliament, fallen under a great Displeasure of His Majesty; and into an ourrageous Quarrel with Lord *Hallifax*. The last happen'd, not only upon their dividing in the Businesses of the Parliament and Council; but likewise upon Lord *Sunderland*'s entering into new Commerce and Measures with Lord *Shaftsbury*; as my Lord *Hallifax* told me, and which I should not have otherwise known: For if there were any such Commerce, Lord *Sunderland* had made it a Secret to me; as knowing too well the Aversion I always had for that Lord, and the whole Course of his Proceedings in all publick Affairs. But Lord *Sunderland* told me another Reason of the Quarrel between him and Lord *Hallifax*; which he said broke out the same Night a Debate arose at Council, concerning an Address of the House of Commons against Lord *Hallifax*, wherein Lord *Sunderland* had been of Opinion, the King should not yield to it. But after Council, Lord *Hallifax* went to Lord *Sunderland*'s Lodgings, where they fell into Discourse of what had pass'd; and Lord *Sunderland* told him, that though he had given his Opinion at Council, as he thought became him; yet if such an Address should ever be made against himself, he would certainly desire leave of the King to retire, as a Thing that would be for his Service. Upon this Lord *Hallifax* fell into such a Passion, that he went out of the Room, and from that time they hardly liv'd in any common Civility where they met.

The Refiners thought Lord *Hallifax*, who saw himself topp'd by Lord *Sunderland*'s Credit and Station at Court, resolv'd to make this sudden Turn of falling in with the King, upon the Point then in Debate about the Bill of Exclusion, wherein he found the King steady, and that my Lord *Sunderland* would lose himself; so that falling into Confidence with the King upon such a Turn, he should be alone Chief in the Ministry without Competitor.

At leaſt the Reaſoners on this Matter could find no other Ground for ſuch a Change in Lord *Hallifax*'s Courſe, after what he had ſo long ſteer'd, and ſo lately in having been the chief Promoter of the Duke's being ſent away to *Scotland*, juſt before the Meeting of the Parliament.

The King's Quarrels to my Lord *Sunderland*, as far as I could obſerve, were chiefly two. Firſt, His voting in the Lords Houſe for the Bill of Excluſion, not only againſt the King's Mind, but againſt his expreſs Command; which, for a Perſon actually in his Service, and in ſuch a Poſt as Secretary of State, ſeem'd ſomething extraordinary. And I remember, when I ſpoke to him of it, as what the King muſt reſent, and what I was confident he would be ſteady in, he told me, 'twas too late, for his Honour was engag'd, and he could not break it. The other was, A Memorial ſent over by Mr. *Sydney*, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, and given him by the Penſioner *Fagel*, repreſenting the ſad Conſequences abroad of His Majeſty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the Danger of his Allies, and of the Proteſtant Religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet ſeeming to wiſh that the King would not break with them, though it were even upon the Point of the Bill of Excluſion. This was, as I remember, the Subſtance; for I never heard a Word of it, either before or after its being receiv'd at the Foreign Committee; where I was as much ſurpriz'd at it as any one there, but had not the ſame Thoughts of its Original, as I find ſome other of the Lords had. For they believ'd it a Thing directed and adviſ'd from hence; and, in a word, by Lord *Sunderland* to Mr. *Sydney* his Uncle, as a Matter that would be of Weight to induce the King to paſs the Bill. But, beſides that Lord *Sunderland* proteſted to me after Council, that he knew nothing of it, till he receiv'd a Copy from Mr. *Sydney*, who ſent the Original to the other Secretary; I thought he could not underſtand the King ſo ill, as to believe, That would be a Motive to him to paſs the Bill, or that it could have any other Effect than to anger him at the *Dutch*, for meddling in a Matter that was Domeſtick, not only to the Nation, but to the Crown. Beſides, I obſerv'd the Stile to be of one that underſtood little of our Conſtitution, by ſeveral Expreſſions in the Paper; whereof one was, why the King ſhould not prevent ſuch Conſequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* [*by a Stroke with a Pen*]; which ſhew'd, the Author thought our Acts of Parliament had been paſs'd by the King's Signing them.

This, and the whole Caſt of it, made me believe it certainly came from the Penſioner *Fagel*; a Man of great Piety and Zeal in his Religion, mightily concern'd for all that he thought would endanger it, and beſides of great Warmth and Suddenneſs in purſuing any Thought that poſſeſs'd him. However, the King, as well as ſome of the Committee, believ'd this was of my Lord *Sunderland*'s Forge; and that many of the Heats in the Houſe of Commons had been encourag'd and rais'd to ſuch Height by his ſeeming to favour them; which they might think he would not do, unleſs he believ'd the King would at length comply with them.

Theſe, I ſuppoſe, were the Reaſons of the Reſolution taken at Court to remove Lord *Sunderland*, both from the Secretary's Office and the Council. What made my Lord *Eſſex* be joyn'd with him, is a great deal more obvious; having ever ſince the Meeting of the Parliament run up in the greateſt Heights and neareſt Meaſures with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, both in the Bill of Excluſion and all other Matters where he interven'd, either in Debates of Parliament or of Council; either concerning the Bill, or ſeveral Addreſſes againſt Miniſters. How I came to be joyn'd with theſe Two Lords, by the King's ordering our Names to be ſtruck out of the Council Book at the ſame time, I neither knew, nor could ever give any Reaſon; unleſs it were what was commonly gueſs'd, of my being a Friend of the Prince of *Orange*, or of my Lord *Sunderland*, with whom I had a very long Acquaintance, and of our Families, as well as Perſonal. For the Firſt, I could think it no Crime, conſidering how little that Prince had ever meddled, at leaſt to my Knowledge, in any Domeſtick Concerns of

His Majesty, during all that pass'd since the first Heats in Parliaments here, though he had been extream sensible of the Consequences they were like to have upon all his Interests, and neareſt Concerns at Home; which were, the Preservation of *Flanders* from the *French* Conquests, and thereby of *Holland* from falling by sudden Treaties into an absolute Dependence upon that Crown.

I can give no other Reason; unless it were, that as my Lord *Salisbury* had been struck out some Days before, upon his having declar'd at Council that he would come there no more; so His Majesty and his Ministers might think, that upon my having taken the same Resolution as to that and all publick Affairs, though signify'd only in private to His Majesty, and with all the good Manners that could be; yet it would be better for the King's Affairs, that I should be known to be put out of the Council, than to have quitted it of my self.

Nor was this Resolution of mine taken in any Heat, or rashly, but upon the best Considerations and Knowledge I have gain'd, both of the World and of my self: By which I found, as *Sancho* did by governing his Island, that he was not fit to govern any thing but his Sheep; so by serving long in Courts, or publick Affairs, I discover'd plainly, that I was, at my Age, and in the present Conjunctures, fit for neither one nor t'other.

I consider'd the World in the present Posture of Affairs, both Abroad and at Home: I knew very well the great Designs of *France*, whereof the Plan was drawn by Cardinal *Richelieu*, for the Conquest of *Flanders* and that Part of *Germany* which lies on this Side of the *Rhine*. How, upon this View, he had seiz'd *Lorrain*, and engag'd in a War with *Spain*. How he practis'd the *Dutch* into a Treaty for the Division of *Flanders* between them, till the States soon found the false Pace they had made, by an Agreement to share with the Lion, who thereupon would be soon Master, both of the Prey and of them. Hereupon they broke off this Confederacy on the sudden, quitted the *French* in the midst of so great Success, and had thereby almost occasion'd the Ruin of the *French* Army at *Tirlemont*. I knew by Tradition from a Noble Family, How that Cardinal had sent a private Emissary, to endeavour the same Measures with King *Charles* the First; or at least for his being passive in their Conquest of *Flanders*. How that King had refus'd the first; and being press'd upon the other, had answer'd resolutely, and bid him tell the Cardinal, that he would never suffer the Conquest of *Flanders*; and if the *French* attempted it, he would march himself in Person to defend it. Upon this Answer, the Cardinal reply'd to the Gentleman that brought it, *L'a t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien* [*Did he say so? by G--d I'll make him pay dear for it*;] and thereupon enter'd immediately into Practices with some discontented Nobles of *Scotland* then at *Paris*; sent over Two Hundred Thousand Pistoles to others in that Kingdom, and gave thereby a Beginning to the first Troubles that were rais'd there. From which Time, the Business of *France* has ever been to foment all Divisions of *England*, whose Interest they saw would be ever to cross their great Design. However, Cardinal *Mazarin*, after having surmounted his own Dangers in *France*, and the Difficulties incident to a Minority; pursu'd the Plan left him by his Predecessor: And by his Measures taken with *Cromwell*, and the Assistance of an immortal Body of six thousand brave *English*, which were by Agreement to be continually recruited, he made such a Progress in *Flanders*, that *Cromwell* soon found the Ballance turned, and grown too heavy on the *French* Side: Whereupon he dispatch'd a Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propose there a Change of his Treaty with *France* into one with *Spain*, by which he would draw his Forces over into their Service, and make them Ten thousand to be continually recruited, upon Condition their first Action should be to besiege *Calais*, and, when taken, to put it into his Hands. The Gentleman sent upon this Errand, was past the *Pyrenees*, when he was overtaken by the News of *Cromwell*'s Death; whereupon *Mazarin*, having not only lost his strongest Support in *Flanders*, but observ'd how that Design would never be serv'd by any Measures he could take in *England*, however it

ſhould be govern'd, by the moſt legal or moſt uſurp'd Powers, he reſolv'd upon a Peace with *Spain*; and made it at the *Pyrenees*, againſt the general Senſe, both of the chief Perſons in the Court and the Army, but particularly againſt the Inſtances of Monſieur *de Turenne*, who engag'd himſelf to conquer all that was left of *Flanders* in two Campaigns more: But ſome Domeſtick Reaſons prevail'd with the Cardinal; beſides his Age and great Infirmities, which ended his Life not long after the Peace was made.

The preſent King, left in full Peace with all his Neighbours, in the Flower of his Youth, and inſtructed in the School of ſo able a Miniſter, began to purſue the great Deſign, by the three Paces moſt neceſſary to advance it; which were, the wiſe Management of his Revenue, and heaping up a Maſs of Treaſure; the Encreaſe of his Naval Force, by building many great Ships, and buying others from the *Dutch*; and by the Purchaſe of *Dunkirk* in the Year 1662, without which he could not have aſpir'd to the Conqueſt of *Flanders*, or to his Greatneſs at Sea; having no other Haven upon the Channel: After this, by fomenting on both Sides the Seeds of Diſſenſion between us and the *Dutch*, which were ſprung from other cover'd Roots. He ſaw us engag'd in a War with *Holland* in 1665; and with ſuch Honour and Succeſſes, that the *Dutch* would ſoon have been forc'd to a Peace, had not *France* firſt aſſiſted them at Land, againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*; and then declar'd War againſt us, and ſet out his Fleet for Aſſiſting the *Dutch*. This made the War more equally ballanc'd, and thereby laſt; till *France* taking Advantage at our Diviſion, invaded *Flanders*; and by a Surpriſe of the unprepar'd *Spaniards*, in two Campaigns carry'd the moſt conſiderable Frontier Places on both Sides, as *Douay*, *Liſle*, *Tournay*, on the one Side; *Charleroy* and *Aeth* on the other; by which they left the reſt of *Flanders* at the Mercy of another Campaign. The *Dutch* were alarm'd at theſe Succeſſes of ſo mighty a Neighbour ſo near their own Doors; and we were ſpighted at the *French* having declar'd War againſt us, in Favour of *Holland*, contrary to our Expectations; and both together contributed to the Peace at *Breda* in the End of the Year 1667, and to our Leagues with *Holland*, with the Triple Alliance in 1668, for Defence of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. Upon our Peace with *Holland*, *France* ſtopp'd their Career in *Flanders*, and made Overtures of Peace with *Spain*, by the Offer of an Alternative, either to retain their Conqueſts in *Flanders*, or elſe the whole County of *Burgundy*. We and *Holland* forc'd *Spain* to accept one of them; and the *Spaniards* ſpighted at this Hardſhip upon them, from Neighbours who they thought had as much Intereſt as they to preſerve *Flanders*, choſe the worſt, which was to leave the Frontier of *Flanders* in the *French* Hands; on purpoſe to give Us and *Holland* the greater Jealouſie of *France*, and in Hopes thereby to engage us all in a War with that Crown. And upon theſe Terms the Peace was made at *Aix la Capelle* in 1668.

After this, *France* turn'd all their Counſels to break the Meaſures between Us and *Holland*, which gave a Stop to their great Deſign. The *Dutch* were ſtanch; but we gave Way by the Corruption of our Miniſters, and the *French* Practices upon the Diſpoſitions of our Court; which at length engag'd us in a joint War of both Crowns upon *Holland* in 1672, to the Amazement of all Men, both abroad and at home, and almoſt to the utter Ruin of that State; till the Empire and *Spain*, rous'd by the Danger of *Holland*, which muſt have ended in that of *Flanders* and all the *German* Provinces on this Side the *Rhine*, enter'd boldly into the War, for the Aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*; which gave them ſome Breath, and carry'd the Scene of the War into *Flanders* and *Germany*. At the ſame Time, the Diſcontents of the People and Parliament at the War; and the Neceſſity of declaring it againſt *Spain* as well as *Holland*, if we continued longer in it; prevail'd with the King to make a ſeparate Peace with *Holland* in 1673; and to offer his Mediation to all the Parties engag'd in the War; which ended in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and at laſt in a Peace there, concluded in 1678: Whereby a Frontier was left to the *Spaniſh Netherlands* on the *Brabant* Side, by Reſtitution of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, to ſatisfie the *Dutch*: But all that remain'd on the Side of *Flanders* after the

the Peace of *Aix*, as *Cambray*, *Air*, St. *Omer*, with many others taken by *France* in the laſt War, were by this Treaty left in their Poſſeſſion; beſides great Pretences by Dependencies, both in *Flanders* and *Alſace*; ſo as *Flanders* was left at their Mercy, whenever we or *Holland* ſhould abandon its Defence. And, finding both Nations in general but too ſenſible of our Intereſt on that Side, the Councils of *France* began new Practices upon our Court; wherein they were encourag'd by our Factions, and the Neceſſities of Money into which they had drawn the King.

Theſe were the Progreſſes which *France* had made in their great Deſign, by two Wars and two General Treaties of Peace; whereof that at *Nimeguen* ſeem'd more Victorious than their Arms had been. But they had made another, yet more Important than either, by their Practices upon the Elector and Chapter of *Cologne*, having gain'd the Majority of Voices there for the Succeſſion of Prince *William* of *Furſtemburg* to that Principality, whenever the preſent Elector ſhould fail, who is old and infirm, and has for ſome Years paſt deceiv'd the World by living ſo long. Prince *William*, though a *German*, yet having long devoted himſelf to the *French* Intereſts, and been refuged and ſupported by that Crown againſt the Indignation and Revenge of the Emperor, is as much a *Frenchman* as any Biſhop of that Kingdom; ſo as whenever he comes to the Electorate, *France* will be abſolute Maſter of that Principality; and thereby caſt Shackles, not only upon the other Princes of the *Rhine*, but upon *Holland* too, both by cutting off their Trade upon the *Rhine*, and by bordering upon their Inland Provinces, which are moſt expos'd and hard to be defended: 'Tis ſaid, he is likewiſe aſſur'd of the Chapter of *Liege*, in favour of the ſame Prince; which if true, and this Principality fall likewiſe under the ſame Dominion, upon the Death of the preſent Elector, *France* will then ſurround the Frontiers of *Brabant*, and cut off all Commerce, or Means of Defence, between them and *Luxembourg*; that they will not have above the Work of one Campaign to draw the Net over the reſt of *Flanders*, and reduce all the great Cities there; after which, the reſt muſt follow, and thereby *Holland* be left to take what Meaſures they can with *France*, and become at beſt a Maritime Province to that Crown; tho', perhaps, under the Name of a Free State (for fear of diſpeopling their Country) but with ſuch Dependence as will leave *France* the Uſe both of their Ships and Money, upon Occaſion, in other Parts. Whenever this happens, what Condition *England* will be left in, upon ſuch an Encreaſe of the *French* Territory, and Land, as well as Naval Power, is eaſie to conjecture, but hard how it can be prevented, otherwiſe than by our vigorous Conjunction of Counſels, as well as Intereſts, with all the late Confederates; and by a firm Union between the Court and the Nation upon one common Bottom, both at home and abroad, and chiefly for the Preſervation of *Flanders* againſt the *French* Deſigns.

I eaſily diſcover'd how fit a Poſture we were in to engage in ſuch Reſolutions. The Nation divided into two ſtrong Factions with the greateſt Heats and Animoſities, and ready to break out into Violence upon the firſt Occaſion. The Heads on both Sides deſiring it, as grown paſt all Temper or Compoſure. The King involv'd in ſuch Neceſſities and Diſorders of his Revenue, as, if he could not hope Supplies from Parliaments, would throw him upon ſeeking them from *France*; which would end in ſuch Meaſures with that Crown, as would leave them at Liberty to purſue their great Deſign by new Attempts upon their Neighbours; who, without the Support of *England*, muſt give Way, either by weak Defences, or ſubmiſſive Treaties.

Upon the Survey of all theſe Circumſtances, Conjunctures, and Diſpoſitions, both at home and abroad, I concluded in cold Blood, that I could be be of no further Uſe or Service to the King my Maſter, and my Country, whoſe true Intereſts I always thought were the ſame, and would be both in Danger when they came to be divided, and for that reaſon had ever endeavour'd the Uniting them; and had compaſs'd it, if the Paſſions of ſome few Men had not lain fatally in the Way, ſo as to raiſe Difficulties that I

ſaw

ſaw plainly were never to be ſurmounted. Therefore upon the whole, I took that firm Reſolution, in the End of the Year 1680, and the Interval between the *Weſtminſter* and *Oxford* Parliaments, never to charge my ſelf more with any publick Employments; but retiring wholly to a private Life, in that Poſture take my Fortune with my Country, whatever it ſhould prove: Which as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that attend human Affairs, and the Chances of every Day, to which the greateſt Lives, as well as Actions, are ſubject; ſo I ſhall not trouble my ſelf ſo much as to conjecture: *Fata viam inveniant.*

Beſides all theſe publick Circumſtances; I conſider'd my ſelf in my own Humour, Temper and Diſpoſitions, which a Man may diſguiſe to others, though very hardly, but cannot to himſelf. I had learn'd by living long in Courts and publick Affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found the Arts of a Court were contrary to the Frankneſs and Openneſs of my Nature; and the Conſtraints of publick Buſineſs too great for the Liberty of my Humour and my Life. The common and proper Ends of both, are, the Advancement of Men's Fortunes; and that I never minded; having as much as I needed, and, which is more, as I deſired. The Talent of gaining Riches I ever deſpis'd; as obſerving it to belong to the moſt deſpiſable Men in other Kinds: And I had the Occaſions of it ſo often in my Way, if I would have made uſe of them, that I grew to diſdain them; as a Man does Meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to Service for nothing but Wages, nor endure to be fetter'd in Buſineſs when I thought it was to no Purpoſe. I knew very well, the Arts of a Court are, to talk the preſent Language, to ſerve the preſent Turn, and to follow the preſent Humour of the Prince, whatever it is: Of all theſe I found my ſelf ſo incapable, that I could not talk a Language I did not mean, nor ſerve a Turn I did not like, nor follow any Man's Humour wholly againſt my own. Beſides, I have had in twenty Year's Experience, enough of the Uncertainty of Princes, the Caprices of Fortune, the Corruption of Miniſters, the Violence of Factions, the Unſteadineſs of Counſels, and the Infidelity of Friends; nor do I think the reſt of my Life enough to make any new Experiments.

For the Eaſe of my own Life, if I know my ſelf, it will be infinitely more in the retir'd, than it has been in the buſie Scene: For no good Man can, with any Satisfaction, take part in the Diviſions of his Country, that knows and conſiders, as I do, what they have coſt *Athens*, *Rome*, *Conſtantinople*, *Florence*, *Germany*, *France* and *England*. Nor can the wiſeſt Man foreſee how ours will end, or what they are like to coſt the reſt of Chriſtendom as well as our ſelves. I never had but two Aims in publick Affairs; one, to ſee the King great, as he may be by the Hearts of his People, without which I know not how he can be great by the Conſtitutions of this Kingdom: The other, in caſe our Factions muſt laſt, yet to ſee a Revenue eſtabliſh'd for the conſtant maintaining a Fleet of fifty Men of War, at Sea or in Harbour, and the Seamen in conſtant Pay; which would be at leaſt our Safety from abroad, and make the Crown ſtill conſider'd in any Foreign Alliances, whether the King and his Parliaments ſhould agree or not in undertaking any great or National War. And ſuch an Eſtabliſhment I was in Hopes the laſt Parliament at *Weſtminſter* might have agreed in with the King, by adding ſo much of a new Fund to Three hundred thouſand Pounds a Year out of the preſent Cuſtoms. But theſe have both fail'd, and I am content to have fail'd with them.

And ſo I take leave of all thoſe airy Viſions which have ſo long buſied my Head about mending the World; and at the ſame time, of all thoſe ſhining Toys or Follies that employ the Thoughts of buſie Men: And ſhall turn mine wholly to mend my ſelf; and as far as conſiſts with a private Condition, ſtill purſuing that old and excellent Counſel of *Pythagoras*, that *we are, with all the Cares and Endeavours of our Lives, to avoid Diſeaſes in the Body, Perturbations in the Mind, Luxury in Diet, Factions in the Houſe, and Seditions in the State.*

The E N D.

Reduce all these hateful Circumstances? I contract my Will in my own
Favour, and
Actions, are inclosed? So I shall not trouble my Self to write as to contemn:
ness, and the Chances of every Day, to which the greatest Prince, as well as
as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that may happen. Wit-
Power take my Fortune with my Country, whereas it should prove: WHICH
any hateful Employments? but restrain myself to a private Life, in that
the Pleasantness and Quiet I enjoy'd: as often I resolved my Self to write
them over and over again. The Talent of governing Kingdoms
Humour. Temper and Dispositions, which a Man may otherwise be ought
Power all these hateful Circumstances? I contract my Will in my own
Favour and
Actions, are inclosed? So I shall not trouble my Self to write as to contemn:
ness, and the Chances of every Day, to which the greatest Prince, as well as
as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that may happen. Wit-
Power take my Fortune with my Country, whereas it should prove: WHICH
any hateful Employments? but restrain myself to a private Life, in that
the Pleasantness and Quiet I enjoy'd: as often I resolved my Self to write them
Humour. Temper and Dispositions, which a Man may otherwise be ought
new hardly were meant to be unbounded. Therefore upon the whole I took

the Arts of a Court were contrary to the Temper and Operations of my Mind,
Courts and hateful Affairs, since I was fit to live no longer in either. I found
thought very justly, but resolved to practise. I had learn'd by many long
Humour. Temper and Dispositions, which a Man may otherwise be ought
Power all these hateful Circumstances? I contract my Will in my own
Favour and
Actions, are inclosed? So I shall not trouble my Self to write as to contemn:
ness, and the Chances of every Day, to which the greatest Prince, as well as
as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that may happen. Wit-
Power take my Fortune with my Country, whereas it should prove: WHICH
any hateful Employments? but restrain myself to a private Life, in that
the Pleasantness and Quiet I enjoy'd: as often I resolved my Self to write them
since that Resolution, in the End of the Year 1690. and the fourteenth part of
new hardly were meant to be unbounded. Therefore upon the whole I took

THE END.

Temptations in the Mind, Luxury in Diet, Factions in the Navy, and Sedition in
me, unless all the Cares and Endeavours of one Life, to model Differences in the Body
dition, till perhaps these old and excellent Counsel of Diogenes, that we
train mine wholly to mend my Ken? and as for a private Con-
thinking Joys of Power that employ the Thoughts of puny Men? And finft
my Hand upon mending the World? and at the same time of an entire
with them.

And so I take leave of all those airy Visions which prove to long passed
Kingdom. But these pave poor Work, and I am content to have built
of a new Land to Three hundred thousand Pounds a Year out of the pro-
ment at Nightwalks, where pave agreed to with the King, by adding to much
National Way. And such an Establishment I saw in Hopes the full Perfec-
King and his Parliament should agree or not in undertaking any Great or
and make the Crown still considered in any Foreign Alliances, whatever the
the Seamen in Conquest Pay? which would be at least one Safety from abroad,
constant maintaining a Fleet of fifty Men of War at Sea or in Harbour, and
orders, in case our Enemies must sail, yet to see a Necessity for the
know not how we can be great by the Conditions of this Kingdom: The
King great, as he may be by the Hearts of his People, without which I
as our Foes. I never had but two Aims in Point Affairs? one, to see the
ours will end, or what they are like to call the Self of Christendom as well
Enemies, Germany, France and England. Not can the wisest Man foresee how
and conclude as I do, what they have call Wars. Rome, Constantinople,
with any Satisfaction, take Part in the Divisions of his Country, must know
in the world, then it has been in the Days since: For no good Man can
the Self of my own Life enough to make any new Experiments.

For the Ease of my own Life (I know my Self) it will be unfortunate more
Politicians of Counsels, and the Inability of Princes? not do I exam-
Princes of Fortune, the Corruption of Ministers, the Violence of Factions, the
in twenty Years Experience, enough of the Uncertainty of Things, the Ca-
not follow my Mind's Humour wholly against my own. Besides, I have had
I could not talk a Language I did not learn, not serve a Turn I did not like,
of the Prince, whatever it is: Of all these I found my Self so incapable, that
not I suppose, to serve the present Turn, and to follow the present Humour.
to no Purpose. I knew very well, the Arts of a Court are to hide the Pas-
made use of them, what I knew to distain them: as a Man does what that
I never desired, and, which is more, as I declared. The Talent of governing Kingdoms
I resolved, and, which is more, as I declared. The Talent of governing Kingdoms
Humour and my Life, the common and proper Ends of both, were the Af-
true? and the Conditions of publick Employments too great for the Liberty of my
the Arts of a Court were contrary to the Temper and Operations of my Mi-
Courts and publick Affairs, since I was fit to live no longer in either. I found
thought very justly, but resolved to practise. I had learn'd by many long
Humour. Temper and Dispositions, which a Man may otherwise be ought
Power all these hateful Circumstances? I contract my Will in my own
Favour and
Actions, are inclosed? So I shall not trouble my Self to write as to contemn:
ness, and the Chances of every Day, to which the greatest Prince, as well as
as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that may happen. Wit-
Power take my Fortune with my Country, whereas it should prove: WHICH
any hateful Employments? but restrain myself to a private Life, in that
the Pleasantness and Quiet I enjoy'd: as often I resolved my Self to write them
since that Resolution, in the End of the Year 1690. and the fourteenth part of
new hardly were meant to be unbounded. Therefore upon the whole I took

THE APPENDIX.

Containing the Pieces referr'd to in theſe MEMOIRS.

A Declaration relating to the Eſtabliſhment of the New Privy-Council, mention'd Page 334.

At the Court at *Whitehall*, the 21ſt of *April*, 1679.

PRESENT

The KING's Moſt Excellent MAJESY in Council.

HIS Majeſty having caus'd the Privy-Council to Meet Yeſterday Extraordinary; was then pleas'd to Order the Lord Chancellor of England *to read to them the following Declaration.*

My LORDS,

HIS Majeſty hath call'd you together at this time, to Communicate unto you a Reſolution he hath taken, in a Matter of great Importance to his Crown and Government: And which, he hopes, will prove of the greateſt Satisfaction and Advantage to his Kingdoms, in all Affairs hereafter, both at Home and Abroad; and therefore he doubts not of your Approbation, however you may ſeem concern'd in it.

In the firſt place, his Majeſty gives you all Thanks for your Service to him here; and for all the good Advices you have given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great Number of this Council had not made it unfit for the Secrecy and Diſpatch that are neceſſary in many great Affairs. This forc'd him to uſe a ſmaller Number of you in a Foreign Committee; and ſometimes the Advices of ſome few among them (upon ſuch Occaſions) for many Years paſt. He is ſorry for the ill Succeſs he has found in

this Courſe, and ſenſible of the ill Poſture of Affairs from that and ſome unhappy Accidents, which have rais'd great Jealouſies and Diſſatisfaction among his good Subjects; and thereby left the Crown and Government in a Condition too weak for thoſe Dangers we have Reaſon to fear, both at home and abroad.

Theſe his Majeſty hopes may be yet prevented, by a Courſe of wiſe and ſteady Counſels for the future; and theſe Kingdoms grow again to make ſuch a Figure as they formerly have done in the World; and as they may always do, if our Union and Conduct were equal to our Force. To this End, he hath reſolv'd to lay aſide the Uſe he may have hitherto made of any ſingle Miniſtry, or private Advices, or Foreign Committees, for the general Direction of his Affairs: And to Conſtitute ſuch a Privy-Council, as may not only by its Number be fit for the Conſultation and Digeſtion of all Buſineſs, both Domeſtick and Foreign; but alſo by the Choice of them, out of the ſeveral Parts this State is compos'd of, may be the beſt inform'd in the true Conſtitutions of it, and thereby the moſt able to counſel him in all the Affairs and Intereſts of this Crown and Nation. And by the conſtant Advice of ſuch a Council, his Majeſty is reſolv'd hereafter to govern his Kingdoms; together with the frequent Uſe of his great Council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true ancient Conſtitution of this State and Government.

Now for the greater Dignity of this Council, his Majeſty reſolves their conſtant Number ſhall be limited to Thirty; and for their greater Authority, there ſhall be fifteen of his chief Officers, who ſhall be Privy-Counſellors by their Places; and for the other Fifteen, he will chuſe ten out of the ſeveral Ranks of the Nobility; and five Commoners of the Realm; whoſe known Abilities, Intereſt and Eſteem in the Nation, ſhall render them without all Suſpicion of either Miſtaking or Betraying the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, and conſequently of adviſing him Ill.

In the firſt place therefore, and to take Care of the Church, his Majeſty will have the Arch biſhop of *Canterbury*, and Biſhop of *London*, for the Time being. And to inform him well in what concerns the Laws, the Lord Chancellour, and one of the Lord Chief Juſtices. For the Navy and Stores (wherein conſiſts the chief Strength and Safety of the Kingdom) the Admiral, and Maſter of the Ordnance. For the Treaſury, the Treaſurer and Chancellour of the Exchequer (or whenever any of theſe Charges are in Commiſſion, then the firſt Commiſſioner to ſerve here in their Room:) The reſt of the fifteen ſhall be the Lord Privy-Seal, the Maſter of the Horſe, Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of his Houſhold, the Groom of the Stole, and the two Secretaries of State: And theſe ſhall be all the Offices of his Kingdom, to which the Dignity of a Privy-Counſellor ſhall be annex'd. The others his Majeſty has reſolv'd, and hopes he has not choſen ill. His Majeſty intends beſides, to have ſuch Princes of his Blood as he ſhall at any time call to this Board, being here in Court: A Preſident of the Council, whenever he ſhall find it neceſſary: And the Secretary of *Scotland*, when any ſuch ſhall be here. But theſe being uncertain, he reckons not of the conſtant Number of thirty, which ſhall never be exceeded.

To make way for this new Council, his Majeſty hath now reſolv'd to diſſolve this old One; and does hereby diſſolve it, and from this time excuſes your further Attendance here: But with his repeated Thanks for your Service hitherto, and with the Aſſurance of his Satisfaction in you, ſo far that he ſhould not have parted with you, but to make way for this new Conſtitution, which he takes to be, as to the Number and Choice, the moſt proper and neceſſary for the Uſes he intends them. And as moſt of you have Offices in his Service, and all of you particular Shares in his Favour and good Opinion; ſo he deſires you will continue to exerciſe, and deſerve them, with the ſame Diligence and good Affections that you have hitherto done; and with Confidence of his Majeſty's Kindneſs to you, and of thoſe Teſtimonies you ſhall receive of it upon other Occaſions.

Therefore,

Therefore, upon the preſent Diſſolution of this Council, His Majeſty appoints and commands all thoſe Officers he hath named, to attend him here to-morrow at nine in the Morning, as His Privy-Council; together with thoſe other Perſons he deſigns to make up the Number, and to each of whom he has already ſigned particular Letters to that Purpoſe; and commands the Lord Chancellor to ſee them iſſued out accordingly; which is the Form he intends to uſe, and that hereafter they ſhall be ſign'd in Council, ſo that nothing may be done unadviſedly in the Choice of any Perſon, to a Charge of ſo great Dignity and Importance to the Kingdom.

And in purſuance thereof, His Majeſty did this Day declare, That he had made Choice of the ſeveral Perſons hereafter named, to be of his Privy-Council.

The Names of the Lords of His MAJESTY's *moſt Honourable Privy-Council.*

HIS Highneſs Prince *Rupert.*
Dr. *William Sancroft*, Lord Arch biſhop of *Canterbury.*
Heneage Lord *Finch*, Lord Chancellour of *England.*
Anthony Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord Preſident of the Council.
Arthur Earl of *Angleſey*, Lord Privy-Seal.
Chriſtopher Duke of *Albemarle.*
James Duke of *Monmouth*, Maſter of the Horſe.
Henry Duke of *New caſtle.*
John Duke of *Lauderdale*, Secretary of State for *Scotland.*
James Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the Houſhold.
Charles Lord Marqueſs of *Winchester.*
Henry Lord Marqueſs of *Worceſter.*
Henry Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
James Earl of *Salisbury.*
John Earl of *Bridgewater.*
Robert Earl of *Sunderland*, one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Arthur Earl of *Eſſex*, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury.
John Earl of *Bath*, Groom of the Stole.
Thomas Lord Viſcount *Falconberg.*
George Lord Viſcount *Hallifax.*
Henry Lord Biſhop of *London.*
John Lord *Roberts.*
Denzil Lord *Hollis.*
William Lord *Ruſſel.*
William Lord *Cavendiſh.*
Henry Coventry, Eſq; one of His Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State.
Sir *Francis North*, Knt. Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.
Sir *Henry Capell*, Knt. of the *Bath*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty.
Sir *John Ernley*, Kt. Chancellour of the Exchequer.
Sir *Thomas Chicheley*, Kt. Maſter of the Ordnance.
Sir *William Temple*, Baronet.
Edward Seymour, Eſq;
Henry Powle, Eſq;

And His Majeſty commanded ſuch of them as were then preſent to be Sworn, and to take their Places at the Board accordingly.

The Right Honourable *Anthony* Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was by His Majeſty's Special Command ſworn Lord Preſident of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy-Council, took his Place at the Board accordingly.

His MAJESTY *was this Day alſo pleaſed to declare, that he intended to make*

Sir *Henry Capell*, Kt. of the *Bath*,
Daniel Finch, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Lee*, Baronet,
Sir *Humphrey Winch*, Baronet,
Sir *Thomas Meers*, Baronet,
Edward Vaughan, Eſq;
Edward Hales, Eſq;

Commiſſioners, for the Execution of the Office of Lord High Admiral of *England*, who ſhall only attend that Buſineſs.

His Majeſty was alſo pleas'd to declare, That he would have all his Affairs here debated freely, of what kind ſoever they were; and therefore abſolute Secrecy.

His Majeſty was alſo pleas'd to declare, That he would communicate this Alteration of the Council unto both Houſes of Parliament in a few Words.

THE Expedients mention'd by the Author in Page 337, and ſome other Parts of theſe Memoirs, met no Succeſs in the Houſe of Commons, who, upon the Bill of Excluſion being thrown out by the Lords, had ſeveral other Expedients offer'd them by ſome of their own Members, but could not fix upon any that were thought ſufficient. One Expedient was, to have a Bill brought in for the Aſſociation of all his Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects; Another was, a Bill for the Baniſhment of all conſiderable Papiſts out of *England*: A Third, for ſecuring frequent Parliaments. It was likewiſe propos'd, that the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be joined in the Adminiſtration with the Duke, upon his coming to the Crown: With ſeveral other Schemes, which all prov'd abortive: So that the Houſe of Commons began to reaſſume the Thoughts of the Bill of Excluſion; to which End they preſented an Addreſs, *December* 15, 1680. The King's Meſſage in anſwer to this Addreſs, *January* 4, $16\frac{8}{81}$, was that which the Author was commanded to carry to the Houſe, as he tells us Page 352. And becauſe it may give the Reader ſome Light into the Affairs and Diſpoſitions of thoſe Times, the Addreſs and the King's Anſwer are here ſubjoyn'd.

The Humble ADDRESS *of the Houſe of Commons preſented to His Majeſty, in anſwer to His Majeſty's Gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, upon the Fifteenth Day of* December, 1680.

May it pleaſe your moſt Excellent Majeſty,

WE Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, have taken into our ſerious Conſideration Your Majeſty's Gracious Speech to both Your Houſes of Parliament, on the Fifteenth of this Inſtant *December*; and do with all the grateful Senſe of Faithful Subjects, and ſincere Proteſtants, acknowledge Your Majeſty's great Goodneſs to Us, in renewing the Aſſurances You have been pleaſed to give us of your Readineſs to concur with us in any Means for the Security of the Proteſtant Religion, and Your Gracious Invitation of us to make our Deſires known to Your Majeſty.

But with Grief of Heart we cannot but obſerve, that to theſe Princely Offers, Your Majeſty has been adviſ'd (by what ſecret Enemies to Your Majeſty and Your People, we know not) to annex a Reſervation, which if inſiſted on, in the Inſtance to which alone it is applicable, will render all Your Majeſty's other Gracious Inclinations of no Effect or Advantage to us. Your Majeſty is pleaſed thus to limit Your Promiſe of Concurrence in the Remedies which ſhall be propoſed, that they may conſiſt with preſerving the Succeſſion of the Crown in its due and legal Courſe of Deſcent: And we do humbly inform Your Majeſty, that no Interruption of that Deſcent has been endeavour'd by us, except only the Deſcent upon the Perſon of the Duke of *York*, who, by the wicked Inſtruments of the Church of *Rome* has been manifeſtly perverted to their Religion. And we do humbly repreſent to Your Majeſty, as the Iſſue of our moſt deliberate Thoughts and Conſultations, that for the Papiſts to have their Hopes continued, that a Prince of that Religion ſhall ſucceed in the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, is utterly inconſiſtent with the Safety of Your Majeſty's Perſon, the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Proſperity, Peace, and Welfare of Your Proteſtant Subjects.

That Your Majeſty's Sacred Life is in continual Danger, under the Proſpect of a Popiſh Succeſſor, is evident, not only from the Principles of thoſe devoted to the Church of *Rome*, which allow that an Heretical Prince (and ſuch they term all Proteſtant Princes) Excommunicated and depoſed by the Pope, may be deſtroyed and murthered; but alſo from the Teſtimonies given in the Proſecution of the horrid *Popiſh Plot*, againſt divers Traitors attainted for deſigning to put thoſe accurſed Principles into Practice againſt Your Majeſty.

From the Expectation of this Succeſſion, has the Number of Papiſts in Your Majeſty's Dominions ſo much increaſed within theſe few Years, and ſo many been prevail'd with to deſert the true Proteſtant Religion, that they might be prepar'd for the Favours of a *Popiſh* Prince, aſſoon as he ſhould come to the Poſſeſſion of the Crown: And while the ſame Expectation laſts, many more will be in the ſame Danger of being perverted.

This it is that has harden'd the *Papiſts* of this Kingdom, animated and confederated by their Prieſts and *Jeſuits*, to make a common Purſe, provide Arms, make Application to Foreign Princes, and ſollicite their Aid, for impoſing Popery upon us; and all this even during Your Majeſty's Reign, and while Your Majeſty's Government and the Laws were our Protection.

It is your Majeſty's Glory and true Intereſt, to be the Head and Protector of all *Proteſtants*, as well Abroad as at Home: But if theſe Hopes re-

remain, what Alliances can be made for the Advantage of the Proteſtant Religion and Intereſt, which ſhall give Confidence to Your Majeſty's Allies, to joyn ſo vigorouſly with Your Majeſty, as the State of that Intereſt in the World now requires, while they ſee this Proteſtant Kingdom in ſo much Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor; by whom, at the preſent, all their Councils and Actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom (if he ſhould ſucceed) they are ſure to be deſtroy'd?

We have thus humbly laid before Your Majeſty, ſome of thoſe great Dangers and Miſchiefs which evidently accompany the Expectation of a Popiſh Succeſſor: The certain and unſpeakable Evils which will come upon Your Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects and their Poſterity, if ſuch a Prince ſhould inherit, are more alſo than we can well enumerate.

Our Religion, which is ſo dangerouſly ſhaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to protect or defend it.

The Execution of old Laws muſt ceaſe, and it will be vain to expect new ones. The moſt ſacred Obligations of Contracts and Promiſes (if any ſhould be given) that ſhall be judged to be againſt the Intereſt of the *Romiſh* Religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from Argument and Experience elſewhere, but from the ſad Experience this Nation once had on the like Occaſion.

In the Reign of ſuch a Prince, the Pope will be acknowledg'd ſupream (though the Subjects of this Kingdom have ſworn the contrary) and all Cauſes, either as ſpiritual, or in order to ſpiritual Things, will be brought under his Juriſdiction.

The Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of all ſuch Proteſtants, as value their Souls and their Religion more than their ſecular Concernments, will be adjudged forfeited.

To all this we might add, That it appears in the Diſcovery of the *Plot*, that Foreign Princes were invited to aſſiſt in ſecuring the Crown to the Duke of *York*; with Arguments from his great Zeal to eſtabliſh Popery, and to extirpate Proteſtants (whom they call Hereticks) out of his Dominions; and ſuch will expect Performance accordingly.

We further humbly beſeech Your Majeſty, in Your great Wiſdom to conſider, Whether in Caſe the Imperial Crown of this Proteſtant Kingdom ſhould deſcend to the Duke of *York*, the Oppoſition which may poſſibly be made to his poſſeſſing it, may not only endanger the farther Deſcent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it ſelf.

For theſe Reaſons, we are moſt humble Petitioners to Your moſt Sacred Majeſty, That in tender Commiſeration of Your poor Proteſtant People, Your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleas'd to depart from the Reſervation in your ſaid Speech; and when a Bill ſhall be tender'd to Your Majeſty, in a Parliamentary Way, to diſable the Duke of *York* from inheriting the Crown, Your Majeſty will give Your Royal Aſſent thereto; and, as neceſſary to fortify and defend the ſame, that Your Majeſty will likewiſe be graciouſly pleaſed to aſſent to an Act whereby Your Majeſty's Proteſtant Subjects may be enabled to aſſociate themſelves for the Defence of Your Majeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Security of Your Kingdoms.

Theſe Requeſts we are conſtrain'd humbly to make to Your Majeſty, as of abſolute Neceſſity, for the ſafe and peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion.

Without theſe Things, the Alliances of *England* would not be valuable, nor the People encourag'd to contribute to Your Majeſty's Service.

As ſome farther Means for the Preſervation both of our Religion and Property, We are humble Suiters to Your Majeſty, that from henceforth ſuch Perſons only may be Judges within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion. And that they may hold both their Offices and Salaries, *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*. That (ſeveral Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſti-

ces

ces of the Peace, fitly qualified for thoſe Employments, having been of late diſplaced, and others put in their Room who are Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papiſts and Popery) ſuch only may bear the Office of a Lord-Lieutenant as are Perſons of Integrity and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion. That Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace may be alſo ſo qualified, and may be moreover Men of Ability, of Eſtates, and Intereſt in their Country.

That none may be employ'd as Military Officer, or Officers in Your Majeſty's Fleet, but Men of known Experience, Courage, and Affection to the Proteſtant Religion.

Theſe our humble Requeſts being obtained, we ſhall on our part be ready to aſſiſt Your Majeſty for the Preſervation of *Tangier*, and for putting Your Majeſty's Fleet into ſuch a Condition, as it may preſerve Your Majeſty's Soveraignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.

If Your Majeſty hath or ſhall make any neceſſary Alliances for Defence of the Proteſtant Religion, and Intereſt and Security of this Kingdom, this Houſe will be ready to Aſſiſt and Stand by Your Majeſty in the Support of the ſame.

After this our Humble Anſwer to Your Majeſty's Gracious Speech, we hope no evil Inſtruments whatſoever ſhall be able to leſſen Your Majeſty's Eſteem of that Fidelity and Affection we bear to Your Majeſty's Service; but that Your Majeſty will always retain in Your Royal Breaſt, that favourable Opinion of us Your Loyal Commons, that thoſe other good Bills which we have now under Conſideration, conducing to the Great Ends we have before mention'd; as alſo all Laws for the Benefit and Comfort of Your People, which ſhall from Time to Time be tendered for Your Majeſty's Royal Aſſent; ſhall find Acceptance with Your Majeſty.

His MAJESTY's *Gracious Meſſage to the Commons in Parliament*, January 4, $16\frac{80}{81}$.

Charles R.

HIS Majeſty receiv'd the Addreſs of this Houſe, with all the Diſpoſition they could wiſh to comply with their reaſonable Deſires; but upon peruſing it, He is ſorry to ſee their Thoughts ſo wholly fix'd upon the Bill of Excluſion, as to determine that all other Remedies for the ſuppreſſing of Popery will be ineffectual: His Majeſty is confirm'd in his Opinion againſt that Bill, by the Judgment of the Houſe of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore thinks there remains nothing more for him to ſay in Anſwer to the Addreſs of this Houſe, but to recommend to them the Conſideration of all other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion; in which they have no Reaſon to doubt of his Concurrence, whenever they ſhall be preſented to him in a Parliamentary Way; and that they would conſider the preſent State of the Kingdom, as well as the Condition of Chriſtendom, in ſuch a manner, as may enable him to preſerve *Tangier*, and ſecure his Alliances Abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at Home.

'But this anſwer of the King's was ſo far from giving Satisfaction, that 'the ſame Day it was Read in the Houſe, after long Debate, and a Deſpair 'of any effectual Expedients, the Commons came to the following Reſolu-'tions."

Reſolv'd, That it is the Opinion of this Houſe, that there is no Security nor Safety for the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, without paſſing a Bill for diſabling *James* Duke of *York* to inherit the

the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and to rely upon any other Means and Remedies without ſuch a Bill, is not only Inſufficient, but Dangerous.

Reſolv'd, That his Majeſty in his laſt Meſſage, having aſſur'd this Houſe of his Readineſs to concur in all other Means for the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, this Houſe doth declare, that until a Bill be likewiſe paſs'd for excluding the Duke of *York*, this Houſe cannot give any Supply to his Majeſty, without Danger to his Majeſty's Perſon, extream Hazard of the Proteſtant Religion, and Unfaithfulneſs to thoſe by whom this Houſe is entruſted.

'These Reſolutions were follow'd by Votes of Addreſſes againſt ſeveral 'Perſons; and the Heats ſtill encreaſing in the Houſe of Commons, the King 'three Days after firſt Prorogued the Parliament, and the next Week diſ-'ſolved it by Proclamation.

Page 351. Sir *William Jones* was reputed one of the beſt Speakers in the Houſe, and was very Zealous in his Endeavours for promoting the Bill of Excluſion. He was a Perſon of great Piety and Virtue, and having taken an Affection to Sir *William Temple*, was ſorry to ſee him employ'd in the Delivery of ſo unacceptable a Meſſage to the Houſe: The Subſtance of what he ſaid to the Author upon it was this; That '*for himſelf he was Old and Infirm, and expected to Die ſoon: But you*, ſaid he, *will in all probability live to ſee the whole Kingdom lament the Conſequences of this Meſſage you have now brought Us from the King*.

Page 352. What the Author ſpake in the Houſe, does not only relate to the Buſineſs of *Tangier*, but likewiſe to the Bill of Excluſion, which was then newly thrown out by the Lords. I ſhew'd the Speech to the Author, who, as far as his Memory could ſerve him, allow'd it to be fairly taken. I think it very worthy of the Author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And ſince Part of it relates to ſome Paſſages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to inſert it here.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS Debate hath more of Weight in it, than the Buſineſs of *Tangier*, I think. As Affairs now ſtand, the moſt part of Chriſtendom is concern'd in it, I am ſure all the Proteſtants: And therefore, I hope, your Patience will hold out, to have the whole Circumſtances of it fairly examin'd: For the Arguments that have been offer'd in the Conſideration of this Meſſage, have inlarged the Debate further than was at firſt intended, and have brought the whole State of the Nation, in ſome meaſure, before you, inſtead of that one particular Buſineſs of *Tangier*; ſo that now what Reſolve you make will be a Diſcovery of your Inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a Supply for *Tangier*, but as to giving Money for Alliances and all other Occaſions; upon which Reſult the good or bad Succeſs of this Parliament doth depend. As to *Tangier*, I do agree with that worthy Member that ſpoke before (though many are of a different Opinion) that it is not of any great Uſe to us upon the account of any Advantage we ſhall make by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping; becauſe of the Diſadvantages we ſhould receive by it, if it ſhould fall into the Hands either of the *Turk* or *Spaniard*, but eſpecially the *French*; who will not only be thereby enabled to Fetter us, as to our Trade in the *Levant*, but to curb alſo all other Nations whatſoever; and be ſuch an Addition to the too great Power he hath acquir'd, both by Sea and Land already, that I am of Opinion, we ought to be very Cautious how we weaken the Security we now have, that it ſhall not fall into his Hands. But if the Mole and the Town could be blown into the Air, or otherwiſe, reduced into its firſt Chaos, I think, conſidering the Charge it will coſt keeping, *England* would not be much the worſe for it; but to move you to conſider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, becauſe the *Moors* have

have ſo beſieg'd it, that the firſt Thing that muſt be done, whether in order to keep it or deſtroy it, is, to beat them off, by ſome ſpeedy Supplies which muſt be preſently ſent; or elſe the Town, according to the beſt Information come from thence, is like to be loſt. And, Sir, I think this ſingle Conſideration may be perſuaſive to move you to give ſome ſuch Supply as may be preciſely neceſſary for the Defence and Protection of this Place. A ſmall Sum of Money, in compariſon of what this Houſe hath formerly given, may be ſufficient to ſatisfy his Majeſty's Expectation, and ſecure the Place too. But I muſt confeſs, Sir, it is not the Conſideration of *Tangier* that makes me preſs you to it; but the deplorable State of the Proteſtants abroad. Sir, I have had the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty in ſome publick Imployments, and by that means may be a little more ſenſible of the State of Affairs, in Reference to our Neighbours, than others may be; having not only had the Advantage of Information, but was under a Neceſſity of uſing my beſt Endeavours to get a true Account of them. Sir, *I am confident the Eyes of all* Europe *are upon this Parliament; and not only the Proteſtants abroad, but many Catholick Countries (who ſtand in fear of the Power of* France*) do think themſelves as much concern'd in the Succeſs of this Parliament, as this Houſe; and will be as much perplex'd to hear any ill News thereof.* This, Sir, as well as the Neceſſities of our Affairs at home, make me trouble you at this time, to deſire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occaſion in his Majeſty any Diſlike to this Houſe. Whatever you do as to the Buſineſs of Money for *Tangier*, I pray, Sir, let there be no Notice taken in your Addreſs, of the Lords having caſt out your Bill, for we have no Reaſon to think the King was any ways concern'd therein. To throw out a Bill of ſo great Importance, without a Conference, was in my humble Opinion very ſtrange, and contrary to the uſual Proceedings of that Houſe. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their Doors that did it, for the King could not be concern'd in a Parliamentary Way. For by this Means we may obviate all Miſunderſtandings with his Majeſty about this Affair, and, I hope, create in him a good Opinion of this Houſe, upon which the Welfare, not only of this Nation, but of *Europe*, doth much depend.

Sir, His Majeſty in his Meſſage puts you in mind of giving Advice, as well as Money; I think, if we make that Expreſſion the Ground of our Addreſs, we may naturally graft very good Things thereon, eſpecially what may conduce to the Preſervation of a fair Correſpondence. Sir, *Though a King alone cannot ſave a Kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to ruin it; and though Parliaments alone cannot ſave this Kingdom, yet Parliaments alone may do much to ruin it.* And therefore we cannot be too circumſpect in what we do. It is our Fortune to ſit here in a Critical Time, when not only the Affairs of this Nation, but the Proteſtant Religion abroad need our Continuance; and for the ſame Reaſon we may juſtly fear that there are thoſe who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any Advantage; and then I doubt not but his Majeſty's Care and Goodneſs will at laſt overcome all Difficulties, and bring this Seſſion to a happy Concluſion.

The END.

THE END

MEMOIRS

Of what pass'd in

CHRISTENDOM,

(Prefix'd to the Fifth Edition of these Memoirs in 1691.)

FROM THE

READER,

THESE following Papers I obtain'd from a Person to whom I [illegible] that I [illegible] ; 'Tis but too plain by the Epistle that he intended they [illegible] not be publick during his Life ; but though I have as great Respect [illegible] any Man, yet I could not be of his Mind in this : I think [illegible] would do the Nation service to all that read it ; and I hope I shall not be thought [illegible] to do the Author any [illegible] in publishing [illegible] since the Errors of not doing it [illegible] Profit and Pleasure to all that read it ; and I hope I shall not be thought [illegible] to do the Author any [illegible] in publishing [illegible] since the Errors of not doing it [illegible] ascribe'd to him, they will do the Publick a greater Piece of Service [illegible] and if they should come from the Author's last Hand, they may chal[illegible] to be more esteem'd than these, which look as like his Air as [illegible]

WAR begun 1672,

TO THE

PEACE concluded 1679.

LONDON:

Printed for O. LLOYD, W. MERES, T. WOODWARD, and F. CLAY. MDCCXXXI.

MEMOIRS

Of what paſs'd in

The PUBLISHER to the READER.

(Prefix'd to the Firſt Edition of theſe Memoirs in 1691.)

READER,

THESE following Papers I obtain'd from a Perſon to whom I muſt never reſtore them again; and the Author has not, that I know of, enquir'd after them ſince I had them. I muſt needs confeſs, 'Tis but too plain by the Epiſtle that he intended they ſhould not be publick during his Life; but though I have as great Reſpect for him as any Man, yet I could not be of his Mind in this: I think I ſhould do the World wrong to conceal any longer a Treatiſe of ſo much Profit and Pleaſure to all that read it; and I hope I ſhall not be thought to do the Author any in publiſhing it, ſince the Charge of not doing it was not given to me. I think likewiſe, that if any of his Friends can obtain of him the First *and* Third Parts *of theſe* Memoirs *that are mention'd in them, they will do the Publick a great Piece of Service; and if they ſhould come from the Author's laſt Hand, they may chance to be more correct than theſe, which look as tho' they had never been review'd by the Author, but juſt as they fell from his Pen. However, I do not remember to have met with a Treatiſe in any Language that I underſtand, which, in my poor Judgment, is written with more Candor and Truth, and thorough Inſight into the Matters it relates; ſtuff'd with greater Variety of Subject, digeſted into better Order and Method, and expreſs'd with more Clearneſs and Spirit, than this is. I have not therefore, as I think there is no need, chang'd a Word in it; but only where Things are ſaid in* French *or* Latin, *I have thought fit to tranſlate them; and if I have not done it ſo well as I ſhould do, I crave the Reader's Pardon, and in all elſe do not doubt of his Thanks. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Author, who will be known by the firſt Pages of the Book, nor of the Time or Motive of its Writing; which are ſeen by the Epiſtle; but only heartily pray God to give him good Health and a long Life, that he may continue, as he has ever been, the Ornament to Learning and to his Country.*

LONDON:

Printed for O. LLOYD, W. MERES, T. WOODWARD, and F. CLAY. MDCCXXXI.

To My SON.

April, 1683.

I Do not remember ever to have refus'd any thing you have desir'd of me; which I take to be a greater Compliment to you than to my self; since for a Young Man to make none but reasonable Desires, is yet more extraordinary than for an Old Man to think them so. That which you made me some Time since, and have so often renew'd, I have at last resolv'd to comply with, as well as the rest; and if I live, will leave you some *Memoirs* of what has pass'd in my publick Imployments, especially those abroad, which reach'd from the Year 1665, to 1678; and run through the most important foreign Negotiations of the Crown, with great Connexion of Affairs at home during this Period, and the Revolutions it produc'd. The Confidence of the King my Master, and of his chief Ministers, as well as that of others abroad, gave me the Advantage to discern and observe the true Springs and Motions of both; which were often mistaken in Court and Parliament, and thereby fasten'd many Suspicions, Confidences, Applauses, Reproaches, upon Persons, and at Times, where they were very undeserv'd. Twenty Years of my Life I pass'd in publick Thoughts and Business, from the Thirty Second to the Fifty Second Year of my Age; which I take to be the Part of a Man's Life fittest to be dedicated to the Service of his Prince or State, the rest being usually too much taken up with his Pleasures or his Ease. The Native Love of my Country, and its Ancient Legal Constitutions, would not suffer me to enter into any publick Affairs, till the Way was open for the King's happy Restauration in 1660. And in 1680 you know I sent you to acquaint the King with my Resolutions to pass the Remainder of my Life like as good a private Subject as any he had, but never

never more to meddle with any publick Imployment. All the reſt of my Age before, and ſince that Period, I have taken no more Notice of what paſs'd upon the publick Scene, than an Old Man uſes to do of what is acted on a Theatre; where he gets as eaſy a Seat as he can, entertains himſelf with what paſſes upon the Stage, not caring who the Actors are, or what the Plot, nor whether he goes out before the Play be done. Therefore you muſt expect nothing from me out of the Compaſs of that Time, nor any thing of *that* it ſelf with much Application or Care, further than of Truth. You know how lazy I am in my Temper, how uneaſy in my Health, how weak my Eyes, and how much of my Time paſſes in walking or riding, and thereby fencing all I can againſt Two cruel Diſeaſes that have for ſome Time purſu'd me; ſo that I doubt the Satisfaction you expect will be chiefly owing to ill Health or ill Weather, which yet are not like to fail at my Age and in our Climate. For the reſt, if you find any thing either inſtructing or diverting in what I ſhall write upon this Subject, you may attribute it wholly to the Kindneſs and Eſteem I have for you, without which I ſhould not have given my ſelf the Trouble of ſuch Recollections: And as I intend them for your Uſe, ſo I deſire no other may be made of them during my Life; when that is ended, neither they nor you will be any more in my Care, and whatever I leave of this or any other kind, will be in your Diſpoſal. I am the gladder, and it is but juſt, that my publick Imployment ſhould contribute ſomething to your Entertainment, ſince they have done ſo little to your Fortune, upon which I can make you no Excuſes: 'Twas a Thing ſo often in my Power, that it was never in my Thoughts; which were turn'd always upon how much leſs I needed, rather than how much more. If yours have the ſame Turn, you will be too rich; if the contrary, you will be ever poor.

ME-

MEMOIRS

Of what pass'd in

CHRISTENDOM

From 1672, to 1679.

CHAP. I.

HAVING ended the First Part of these Memoirs with my Retirement from all publick Business in the Year 1671, which was soon swallow'd by the Second *Dutch* War; I shall begin this with the Approaches of the Peace in the Year 1673.

About this Time, after two Summers spent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with several Encounters at Sea, but no decisive Action; both Parties began to enter upon Thoughts, and indeed Necessities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being angry; and the Quarrel had been thought on both Sides rather of the Ministers than the People. The *Dutch* believ'd it at first intended only against *De Wit*'s Factions, in Favour of the Prince of *Orange*; and in *England* some laid it to the Corruption of Ministers by the Money of *France*, and some that pretended to think deeper laid it to deeper Designs. The Lord *Clifford*'s Violence in beginning it, gave it an ill Air in general; and the Disuse of Parliaments, a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War.

The Subsidies from *France* bore no Proportion to the Charge of our Fleets, and our Strength at Sea seem'd rather lessen'd than increas'd by the Conjunction of theirs: Our Seamen fought without Heart, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and our Discontents were so great at Land, that the assembling of our Militia to defend our Coasts was thought as dangerous as an Invasion. But that which most press'd His Majesty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Resolution of *Spain* to declare War against *England*, as they had done already against *France*, in Favour of *Holland*, unless the Peace were suddenly made; which would have been such a Blow to our Trade as could not easily have been fenc'd, and lost us that of the *Mediterranean*, as the *Dutch* War had done that of the *Northern* Seas: So as the Necessity of this Conjuncture, was only kept off by the Honour of our Alliance with *France*. However, that Crown being not able to furnish Supplies enough

enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppoſe the calling one upon this Occaſion. When the Parliament met, tho' they ſeem'd willing to give the King Money, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War; and upon his Majeſty's demanding their Advice, they gave it unanimouſly, That the Peace ſhould be made.

There were too many Parties engaged in this Quarrel to think of a General Peace, tho' a Treaty to that Purpoſe had been ſet on Foot at *Cologn*, under the Mediation of the *Swedes*, between the Miniſters of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Holland*, and ſome Princes of the Empire on the one Part, and his Majeſty and *France* on the other, but without any the leaſt Appearance of Succeſs; for tho' all the Confederates had a mind to the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, yet none of them deſir'd it with *France*. This made both the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* ſet on Foot all the Engines they could, to engage his Majeſty in ſome Treaty of a ſeparate Peace; to which the Neceſſity of his Affairs, the Humour of his People, and the Inſtances of his Parliament, at laſt determin'd him, towards the End of the Year 1673.

Upon the firſt Meeting of the Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham*, to ingratiate himſelf with the Houſe of Commons (whoſe ill Humour began to appear againſt thoſe they eſteem'd the chief Authors of the War) had deſir'd leave of that Houſe that he might be heard there in his own Defence upon that Subject. In his Speech, among many Endeavours to throw the Odium of the War from himſelf upon the Lord *Arlington*, he deſir'd that Lord might be ask'd who was the Author of the Triple Alliance? as if he underſtood himſelf to be ſo. The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards upon the like Deſire into the ſame Houſe of Commons, and anſwering ſome Parts of the Duke's Speech; when he came to that Particular, he told them he could eaſily anſwer that Queſtion of the Duke's, by telling them that the Author of that Alliance was Sir *William Temple*. This, I ſuppoſe, gave the Occaſion for Reflections upon what had paſs'd in the Courſe of my former Ambaſſies in *Holland* and at *Aix*; and his Majeſty, and his Miniſters, the Reſolution to ſend for me out of my private Retreat, where I had paſs'd two Years (as I intended to do the reſt of my Life) and to engage me in going over into *Holland*, to make the ſeparate Peace with that State.

Upon the 2d of *February* 167$\frac{3}{4}$, his Majeſty receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having paſs'd a Reſolution, That the Charges and Dignities poſſeſs'd by the Prince of *Orange*, and his Anceſtors, ſhould become Hereditary to his Children: And at the ſame time he alſo receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the Deſire of Paſsports for the Ambaſſadors, whom they reſolv'd to ſend to his Majeſty with Inſtructions and Powers to treat and conclude a Peace; and in the mean time they offer'd a Suſpenſion of Arms. This Offer coming upon the Neck of the Parliament's Advice to his Majeſty to enter into Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador upon the Propoſitions he had advanc'd, and which the King had order'd to be ſent to the Parliament, it was not believ'd by the Miniſters that a Treaty could be refus'd, without drawing too much Odium upon themſelves and Reflections upon the Government: On the other ſide, it was ſuſpected what Practices might be ſet on Foot by *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, upon the general Diſcontent reigning againſt the preſent War. Therefore that very Afternoon, a Reſolution was taken at the private Junto, to ſend rather than to receive an Ambaſſy upon this Subject; and that I ſhould be the Perſon imploy'd. Two Gentlemen were ſent to my Houſe within half an Hour of one another, from the Earl of *Denby* then Lord Treaſurer, and the Earl of *Arlington* firſt Secretary of State, to order my Attendance upon his Majeſty. My Lord *Arlington* told me he would not pretend the Merit of having nam'd me upon this Occaſion, nor could he well tell whether the King or the Lord Treaſurer did it firſt; but that the whole Committee had join'd in it; and concluded, That ſince the Peace was to be made, there was no other Perſon to be thought of for it: And accordingly the King gave me his Commands, with many Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Confidence, to prepare for my Journey; and the Secretary to draw up

up my Inſtructions. I told the King I would obey him, and with a great deal of Pleaſure to ſee his Majeſty returning to the Meaſures upon which I had formerly ſerv'd him; but that I might do it the better, I begg'd of him that I might go over without the Character of Ambaſſador, which would delay or embaraſs me with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unneceſſary to ſo ſudden a Diſpatch. His Majeſty thought what I ſaid very pertinent, and ſo order'd that I ſhould go only as Plenipotentiary; but that I ſhould have in all Kinds the Appointment of Ambaſſador, and that I ſhould take upon me the Character too when the Peace was concluded.

Within three Days I was ready; and the Morning my Diſpatches were ſo too, the Marqueſs of *Frezno*, *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, ſent my Lord *Arlington* word (while I was with him) that he had received full Powers from the States to treat and conclude a Peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever his Majeſty pleas'd. My Lord *Arlington* ſurpris'd, was at firſt of Opinion the King ſhould go on his own Way, and I my Journey, and give the *Spaniards* no Part in the Affair: I was of another Mind, and that beſides the Point of Honour, which was clear in having the Peace made rather at *London* than the *Hague*, I thought that of Intereſt might be the better purſu'd when we were ſought to by the States, than when we ſought to them; Beſides, I believ'd the *Spaniard* would play as fair in a Game that he thought ſo much his own, and not ſuffer the *Dutch* to ſtop at any ſmall Points, eſpecially thoſe of Honour; whereas that of the Flag (tho' ſuch) was one his Majeſty ought to lay moſt to heart. My Lord *Arlington*, after ſome Debate, agreed with me, and deſir'd me to go immediately and acquaint the King with this new and unexpected Incident, who was then at the Houſe of Lords. The King ſeem'd pleas'd with the Change, and told me, That ſince I did not treat it at the *Hague*, I ſhould however at *London*; and bid me go and acquaint the Marqueſs of *Frezno* with his Reſolution, That if he and I could agree upon the Terms, the Thing ſhould ſoon be done.

The Terms to be inſiſted on were ſoon agreed by his Majeſty at the Foreign Committee, which was compos'd of the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Henry Coventry* Secretaries of State, with whom his Majeſty order'd my Attendance upon this Affair. When I was inſtructed of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, I went to the Marqueſs of *Frezno*, and at three Meetings I concluded the whole Treaty, with Satisfaction to his Majeſty, and Tranſport to the Marqueſs, upon ſo great an Honour as he thought it to himſelf, and the Fortunes he expected upon it from his Maſter. The Articles being publick, need no Place here. The two Points of greateſt Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling all *Engliſh* Troops out of the *French* Service. This laſt was compos'd by private Engagements to ſuffer thoſe that were there to wear out without any Recruits, and to permit no new ones to go over; but at the ſame time to give Leave for ſuch Levies as the States ſhould think fit to make in his Majeſty's Dominions, both of *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Regiments. The other of the Flag, was carried to all the Height his Majeſty could wiſh; and thereby a Claim of the Crown, the Acknowledgment of its Dominion in the narrow Seas, allow'd by Treaty from the moſt powerful of our Neighbours at Sea, which had never yet been yielded to by the weakeſt of them, that I remember, in the whole Courſe of our Pretence; and had ſerv'd hitherto but for an Occaſion of Quarrel, whenever we or they had a Mind to it, upon other Reaſons or Conjunctures. Nothing, I confeſs, had ever given me a greater Pleaſure, in the greateſt publick Affairs I had run through, than this Succeſs; as having been a Point I ever had at Heart, and in my Endeavours, to gain upon my firſt Negotiations in *Holland*; but found Monſieur *de Wit* ever inflexible, though he agreed with me that it would be a Rock upon which our firmeſt Alliances would be in danger to ſtike and to ſplit, whenever other Circumſtances fell in to make either of the Parties content to alter the Meaſures we had entered into upon the Triple Alliance. The Sum of Money given his Majeſty by the States, though it was not conſiderable in it ſelf, and

leſs to the King, by the greateſt Part of it being applied to the Prince of *Orange*'s Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it and the general Satisfaction of his People made the Eaſe of it. And thus happily ended our Part of a War ſo fatal to the reſt of *Chriſtendom* in the Conſequences of it, which no Man perhaps now alive will ſee the End of; and had been begun and carried on as far as it would go, under the Miniſtry of Five Men who were uſually call'd *The Cabal*, a Word unluckily falling out of the Five firſt Letters of their Names, that is, *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Aſhley*, and *Lauderdale*. But though the Counſels and Conduct of theſe Men had begun the War with two unuſual Strains to the Honour of the Crown, in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, and ſtopping the Bank; yet it muſt be allow'd them to have ſucceeded well in the Honours they propos'd to themſelves; *Clifford* having gain'd by it the Place of High Treaſurer, and Title of a Baron; *Aſhley* the Chancellor's Place, and an Earldom; *Arlington* an Earldom, with the Garter; and *Lauderdale* a Dukedom, with the Garter. The Duke of *Buckingham*, being already poſſeſs'd of all the Honours the Crown could give of that kind, contented himſelf to make no better a Bargain in this Matter than he uſed to do in all others that concern'd him; and ſo pretended no further than Commands in the Army. And thus, inſtead of making ſo great a King as they pretended by this *Dutch* War and *French* Alliance, they had the Honour of making only four great Subjects.

After the Peace was made, His Majeſty's firſt Care was to ſoften the Stroke as much as he could towards *France*; which was done by repreſenting the Neceſſities of it (that needed no falſe Colours) and at the ſame time to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining ſtill in the War, in caſe *France* either deſir'd or accepted it; which took up ſome Time to determine. In the mean while I continu'd in the Poſture and Thoughts of the private Man I was before this Revolution, till about a Week after the whole Concluſion of it, when my Lord *Arlington* told me how kindly the King took of me both the Readineſs I had expreſs'd to go over into *Holland*, and the Eaſineſs I ſhewed upon the failing of that Commiſſion, as well as the Pains and Succeſs in the Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; and not knowing any thing better he had to give me, he was reſolv'd to ſend me Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Spain*; and to that Purpoſe immediately to recall Sir *William Godolphin*, the ordinary Ambaſſador there, for many Reaſons that, he ſaid, made it neceſſary in this Conjuncture.

I acknowledg'd the Honour His Majeſty intended me, but deſired Time to give my Anſwer till I had conſulted my Father upon it, who was then in *Ireland*, but in the Intention of coming ſuddenly over; however, in a Month I undertook to reſolve. My Lord *Arlington* told me he did not expect any Demurr upon ſuch an Offer, which he took to be of the beſt Employment the King had to give, and therefore he had already acquainted the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador with it, who receiv'd it with great Joy, and reſolv'd immediately to give Part of it to the Court of *Madrid*; which he was ſure was already done, and therefore he would reckon upon it as a Thing concluded; though for the good Grace of it to my Father, he undertook the King would give me the Time I ask'd to reſolve. When I writ to my Father upon this Subject, he was ſo violent againſt my charging my ſelf with this Ambaſſy, that I could not find any Temper to ſatisfy him, and upon it was forc'd to make my Excuſes to the King. When I did ſo, his Majeſty was pleas'd to aſſure me he did not at all take it ill of me, and that, on the contrary, he intended me a better Employment: That he was at preſent engag'd for the Secretary's Place, upon my Lord *Arlington*'s Removal to Chamberlain; but that he reſolved the next Removal ſhou'd be to make Room for me. This I told my Lord *Arlington*, who preſently ſaid, That he believ'd I could not refuſe the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſy, but upon Deſign of the Secretary's Place; and ſince I deſir'd it, and the King fell into it of himſelf, he would

would play the eaſieſt Part in it that he could. He was indeed agreed with Sir *Joſeph Williamſon* for 6000 *l.* and the King had conſented that he ſhould enter upon it at his Return from *Cologne*, which was every Day expected; but yet he made ſuch a Difference between the Perſons, that he would find ſome Way to avoid it in caſe I would lay down the 6000 *l.* I aſſur'd his Lordſhip I had no ſuch Deſign, nor ſuch a Sum of Money to lay down while my Father enjoy'd the Eſtate of the Family: That if I had, I ſhou'd be very unwilling to purſue it ſo far as to give his Lordſhip any Strain in a Matter already promis'd and concluded; and therefore deſir'd him to think no further of it. But he was not of Opinion I could ſtick at any thing but the Money, and acquainted Mr. *Montague* and Mr. *Sidney*, who were Friends to us both, with this Tranſaction, and ſet them upon me to bring it to an Iſſue before the other came over: They both endeavour'd it with great Inſtances, and Mr. *Montague* was ſo kind as to offer to lend me the Money, but I was poſitive in refuſing it; yet at the ſame time I told my Lord *Arlington*, that, not to ſeem humorous in declining the Offers he had made me from the King or from himſelf, I was content they ſhould both know, that if his Majeſty had Occaſion to ſend an Ambaſſy into *Holland* upon the Peace, I would very willingly ſerve him there, where I knew the Scene ſo well. So that Matter ſlept for the preſent.

In the mean while, *France* had thought fit to accept and approve the King's Offer of Mediation, that of *Sweden* being ended by the Aſſembly at *Cologne* breaking up in Expoſtulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's ſeizing the Perſon of Prince *William* of *Furſtemburg*, a Subject of the Empire, but an Inſtrument of *France*, as his Brother the Biſhop of *Strasburg* had been in all the late Deſigns and Invaſions of that Crown upon their Neighbours. The King told me, That being reſolv'd to offer his Mediation to all the Confederates, as he had done already to *France*, and finding I had no mind to engage in either of thoſe Imployments which had of late been offer'd me, he was reſolv'd to ſend me Ambaſſador Extraordinary into *Holland*, to offer his Mediation there, as the Scene of the Confederates Common Counſels, and by their Means to endeavour the Aeceptance of it by the reſt of the Princes concern'd in the War: That I knew the Place and Perſons better than any Man, and could do him more Service, both in this and continuing all good Correſpondence between him and the States, which he was reſolv'd to preſerve: That I ſhould have the Character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and the ſame Allowance I ſhou'd have had in *Spain*: Upon this Offer I made no Demurr, but immediately accepted it, and ſo my Ambaſſy was declar'd in *May* 1674

But to make Way for my entering upon this great Scene, it will be neceſſary to deduce in Short the Courſe of Affairs abroad, from the firſt Period of the preſent War, to this ſecond of his Majeſty's ſeparate Peace with *Holland*, and the ſeveral Diſpoſitions among the Parties that were likely to facilitate or to croſs the Deſign of the King's intended Mediation.

No Clap of Thunder in a fair froſty Day cou'd more aſtoniſh the World, than our Declaration of War againſt *Holland* in 1672, firſt by Matter of Fact, in falling upon their *Smyrna* Fleet; and in Conſequence of that (however it fail'd) by a formal Declaration, in which we gave Reaſons for our Quarrel, while *France* contented themſelves to give no other for their Part of it than only the Glory of that King. The *Dutch* could never be poſſeſs'd with a Belief that we were in Earneſt, till the Blow was given; but thought our Unkindneſs and Expoſtulations of late, would end at laſt either in Demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſtitution to the Authority of his Anceſtors. The Princes concern'd in their Safety could not believe, that after having ſav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of *France*, we would ſuffer *Holland* to fall into the ſame Danger; and my Lord *Arlington* told me at that Time, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themſelves, till the Blow was ſtruck in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet; but then they immediately ſet out their Declaration, and began their Invaſion: This Surpriſe

made Way for their prodigious Succeſſes. The *Dutch* had made no Proviſion for their Defence either at home or abroad; and the Empire, *Spain*, and *Sweden*, ſtood at a gaze upon the Opening of the War, not knowing upon what Concerts between us and *France* it was begun, nor how far we wou'd ſuffer it to go on upon the *French* Conqueſts. Beſides, the Animoſities of the Parties in *Holland*, long expreſs'd under their new Conſtitution and *De Witt*'s Miniſtry, began to flame again upon this Misfortune of their State. The Prince's Friends talk'd loud and boldly, That there was no Way to ſatisfy *England* but reſtoring the Prince; and that the Baſeneſs and Cowardice of their Troops were the Effects of turning out all Officers of Worth and Bravery for their Inclinations to the Prince, and mean Fellows brought in for no other Deſert than their Enmity declar'd to the Houſe of *Orange*. Upon this all Men expected a ſudden Change; the States were in Diſorder, and irreſolute what to do; the Troops were without a General, and which is worſe, without Heart; and tho' *De Ruyter*, by admirable Conduct, kept the Infection of theſe Evils out of his Fleet, which was our Part to deal with; yet Faction, Diſtruſt, Sedition and Diſtraction made ſuch Entrances upon the State and the Army, when the *French* Troops firſt invaded them, that of all the Towns and Fortreſſes on the *German* Side (held impregnable in all their former Wars) not one beſides *Maeſtricht* made any Shew of Reſiſtance, and the *French* became immediately Maſters of all the Inland Parts of the Provinces in as little Time as Travellers uſually employ to ſee and conſider them. *Maeſtricht* was taken after a ſhort Siege, as *Schenck ſconce*, by the Help of an extream dry Seaſon, that made Rivers fordable where they had never been eſteem'd ſo before. The King of *France* march'd as far as *Utrecht*, where he fix'd his Camp and his Court, and from thence began to conſider of the Ways how to poſſeſs himſelf of the reſt, that was defended only by their Situation upon ſome flat Lands, which, as they had by infinite Labour in Canals and Digues, been either gain'd or preſerv'd from Inundations, ſo they were ſubject to them upon opening the Sluices, whenever the *Dutch* found no other Way for *ſaving* their Country but by *loſing* it. This, at leaſt, was generally believ'd in the *French* Camp and Court, and, as I have heard, was the Preſervation of the State; for that King, unwilling to venture the Honour and Advantage of ſuch Conqueſts as he had made that Summer, upon the Hazards of a new ſort of War with a mercileſs Element, where neither Conduct nor Courage were of Uſe, reſolv'd to leave the reſt to Practices of Peace with the States, upon the Advantage of the Terms he ſtood in, and the ſmall Diſtance of Place between them; or if theſe ſhou'd not ſucceed, then he truſted to the Froſts of the following Winter, which ſeldom fail in that Country to make all paſſable and ſafe for Troops and Carriage themſelves, that in Summer would be impaſſable, either from the Waters or the Depth of the Soil.

In the mean time, the State and the Government of *Holland* took a new Form, and with it a new Heart. Monſieur *De Wit* and his Brother had been maſſacred by the ſudden Fury of the People at the *Hague*, and by the Fate of Miniſters that govern by a Party or Faction, who are uſually ſacrificed to the firſt great Misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general Diſcontents at home. The Fact and the Manner having been very unuſual, may be the Subject of others Enquiry as it was of mine, which gave me this Account: The *Ruart* of *Putten*, eldeſt Brother to Monſieur *De Wit*, had been accus'd of a Deſign upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring by Money to engage one of his Highneſs's Domeſticks in that Attempt: But no other Witneſs appearing, he was ſentenc'd only to be baniſh'd; at which the People ſhew'd great Diſſatisfaction, being poſſeſs'd with an Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning he was to come out of Priſon, Monſieur *De Wit* (againſt the Opinion of his Friends) would needs go himſelf to bring him out with more Honour, and carry him out of Town, and to that purpoſe went with his Coach and four Horſes to the Court. This being not uſual to this Miniſter, made the People take more Notice

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of it, and gather together tumultuously, firſt in the Streets where he paſſed, and then about the Court where the Priſoner was kept. Some of the Train'd-Bands of the *Hague* that were upon the Guard mingled among them, and began to rail aloud againſt the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of one Brother, and the Inſolence of the other, who pretended (as they ſaid) to carry him away in Triumph. In the midſt of this Heat and Paſſion, rais'd by theſe kind of Diſcourſes among the Populace, the two Brothers came out; ſome of the Train'd-Bands ſtop'd them, began to treat them at firſt with ill Language, and from Words fell to Blows: Upon which Monſieur *De Wit*, foreſeeing how the Tragedy would end, took his Brother by the Hand, and was at the ſame time knock'd down with the But-end of a Muſket. They were both preſently laid dead upon the Place, then drag'd about the Town by the Fury of the People, and torn in Pieces. Thus ended one of the greateſt Lives of any Subject in our Age, about the 47th Year of his own; after having ſerved, or rather adminiſter'd that State as Penſioner of *Holland* for about eighteen Years, with great Honour to his Country and himſelf. After the Death of theſe Brothers, the Provinces and Towns ran with unanimous Voices into publick Demands of the Prince's being reſtor'd to the Authority of his Anceſtors. The States had in the Beginning of the Year declared him Captain General and Admiral of their Forces, which was no more than *De Wit* had always profeſs'd was deſign'd for him when he ſhould be of Age; but this was found neither to have ſatisfy'd *England* nor the Prince's Party at home, and therefore all the Members of the State agreed in thoſe Acts that were thought neceſſary to a full Reſtitution of his Highneſs, now at the Age of twenty one Years, to the Office and Power of Stadtholder, with all Advantages, and even ſome more than thoſe which had been exerciſed by his Anceſtors. At the ſame Time Monſieur *Fagel* was introduced into Monſieur *De Wit*'s Place of Penſioner of *Holland*, whoſe Love to his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it could not be ſav'd by any other Hand, and whoſe Zeal to his own Religion made him an Enemy irreconcilable to *France*, whoſe Profeſſions as well as Deſigns were to deſtroy it.

This Revolution, as it calm'd at home, ſo it made the firſt Appearance of defending what was left of the Country: The State grew united, the Army in heart, and foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Conſtancy of the young Prince, which they had in a manner wholly loſt upon the Diviſions and Misfortunes of the State. The *French* themſelves turn'd all their Applications and Practices the ſame Way, and made the Prince all the Offers that could be of Honour and Advantages to his Perſon and Family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The Bait they thought could not fail of being ſwallow'd, and about which moſt Artifice was employ'd, was the Propoſal of making the Prince Soveraign of the Provinces under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And to ſay Truth, at a Time when ſo little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in ſo imminent Danger upon the firſt Froſts of the Winter, this ſeem'd a Lure to which a meaner Soul than that of this Prince might very well ſtoop. But his was above it, and his Anſwers always firm, that he never would betray a Truſt that was given him, nor ever ſell the Liberties of his Country that his Anceſtors had ſo long defended. Yet the Game he play'd was then thought ſo deſperate, that one of his neareſt Servants told me he had long expoſtulated it with his Maſter, and ask'd him at laſt, How he pretended to live after *Holland* was loſt? And whether he had thought ſo far? The Prince told him he had; and that he was reſolv'd to live upon the Lands he had left in *Germany*; and that he had rather paſs his Life in hunting there, than ſell his Country or his Liberty to *France* at any Price. I will ſay nothing of the Ambaſſy ſent at this Time by his Majeſty to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, where the three Ambaſſadors, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Arlington*, and Lord *Halifax* found him in his higheſt Exaltation, for I cannot pretend to know what the true Ends or Subject of

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it was. The common Belief in *England* and *Holland* made it to be our Jealouſy of the *French* Conqueſts going too faſt whilſt ours were ſo lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to ſtop their Courſe or Extent; but theſe were ſoon daſh'd by the Return of the Ambaſſadors, after having renew'd and faſten'd the Meaſures formerly taken between the two Crowns. And the Ambaſſadors were indeed content, as they paſs'd through *Holland*, that the firſt ſhould be thought; which gave Occaſion for a very good Repartee of the Princeſs Dowager to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who viſited her as they paſs'd through the *Hague*, and talking much of their being good *Hollanders*, ſhe told him, That was more than they ask'd, which was only that they ſhould be good *Engliſhmen*; he aſſur'd her they were not only ſo, but good *Dutchmen* too; that indeed they did not uſe *Holland* like a Miſtreſs, but they lov'd her like a Wife: To which ſhe reply'd *Vrayment, je croy que vous nous aimez comme vous aimez la votre*; [*Truly, I believe you love Us as you love your own Wife.*]

When *France* had loſt all Hopes of ſhaking the Prince of *Orange*'s Conſtancy, they bent all their Thoughts upon ſubduing and ruining the Remainder of the Country. They had advanc'd as far as *Woerden*, and from thence they made their Ravages within two or three Leagues of *Leyden*, with more Violences of Cruelties than would have been prudent, if they had hop'd to reclaim the Prince or States from the Obſtinacy of their Defence. The Prince encamp'd his Army near *Bodegrave*, between *Leyden* and *Woerden*, and there made ſuch a Stand with a Handful of Men, as the *French* could never force. The Winter prov'd not favourable to their Hopes and Deſigns, and ſome Promiſes of Froſts inveigled them into Marches that prov'd almoſt fatal to them by a ſudden Thaw. This frighted them into Cautions, perhaps more than were neceſſary, and gave the Prince and States Leiſure to take their Meaſures for the following Campaign, with the Emperor, *Spain*, and the Dukes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburg*, which prov'd a Diverſion to the Arms of *France*, and turn'd Part of them upon *Germany* and *Flanders*, ſo as to give over the Progreſs any further in *Holland*. Upon the Approach of the Winter, the Prince, after having taken *Naerden*, three Leagues from *Amſterdam*, in ſpight of all Reſiſtance and Oppoſition from either the *French* or the Seaſon, reſolv'd, like another young *Scipio*, to ſave his Country by abandoning it: And to avoid ſo many Sieges, as all the Towns they had loſt would coſt to recover; he contented himſelf to leave the chief Poſts guarded with a Party of the Army, and with the reſt march'd into *Germany*, joyn'd Part of the Confederate Troops, beſieg'd *Bonne*, which had been put into the Hands of *France* at the Beginning of the War, wherein the Elector of *Cologne* and the Biſhop of *Munſter* had enter'd jointly with *France*. The Boldneſs of this Action amaz'd all Men, but the Succeſs extoll'd the Prudence as well as the Bravery of it; for the Prince took *Bonne*, and by it open'd a Paſſage for the *German* Forces over the *Rhine*, and ſo into *Flanders*; and gave ſuch a Damp to the Deſigns and Enterprizes of *France*, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conqueſts upon *Holland* in leſs Time than they made them, retaining only *Maeſtricht* and *Grave* of all they had poſſeſs'd belonging to this State.

In this Poſture ſtood Affairs abroad, when the Peace of *England* was made in *February* $167\frac{3}{4}$; upon the Strength and Heart whereof the Prince of *Orange* concerted with the *German* and *Spaniſh* Troops to begin an offenſive War, and in the Head of an Army of above forty thouſand Men, to march into *France*.

The *French* began now to wiſh the War well ended, and were very glad to accept his Majeſty's Mediation. The King was deſirous to make *France* ſome Amends for abandoning the Party, and making a ſeparate Peace. Some of his Miniſters foreſaw he would be Arbiter of the Peace by being Mediator, and that he might hinder any ſeparate Treaties by mediating a general one, and might reſtore Peace to Chriſtendom whenever he thought fit, and upon what Conditions he thought ſafe and juſt.

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The only Difficulties that appear'd in this Affair, were what the Confederates were like to make in accepting the King's Mediation, whose late Engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that Side. And the House of *Austria* finding that Crown now abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily swallow'd the Hopes of a Revenge upon them to desire any sudden Treaty, till the Successes they expected in the War might at least make Way for reducing *France* to the Terms of that of the *Pyrenees*. This, I suppose, gave Occasion for my being again design'd for this Ambassy, being thought to have some Credit with *Spain*, as well as *Holland*, from the Negotiations I had formerly run through at the *Hague*, *Brussels*, and *Aix la Chapelle*, by which the remaining Parts of *Flanders* had been sav'd out of the Hands of *France* in the Year 1668.

But having often reflected upon the unhappy Issue of my last publick Employments, and the fatal Turn of Counsels in our Court that had occasion'd it, against so many wiser Men's Opinions, as well as my own; I resolv'd, before I went this Journey, to know the Ground upon which I stood, as well as I could, and to sound it, by finding out what I was able of the King's true Sentiments and Dispositions, as to the Measures he had now taken, or rather renew'd, and trust no more to those of his Ministers, who had deceiv'd me or themselves. Therefore, at a long Audience in his Closet, I took Occasion to reflect upon the late Counsels, and Ministry of the late Cabal; how ill His Majesty had been advis'd to break Measures and Treaties so solemnly taken and agreed; how ill he had been serv'd, and how ill succeeded, by the violent Humour of the Nation breaking out against such Proceedings, and by the Jealousies they had rais'd against the Crown. The King said, 'twas true, he had succeeded ill; but if he had been well serv'd, he might have made a good Business enough of it; and so went on a good deal to justify what was past. I was sorry to find such a Presage of what might again return from such a Course of Thought in the King, and so went to the Bottom of that Matter. I shew'd how difficult, if not impossible, it was, to set up here the same Religion or Government that was in *France*; That the universal Bent of the Nation was against both; That many who were, perhaps, indifferent enough in the Matter of Religion, consider'd it could not be chang'd here but by Force of an Army; and that the same Force which made the King Master of their Religion, made him Master of their Liberties and Fortunes too. That in *France* there was none to be consider'd but the Nobles and the Clergy: That if a King cou'd engage them in his Designs, he had no more to do; for the Peasants having no Land, were as insignificant in the Government as the Women and Children are here: That on the contrary, the great Bulk of Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeomanry or lower Gentry, and their Hearts are high by Ease and Plenty, as those of the *French* Peasantry are wholly dispirited by Labour and Want. That, the Kings of *France* are very great in Possessions of Lands, and in Dependences by such vast Numbers of Officers both Military and Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical; whereas those of *England*, having few Offices to bestow, having parted with their Lands, their Court of Wards and Knights Service, have no Means to raise or keep Armies on foot but by Supplies from their Parliaments, nor Revenues to maintain any foreign War by other Ways. That if they had an Army on foot; yet if compos'd of *English*, they wou'd never serve Ends that the People hated and fear'd. That the *Roman* Catholicks in *England* were not the Hundredth Part of the Nation, and in *Scotland* not the Two Hundredth; and it seem'd against all common Sense, to think by one Part to govern Ninety Nine that were of contrary Minds and Humours. That for foreign Troops, if they were few, they wou'd signify nothing but to raise Hatred and Discontent; and how to raise, to bring over at once, and to maintain many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force seeming necessary to subdue the Liberties and Spirits of this Nation, cou'd not be esteem'd less than an Army of Threescore Thousand Men, since the *Romans* were forc'd to keep Twelve

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Legions to that Purpoſe, the *Norman* to inſtitute Sixty Two Thouſand Knights Fees, and *Cromwell* left an Army of near Eighty Thouſand Men. That I never knew but one Foreigner that underſtood *England* well, which was *Gourville* (whom I knew the King eſteem'd the ſoundeſt Head of any *Frenchman* he had ever ſeen): That when I was at *Bruſſels* in the firſt *Dutch* War, and he heard the Parliament grew weary of it, he ſaid, The King had nothing to do but to make the Peace: That he had been long enough in *England*, ſeen enough of our Court, and People, and Parliaments, to conclude,

Q'un Roy d'Angleterre, qui veut être l'Homme de ſon Peuple, eſt le plus grand Roy du monde; mais s'il veut être quelque choſe d'avantage, par Dieu il n'eſt plus rien.

[That a King of *England*, who will be the Man of his People, is the greateſt King in the World; but if he will be any thing more, by G---d he is nothing at all.]

The King heard me all very attentively, but ſeem'd a little impatient at firſt: Yet at laſt he ſaid, I had Reaſon in all, and ſo had *Gourville*; and laying his Hand upon mine, he added *Et je veux être l'Homme de mon Peuple*; [*And I will be the Man of my People.*]

My Ambaſſy Extraordinary to *Holland* was declar'd in *May*, and my Diſpatches finiſh'd at the Treaſury as well as the Secretary's Office, ſo as I went away in *July*. My Inſtructions were, in general, To aſſure the States of his Majeſty's Friendſhip, and firm Reſolution to obſerve his Treaties with them; then to offer his Mediation in the preſent War, which both they, and almoſt all *Chriſtendom*, were engag'd in; and after their Acceptance of it, to endeavour it likewiſe with all their Allies; and, to that End, to engage the Offices and Intervention of the States. But immediately after my Arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, give him part of his Majeſty's Intentions in all this Affair, and Aſſurance of his Kindneſs, and engage his Highneſs, as far as could be, to ſecond his Majeſty's Deſires, in promoting a Geral Peace, wherein the *United Provinces* ſeem'd to have the greateſt Intereſt.

After my Arrival at the *Hague* in *July* 1674, and Delivery of my Credentials to the Preſident of the Week, and a Viſit to the Penſioner, wherein I diſcover'd a ſtrong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as their Honour and Engagements to their Allies would allow them, and was aſſur'd of the States accepting his Majeſty's Mediation; I went away to *Antwerp*, in Hopes to have found the Prince at his Camp there, between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain ſome Time attending the Advance of the Confederate Troops, with whom he had concerted to join his Army upon their Arrival in *Flanders*. But two Days before I came to *Antwerp*, the Army was march'd beyound *Louvain*, ſo as I was forc'd to go to *Bruſſels*, and there deſire a Guard to convoy me to the Camp. The Punctilioes of my Character wou'd not ſuffer me to ſee the Count *De Monterey*, tho' I had for ſome Years liv'd at *Bruſſels* in particular Friendſhip and Converſation with him. Few Strangers had perhaps ever been better us'd than I, during three Years Reſidence at *Bruſſels*, by all Perſons of Quality, and indeed of all Ranks there; ſo that it was very ſurpriſing to me to meet ſuch a dry and cold Treatment from the Governor, and ſuch an Affectation in the Perſons of Quality, not ſo much as to viſit me; for I do not remember one that did it beſides the Count *D'Egmont*, who was then not very well at Court, either in *Spain* or *Flanders*. Others that I met in the Streets, or the Park, tho' they came with open Arms to embrace me, yet never came at me, but contented themſelves with ſaying they intended it. When I ſent my Secretary to the Count *De Monterey* with my Compliments, and Deſires of a Guard to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then not above Six Leagues off, he return'd the Firſt very coldly, and the other with Excuſes that amounted to a Refuſal; he ſaid, The Way was ſo dangerous, by ſtragling Parties of the Army,

that

that he cou'd not adviſe me to venture with a ſmall Guard; and he had drawn out ſo many of the *Spaniſh* Troops into the Field, that he cou'd not give me a great one. I ſent again to deſire what he cou'd ſpare me, let the Number be what it wou'd; for though I wou'd not expoſe the King's Character, nor his Buſineſs, by any Accident I might prevent; yet when I had endeavour'd it by my Application to his Excellence, I wou'd take my Fortune, tho' he ſent me but Six of his Guards. He replied, That he cou'd not poſſibly ſpare any of them; but that next Morning he expected a Troop of Horſe to come into Town, and that as ſoon as it arrived, the Captain ſhou'd have Order to attend me. Next Morning was put off till Night, and Night to the Morning following; when the Count finding I was reſolv'd to go, though without Convoy, rather than to expect longer, ſent me a *Spaniſh* Captain with about Forty Horſe to convoy me to *Louvain*. The Truth was, that the *Spaniards* were grown ſo jealous of His Majeſty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*, of the States and People's violent Humour to a Peace in *Holland*, and of the Offices they thought I might uſe, to ſlacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous Proſecution of their preſent Hopes and Deſigns, that I found it was reſolv'd to delay firſt, and then to hinder abſolutely any Interview between the Prince and me till the Campaign was ended, but to do it with as little ill Grace as they cou'd. To this Purpoſe *Du Moulin* (then one of the Prince's Secretaries, and an inveterate Enemy againſt the Court of *England*) was diſpatch'd between the Camp and *Bruſſels*, whilſt I lay there, and with Guards whereof half wou'd have ſerv'd my Turn, or at leaſt contented me.

When I came to *Louvain*, I found the Prince was march'd towards *Tirlemont*, but cou'd not learn where his next Halt was deſign'd. The *Spaniſh* Captain told me, he had Order to go no further than *Louvain*. So that I neither knew whither to go, nor cou'd go any Way without a Guard, as they aſſur'd me at *Louvain*. Whereupon I ſent immediately Mr. *Bulſtrode*, who had come with me from *Bruſſels*, to endeavour to find out the Prince, and deſire him to appoint what Time and Place I ſhou'd attend His Highneſs, which I reſolv'd to do with thoſe few Servants I had brought with me, and ſuch others as I cou'd hire at *Louvain*, where I lay that Night.

The next Morning Mr. *Bulſtrode* return'd with the Prince's Anſwer, That he was upon his March; that he ſhou'd be very glad to ſee me, but cou'd not poſſibly appoint either Time or Place for it, becauſe his Motions were uncertain, and wou'd depend upon the Advices he receiv'd. By which I found plainly what I had ſuſpected at *Bruſſels*, That it was reſolv'd I ſhou'd not ſee the Prince before this Campaign was begun by the Actions then concerted among the Confederates. I wou'd not however ſeem to underſtand it ſo, nor any thing more in it than what His Highneſs was pleas'd to ſay; but I knew very well, that as they ſay none is more deaf than he that will not hear, ſo a Man that will not be ſeen may eaſily find Ways of avoiding it, eſpecially upon ſuch Circumſtances as the Prince and I were then in, who muſt have follow'd the Motions he wou'd have given me: And therefore I reſolv'd not to expoſe either His Majeſty's Character or Credit, with his Nephew, by making that publick which had paſs'd between the Prince and me upon this Subject; but pretending my Health wou'd not ſuffer me to follow the Prince upon his March, I return'd to *Antwerp*, and gave His Majeſty an Account of all that had paſs'd, who extreamly approv'd my Conduct in it, and that I preſs'd no further a Point that I ſaw wou'd not go, and that was taken by the Prince, as well as the Count *De Monterey*, ſo differently from what His Majeſty expected.

I ſtay'd only a Night at *Antwerp*, which paſs'd with ſo great Thunder and Lightning, that I promis'd my ſelf a very fair Day after it, to go back to *Rotterdam* in the States Yacht that ſtill attended me. The Morning prov'd ſo, but towards Evening the Sky grew foul, and the Seamen preſag'd ill Weather, and ſo reſolv'd to lie at Anchor before *Bergen op Zoom*, the Wind being croſs and little. When the Night was fallen as black as ever I ſaw, it

ſoon began to clear up with the moſt violent Flaſhes of Lightening, as well as Cracks of Thunder, that I believe have ever been heard in our Age and Climate. This continu'd all Night, and we felt ſuch a fierce Heat from every great Flaſh of Lightening, that the Captain apprehended it would fire his Ship. But about Eight the next Morning the Wind chang'd, and came up with ſo ſtrong a Gale, that we came to *Rotterdam* in about Four Hours, and there found all Mouths full of the Miſchiefs and Accidents that the laſt Night's Tempeſt had occaſion'd, both among the Boats and the Houſes, by the Thunder, Lightening, Hail, or Whirlwinds. But the Day after came Stories to the *Hague*, from all Parts, of ſuch violent Effects as were almoſt incredible. At *Amſterdam* they were deplorable, many Trees torn up by the Roots, Ships ſunk in the Harbour, and Boats in the Canals, Houſes beaten down; and ſeveral People were ſnatch'd from the Ground as they walk'd the Streets, and thrown into the Canals. But all was ſilenc'd by the Relations from *Utrecht*, where the Great and Ancient Cathedral was torn in Pieces by the Violence of this Storm; and the vaſt Pillars of Stone that ſupported it were wreath'd like a twiſted Club, having been ſo ſtrongly compos'd and cemented, as rather to ſuffer ſuch a Change of Figure, than break in Pieces as other Parts of the Fabrick did; hardly any Church of the Town eſcap'd the Violence of this Storm, and very few Houſes without the Marks of it. Nor were the Effects of it leſs aſtoniſhing by the Relations from *France* and *Bruſſels*, where the Damages were infinite, as well from Whirlwinds, Thunder, and Lightening, as from Hail-ſtones of prodigious Bigneſs.

At my Return to the *Hague* I had long Converſations with the Penſioner, by which I gain'd the Lights neceſſary to diſcover the whole preſent Scene of Affairs, and Pulſes of the ſeveral Confederates in what related to the General Peace. I told him how much His Majeſty was ſatisfy'd with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was reſolv'd to continue and to cultivate it. How much Reaſon he had to be content with the Poſture that had left him in a Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all at War. That Advantages of Commerce from it were enough to make him trouble himſelf no further about the Peace of Chriſtendom, if his Goodneſs and Piety did not prevail more with him than his Intereſts. But that theſe, and the Deſires of a General Good, had perſuaded him to offer his Mediation in the preſent Quarrels. That it had been already accepted by *France*; and that the Emperor and *Spain* had anſwer'd, they wou'd conſider of it in Concert with their Allies. That the States Ambaſſadors at *London* had aſſur'd His Majeſty their Maſters wou'd be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their Conſent that the Treaty ſhou'd be at *London*; and that thereupon His Majeſty had charg'd me with a Letter to the States to offer them his Mediation. That I cou'd not doubt their accepting it with the beſt Grace that cou'd be, for I knew their Intereſt was to have a Peace, and not to diſoblige the King. That if His Majeſty were partial to any Side, they ought to believe it wou'd be to that wherein his own Nephew was ſo deeply concern'd; and the more, becauſe he offer'd his Offices towards a Peace, at a Time when the Advantages and Preparations for the War ran ſo high on the *French* Side, as he doubted the Events might ſhew if it continu'd. That they knew his Intereſt wou'd not ſuffer him to ſee *Flanders* loſt; and that conſidering what had paſs'd, his Honour wou'd not ſuffer him to think of preſerving it any other Way than by that of a Peace. That he wou'd be glad to ſee that Country left by the next Peace in a better Poſture of Defence than it was by the laſt, and the *Spaniſh* Territories lie cloſer and rounder than they were then left: That when this ſhou'd be concluded, His Majeſty wou'd be ready to enter into the ſtrongeſt Guaranties they cou'd deſire, and might with Honour enter into a War to preſerve it, though he cou'd not to obtain it. The Penſioner firſt gave me Thanks for my good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Meaſures of Friendſhip that had interceded between His Majeſty and them ſince the firſt Breach. He applauded the King's Reſolution in ſo pious and generous an Offer, and acknowledg'd his Intereſt might

might lead him to other Diſpoſitions. That he doubted not the States Willingneſs to accept it; all the Difference would be about the Time and the Manner of doing it. As to this, he ſaid, they could not do it without the Communication at leaſt of their Allies; but would immediately give them part of his Majeſty's Offer, and the States Diſpoſitions to receive it. That for the Terms of a Peace, as to their own Parts they would be content to make his Majeſty the Arbiter of it. That they had already recover'd all the Towns they had loſt except *Grave* and *Maeſtricht*, the laſt of which was in ſome manner engag'd to *Spain* when it ſhould be recover'd; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good Account of it very ſoon, Orders being already gone to inveſt it. But he doubted whether their Allies would be ſo eaſie in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impoſſible for the States to leave them who had ſav'd their Country from Ruin when two ſo great Kings had invaded them; or to break the Treaties which they had made Offenſive with the Emperor, *Spain* and *Brandenburg*. That the Terms ſtipulated with *Spain* obliged them to reduce *France* to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*; but only a Reſerve was made by one Article, which was, Unleſs it ſhould otherwiſe be agreed by Conſent between them. That whatever *Spain* would be content with, ſhould ſatisfy them; though they were both equally ſenſible of the Deſigns and Ambition of *France*, as well as of their ill Talent to the States. They could never hope for ſuch another Conjuncture, to reduce them to ſuch Bounds and Meaſures as might be ſafe to their Neighbours, to give Quiet to Chriſtendom. That 'twas now an ill Time to enter into the Terms of Peace between *France* and *Spain*, becauſe he knew they ſhould have ill Grace to demand the Reſtitution of any Towns the *Spaniards* had loſt in *Flanders* by the laſt War, and given up by the Peace that ſucceeded it; and yet his Majeſty knew, as well as they, that without it a Peace could neither be ſafe for *Flanders*, nor for *Holland*, nor conſequently for *England*. But he believ'd there would not paſs many Days before ſome deciſive Action would happen between the Armies, now not far diſtant in the Field, which would make Room for the Negotiation of Peace that might ſucceed next Winter, in which his Majeſty would find the Intereſts and Humours of a Trading Country as theirs was, very ſtrong, and diſpoſed to preſs their Allies, as far as was poſſible, to facilitate ſo great and ſo good a Work. And for the reſt of the Allies beſides *Spain*, he had no Reaſon to ſuſpect any great Difficulties would ariſe, ſo little having yet paſs'd in the War between *France* and them.

The Penſioner was right in expecting ſome ſudden Action between the Armies; for about the Middle of *Auguſt* came the News of the Battle of *Seneffe*, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Prince of *Conde*: But it prov'd not an Action ſo deciſive as was expected between two Armies of ſo great Force, and ſo animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Succeſs of this Fight was ſo differently reported by thoſe engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each Side challenged, and perhaps neither with any great Reaſon. The Confederates had for ſome Days ſought a Battel with great Deſire and Endeavour; and the *French* avoided it, with Reſolution not to fight unleſs upon evident Advantage, whilſt both Armies lay near *Nivelle*, and not far diſtant from one another. The Reaſon of this was thought to be, on one Side, the Ardour of the young Prince of *Orange* to make Way, by a Victory, into *France* it ſelf, and there revenge the Invaſion of his Country; and at the ſame Time to make his firſt Eſſay of a pitch'd Battle, againſt ſo Great and Renowned a General as the Prince of *Conde*. On the other Side, this old Captain had too much Honour to loſe, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entering the Liſts with a Prince of three and twenty Years old, bred up in the Shade of a contrary Faction, 'till he was forc'd into the Field by the *French* Invaſion of his Country. Nor was the Advantage leſs on the *French* Side in the Reputation of their Troops, than of their General; com-

pos'd of excellent Officers, chosen Soldiers, exactly disciplin'd, long train'd for Action before they began it, and now flush'd by the uninterrupted Successes of two Wars. But the *Dutch* Troops, when the Prince of *Orange* entered upon the Command, were old or lazy Soldiers, disus'd with long Peace, and disabled with young unskilful Officers (chosen by no other Merit, than that of a Faction against the House of *Orange*) then fill'd up, when the War broke out, with hasty and undisciplin'd Levies, and disheartned with perpetual Losses of Towns, and Defeats of Parties, during the two first Campaigns. The Prince of *Conde* had another Restraint upon the usual Boldness of his Nature in such Occasions, which was the ill Posture he had been in at Court since this King's Reign, and in Regard how much more he would have to answer for than another Man upon any great Misfortune to his Army, which must have left the Way open for the Confederates to enter *France*, unguarded on that Side by any strong Frontier; so as no Man knew what Shake it might give to the Greatness of that Crown, with the Help of great and general Discontents, whereof this Prince was thought to have his Share.

Upon these Dispositions in the Generals, the Battle was for some time industriously sought and avoided; till the Prince of *Orange*, believing there was no Way of coming to a Battle, but by the Siege of some Place that might be thought worth the Venture to relieve, broke up and march'd away towards *Semeffe*; his Army divided into three Parts, whereof the *German* Troops under the Count *De Souches* had the Van, the *Spanish* under the Prince of *Vaudemont* the Rear, and the *Dutch* under Count *Waldeck* the main Battle; with whom the Prince march'd, and commanded the whole Confederate Army.

The Prince of *Conde* observing their March, which was not far from one Side of his Intrenchments; and that by the Straitness of some Passages they were forc'd to file off in small Lines, stay'd till the Van-guard and main Body were over one of these Passages, and the Rear beginning to enter upon it; when he drew out his Men, and fell with great Fierceness upon the Rear of the *Spaniards*, broke them with great Slaughter, and not much Resistance, took their Baggage, several Standards, and many Prisoners of Note. The Prince of *Orange*, upon Notice of the *French* March towards the *Spanish* Troops, had sent three Squadrons back to their Assistance, with all the Diligence that could be; but the *Spaniards* already broken, brought the *Dutch* into Disorder by falling in among them; and the *French* pursuing with great Bravery, broke the *Dutch* Squadrons to Pieces, killing or taking all their Commanders, and several Standards.

If the Prince of *Conde* had contented himself with this Success and Execution, he had left no Dispute of a Victory; but lured on by the Hopes of one more entire, and Belief, the *Dutch*, whom he esteem'd the worst Troops, would not stand, after the *Spaniards*, and a great Part of their own, were wholly routed, he follow'd the Chase, and drawing out his whole Army upon them, brought it to a set Battle, which was more than he intended. In the mean time the Prince of *Orange* marching to the Relief of the *Spaniards* and the Squadrons he had sent, was at first envelop'd by his own flying Men, whom he could neither stop by Words nor Blows, by Promises nor Reproaches; till joyning the rest of his own Forces that stood firm, and the Imperialists coming up to enforce them, the Battel began with as great Fury as any has been fought in the whole Course of the Wars, continued so for about eight Hours till Sun-set, and about two Hours after by Moonlight, till that failing too, the Fight ended, rather by the Obscurity of the Night, than the Weariness or Weakness of either Side. The Prince of *Orange*, in the whole Course of this Action, gave all Orders with such Prudence, and Observance of all Advantages, led up his several Squadrons with that Bravery, made such bold Stands against his own broken Troops, as well as against the Fierceness of the Pursuers, for six Hours together in the hottest of the Fire; sometimes charging into the Midst of the Enemies, sometimes

times overborn by his own that fled, till he rallied them and led them back to the Charge; expos'd to more Danger than moſt private Soldiers in the Field; ſo that the old Count *De Souches*, in his Letter to the States upon this Occaſion, told them, That *in the whole Courſe of the Action, the Prince had ſhew'd the Conduct of an Old experienc'd Commander, and the Valour of a* Cæſar. And indeed his Allies, his Friends, and his Enemies, agreed in giving him equal Glory from this Adventure. But he had more from none than from the Prince of *Conde*'s Teſtimony, That *he had done like an old Captain in all, but only in venturing himſelf too much like a young Man.* Yet this old General had done the ſame in this Day's Action, as much as the youngeſt Cavalier in his Army could do, when he found the Battel fought ſo deſperately, and all at Stake; whereas 'tis certain, that nothing could have given Vigour to the *Dutch* Troops, after the firſt Rout, but the repeated Examples and Dangers of the Prince, and Shame of not following ſuch a Leader in all the deſperate Charges he made that Day, which both the Generals ſeem'd reſolv'd to die rather than to loſe.

As the Numbers were not much different when the Fight began, ſo were thoſe eſteem'd that fell in this Battel, and to reach to about ſix or ſeven Thouſand on either Side; but of the *French*, many more Officers and Gentlemen than was uſual, in proportion to the Common Soldiers. When the Night parted the Armies, the *French* retir'd back to their former Quarters, and next Morning the Confederates march'd to that which they deſigned when they broke up the Day before. The Allies claim'd the Victory, becauſe they were laſt upon the Field; and the *French*, upon carrying away the greateſt Number of Priſoners and Standards: But whoever had the Honour, they both felt the Loſs.

After the Repair neceſſary in each Camp upon this ſharp Encounter, each Army took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battel before the Campaign ended: The Prince of *Orange* ſought it all he could; but the Prince of *Conde* choſe and fortify'd his Encampments ſo, as not to be forc'd to one without apparent Diſadvantages, and contented himſelf to obſerve the Motions of the Allies, to preſerve the Towns of the *French Conqueſts* in *Flanders*, and prevent any Invaſion of *France*, which was deſigned this Summer with great Confidence by the Confederate Armies, both on this Side and that in *Alſace*, but with equal Diſappointment, unleſs it were to Monſieur *Starenberg*, who in the Beginning of the Campaign complaining of the Wine at the Prince's Table, the Prince told them, *He would make them drink good Wine in* Champagne *before the Summer ended.* He, who loved it well, deſired the Prince to be as good as his Word; was afterwards taken at the Battel of *Seneffe*, and carried to *Rheims*, with ſeveral *Dutch* Officers; where ſitting down to Dinner, and finding the Wine excellent, he drank the Prince's Health, and ſaid, *He would truſt him as long as he liv'd; for he had kept his Word, and made them drink good Wine in* Champagne.

The Prince of *Orange* finding no other Way of Action, ſat down before *Oudenarde* in *September*; and had his End of drawing the Prince of *Conde* out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the Allies before they were ready to give an Aſſault to the Town. Upon Sight of the *French* Army, the Prince of *Orange* call'd a Council of War, and propoſed to draw out and attack them immediately, before they were reſted after their hard Day's March. The *Spaniards* were content, but the Count *De Souches* would not agree to it; and ſo this Occaſion was loſt, and with ſuch Diſcontent among the chief Officers, that next Day the *Germans* left the Trenches, and march'd away about a League, and left Room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to riſe too, with the reſt of his Army; and upon Conferences with the Count *De Monterey*, as well as *De Souches*, reſolv'd to leave the greateſt Part of the *Dutch* Forces with the Count, and with the reſt to go himſelf, and preſs the Siege of *Grave*. And here began thoſe Diſſenſions among the chief Captains of the Confederates, that continued to ruin their Deſigns, and

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prov'd ſo fatal to them in the whole Courſe of the War; and againſt all Appearances, made good the *Spaniſh* Proverb, that, *Liga nunca coje grandes paxaros* [*Birdlime never catches great Birds*;] the ſame Word ſignifying a League and Birdlime, and meaning, that as this never catches great Birds, ſo the t'other never makes great Conqueſts, though it often does great Defences: Yet theſe firſt Diviſions were endeavour'd to be cur'd by the Emperor's recalling the Count *De Souches*, and *Spain* the Count *De Monterey*, who were both thought to have maim'd the Actions of this Campaign, or, at leaſt, not to have ſeconded, as they might have done, the Prince of *Orange's* Vigour, in purſuing them to other ſort of Succeſſes than it ended with. The Prince having fail'd of what he propos'd in favour of the *Spaniards*, was reſolv'd to free his own Country from the laſt Mark of their intended Servitude, before this Seaſon ended. *Grave* was the laſt Town the *French* held in any of the Seven Provinces, and had been kept as a Magazine both of what had been taken in the other Places, and was not eaſily carried away when they quitted them; ſo as there was above three hundred Pieces of Cannon in the Town, a very full and brave Garriſon, compos'd of the beſt Troops, and all that could be added to the Fortifications of the Place, after the *French* took it, though it was before counted one of the beſt the *Dutch* had. It had been inveſted a Month before; yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival; and the *Dutch* Soildiers ſo rebuted with the brave Defence from within, that nothing could have carried the Place at this Seaſon, being about the middle of *October* when the Prince arriv'd, but the ſame Humour of leading on his Men himſelf whenever they ſhrunk, which can never be too much praiſed, nor too much blam'd in this Prince; becauſe, as his Country and Allies would have had no General if they had loſt him, ſo they would have had no Army if they had not ventur'd him. In ſhort, by this and his uſual Application and Vigour, as well as the common Methods of ſuch Sieges, he took *Grave* by the End of *October*, with equal Glory to himſelf, and Satisfaction to all the Provinces; and return'd to the *Hague* about the middle of *November*, after having diſpoſed his Forces into their Winter Quarters.

With the Prince of *Orange* return'd moſt of the General Officers to the *Hague*, and among the reſt old Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, who, as the Prince told me, had, with the greateſt Induſtry that could be, ſought all Occaſions of dying fairly at the Battel of *Seneffe*, without ſucceeding, which had given him great Regret; and I did not wonder at it, conſidering his Age, of about ſeventy Six, and his long Habits both of Gout and Stone. When he came to viſit me upon his Return, and before he went to his Government of *Cleves*, it came in my Head to ask him an idle Queſtion, becauſe I thought it not very likely for me to ſee him again, and I had a mind to know from his own Mouth, the Account of a common, but much credited Story, that I had heard ſo often from many others, of an old Parrot he had in *Braſil*, during his Government there, that ſpoke, and ask'd and anſwer'd common Queſtions like a reaſonable Creature; ſo that thoſe of his Train there generally concluded it to be Witchery or Poſſeſſion, and one of his Chaplains, who liv'd long afterwards in *Holland*, would never from that time endure a Parrot, but ſaid they all had a Devil in them. I had heard many Particulars of this Story, and aſſever'd by People hard to be diſcredited, which made me ask Prince *Maurice* what there was in it? He ſaid, with his uſual Plainneſs, and Dryneſs in Talk, there was ſomething true, but a great deal falſe, of what had been reported. I deſir'd to know of him what there was of the Firſt? he told me ſhort and coldly, that he had heard of ſuch an old Parrot when he came to *Braſil*; and though he believed nothing of it, and 'twas a good Way off, yet he had ſo much Curioſity as to ſend for it; that 'twas a very large, and a very old one; and when it came firſt into the Room where the Prince was, with a great many *Dutchmen* about him, it ſaid preſently, *What a Company of White Men are here?* They ask'd what he thought that Man was? pointing at the Prince. It anſwer'd, *Some General or other*. When they

they brought it close to him, he ask'd it, *D'ou venez-vous?* [*Whence come you?* It answer'd, *De* Maragnan [*From* Maragnan]. The Prince, *A qui estes vous?* [*To whom do you belong?*] The Parrot, *A un* Portugais [*To a* Portugueze]. The Prince *Que fais-tu la?* [*What do you there?*] The Parrot, *Je garde les Poulets* [*I look after the Chickens.*] The Prince laugh'd, and said, *Vous gardez les Poulets?* [*You look after the Chickens?*] The Parrot answer'd, *Ouy moy, & je le sçay bien faire* [*Yes I, and I know how to do it well*]; and made the Chuck four or five times that People use to make to Chickens when they call them. I set down the Words of this worthy Dialogue in *French*, just as Prince *Maurice* said them to me. I ask'd him, In what Language the Parrot spoke? and he said, In *Brasilian*. I ask'd, Whether he understood *Brasilian*? he said, No; but he had taken Care to have two Interpreters by him, one a *Dutchman* that spoke *Brasilian*, and t'other a *Brasilian* that spoke *Dutch*: That he ask'd them separately and privately, and both of them agreed in telling him just the same thing as the Parrot said. I cou'd not but tell this odd Story, because it is so much out of the Way, and from the first Hand, which may well pass for a good one; for I dare say, this Prince at least believ'd himself, in all he told me, having ever pass'd for a very honest and pious Man. I leave it to Naturalists to reason, and to other Men to believe as they please upon it; however, it is not perhaps amiss to relieve or enliven a busy Scene sometimes with such Digressions, whether to the Purpose or not.

Before I enter upon the Negotiations of the following Winter, it will be necessary to give a short View of the Actions of the several Armies, and Dispositions of the Parties in other Places, as well as in the *Low-Countries*, since all contributed to the different Humours that appear'd at the *Hague* about the Peace, which was indeed the present Scene of that Affair, as well from His Majesty's Mediation, as the great Weight of the States in the Confederacy; but chiefly from the Person of the Prince of *Orange*, who seem'd to be the Spirit or Genius of the whole Alliance, and for whom the rest, as well as the States themselves, had so great a Trust and Deference: For several of their Ministers made no Difficulty to tell me upon many Occasions, That their Masters wou'd not have entered into the present Engagements they were in, had it not been more upon the Confidence they had of the Prince's Personal Honour and Justice, than either the Forces or the usual Conduct of the States-General, especially in what concern'd the foreign Treaties and Negotiations.

In *Rousillon* little pass'd of Importance between the Forces there: The Thoughts of both Crowns were bent on that Side more upon reducing or relieving *Messina*, that had made an absolute Revolt from *Spain*, and endeavour'd to gain Protection from *France*, which was not difficult in this Conjuncture; as that which might not only give a great Diversion to the *Spanish* Forces, but open a Way for the *French* into the Conquest of *Sicily*, and new Designs upon *Naples*, which had been the Stage of so many great Wars between the Houses of *France* and *Arragon*.

In *Germany* the Prince-Electors *Palatine*, *Mentz*, and *Trier*, had entered into a League with the Emperor for the Defence of the *German* Liberty against all Strangers. *France* was so enrag'd against the Elector *Palatine* upon these Measures he had taken, that Monsieur *De Turenne*, at the Head of a *French* Army, march'd into his Country, and made such cruel Ravages in it, and so unusual to that General's common Procedures, that the Elector sent him a Challenge; which Monsieur *De Turenne* answer'd he cou'd not accept without his Master's Leave, but was ready to meet him in the Field at the Head of his Army, against any that he and his new Allies wou'd bring together.

This Prince, spighted at the helpless Ruin of his Country, prov'd the greater Incentive among the *German* Princes this Summer to join their Forces, in order to some vigorous Action against *France* on that Side. The Duke of *Lunenburg* engag'd first, and afterwards the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in the

common Cauſe of the Empire's being invaded; *Strasburg* was prevail'd with to throw off the Neutrality they had enjoy'd ſince the War began, and declare for the Empire in this Quarrel. The new Biſhop of *Munſter* enter'd into the ſame Meaſures, and all together, made a conſiderable Force, that they brought into the Field on t'other ſide the *Rhine*, about the End of *Auguſt* or Beginning of *September*. The old Duke of *Lorrain* joyn'd them with his Troops: The Duke of *Luuenburg* was there in Perſon; and the Elector *Palatine* had the Command of the Army. They were divided, as well as the Imperial Officers, whether they ſhou'd enter upon any conſiderable Action or no till the Duke of *Brandenburg* came up, who was upon his March at the Head of a very conſiderable Army, that joyn'd the Confederates in *October*. This gave great Hopes and Deſigns of entering either *Lorrain* or *Burgundy*, or taking *Briſac*, or at leaſt *Zaberne* and *Haguenau*, and thereby ſecuring their Winter Quarters in *Alſace*. Monſieur *De Turenne* play'd a defenſive Game, with a ſmall Army, and ill handled by the Sickneſs of the Seaſon. *France* was at ſuch a Pinch for Men, or Fear of an Irruption into their Country from *Flanders* or *Alſace*, that they call'd their Ban and Arriere Ban, the aſſembling whereof had been long diſus'd, and in a manner antiquated. However with ſome of theſe new Troops, and a Reinforcement from *Flanders* after the Battle of *Seneffe*, Monſieur *de Turenne*, by plain Force of Skill, and that admirable Science in the Conduct of a War, which no Captain of his Age cou'd diſpute with him, prevented and diſappointed every one of the Confederates Deſigns, without ever coming to a Set Battle, tho' not without ſeveral ſharp Fights of Part of the Forces upon Neceſſity or Advantage: So that the Winter ended with the Allies quitting the laſt Point they pretended, and wou'd have been indeed deciſive in the Iſſue of this Campaign, which was the *German* Army's quartering in *Alſace* and other Parts on that Side the *Rhine*.

The moſt conſiderable Loſs or Event of this Campaign upon the *Rhine*, was the Death of the young Prince of *Brandenburg*, who died about the End of it at *Strasburg*, of a Fever ſo violent and precipitate, as gave Occaſion for the uſual Suſpicions and Diſcourſes that attend the Death of ſuch young Princes as give great Hopes and Fears to their Enemies and Friends. This was the more conſider'd for a particular and intimate Friendſhip between him and the Prince of *Orange*, who, tho' Couſin-Germans, and engag'd in one common Cauſe, were yet nearer joyn'd by Likeneſs of Humours than of Intereſt, and by the Ties of Perſonal Kindneſs than of Blood; and I never knew the Prince of *Orange* more ſenſible of any Misfortune that happen'd to him than of this.

In all the Encounters mention'd on this Side, no Forces were oftener ſeen, or more felt, or gain'd more Honour for their Firmneſs and Bravery, than the *Engliſh* Regiments ſtill remaining in the *French* Service, to whom the *Germans* attributed wholly Monſieur *De Turenne*'s Succeſſes, as he did a great deal himſelf. But the Diviſions among the Princes that made up the Confederate Armies, may juſtly be ſaid to have had all the Merit that was not Perſonal in Monſieur *De Turenne*; who was certainly allow'd by all that compar'd them to be the greateſt Captain by much of his Age, in the Courſe of a War or Conduct of a Campaign; tho' the the Prince of *Conde* was thought greater in a Day of Battle, both as to the Diſpoſition and Order of an Army, vigorous Enterprize, and ſharp, as well as pertinent Reſolutions, upon all ſudden Emergencies, to which the Courſe and Chance of a Battle is every Way ſubject.

For *Sweden* and *Denmark*, they were not yet enter'd into the Liſts, but ſeem'd now upon the Point of taking Party. *Sweden* had acted the Part of a Mediator ever ſince the breaking up of the Treaty at *Cologne*, both by their Ambaſſador at *Vienna* and the *Hague*, who plied both theſe Courts with very long and frequent Memorials to that Purpoſe during this whole Summer; but they had been as hard ply'd themſelves all that time by the Practices and Advantages offer'd by *France*, both to that Crown, and the chief Miniſters, to engage them in the War. Nothing ſeem'd ſo likely to determine them,

as the Treaty and Expedition of the Duke of *Brandenburg* on the Confederate Side, which laid open his Country to the Invaſion of *Sweden*, and gave them a Pretence of a Breach, in that Prince, of the Treaties between them, in making War againſt *France* without the Conſent of the *Swedes*. Therefore, as ſoon as he was gone towards the *Rhine* with all the Strength of his Forces, the *Swedes* drew the beſt and greateſt Part of theirs into *Pomerania*; and as the Duke of *Brandenburg* advanc'd in the common Deſigns againſt *France*; ſo *Sweden*, without declaring War, purſu'd their Meaſures with that Crown, and, before the End of the Year, had drawn their Forces into the *Brandenburg* Country, though without Attempt upon any Places, and even with Pretence at firſt of paying for their Quarters, which was reckon'd upon as ſhort-liv'd among Soldiers in another Prince's Country, whether Friend or Enemy. The preſent Effect of this Inroad was the ending of another Pretence of that Crown, which was that of Mediation, and ſo devolving that Figure wholly upon his Majeſty; and on the other ſide giving hopes to the Confederates of engaging *Denmark* on their Side, if for no other Reaſon, yet upon that old one among them, of being always oppoſite to *Sweden*, and their Intereſts or Allies.

As ſoon as the Prince came to the *Hague* I attended him, and, after Compliments paſt, I acquainted him with what his Majeſty had commanded me of his perſonal Kindneſs and Eſteem for his Highneſs; of his Reſolutions to obſerve and cultivate his preſent Friendſhip with the States, and Deſire to ſee a General Peace reſtor'd to *Chriſtendom*, in which he intended to act wholly in Concert with his Highneſs, whoſe Opinion as to the Thing, and the Conditions moſt neceſſary for his Highneſs to inſiſt on, he very much deſir'd to underſtand as ſoon and as fully as he could. The Prince anſwer'd me with Expreſſions of Duty and Kindneſs to his Majeſty, and Deſires of a near Conjunction between the two Nations, which he thought alone could make his Majeſty ſafe at home and abroad. For the Peace, he ſaid, though he could make many Complaints of the Conduct both of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialiſts* ſince their Treaties; yet the States could not, with any Faith or Honour, make a Separate Peace, upon any Terms that *France* could offer them: That a General Peace could not be made without leaving *Flanders* in a Poſture of defending it ſelf upon any new or ſudden Invaſion, againſt which no Guarantees could ſecure it: That *Spain* could not, upon any Exchange, quit the County of *Burgundy*, nor *Cambray*, nor any thing in *Flanders* beyond the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, unleſs it were *Aire* and *St. Omer*. This, he ſaid, was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all conſiſtent with the Safety of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of his Majeſty's Mediation, which was accepted both at *Madrid* and *Vienna*. I told him, that the King having been the Author and Guarantee of the Peace at *Aix*, and not having yet ſeen the *French* beaten out of any Town that was given them by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propoſe any thing to *France* beyond thoſe Terms, unleſs it were upon ſome Equivalent. He reply'd reſolutely, 'twere better going on with the War, let it laſt as long, and coſt as much as it would: That his Majeſty might, if he pleas'd, induce *France* to whatever he thought juſt; and could never ſhew him ſo much Kindneſs as to bring him out of this War with Honour: If he would not, it muſt go on, till ſome Change happen'd in the Condition of the Parties, to make the Peace more neceſſary on one Side or other; how it would fall out he could not tell, and muſt leave to God, but he thought they had as fair a Game as the *French*: That he was ſure they might have been abſolutely beaten at *Seneffe*, if the Count *De Souches* had ſo pleas'd, and have had a fair Blow for it again at *Oudenarde*: That he was ſure *Germany* could furniſh more and better Men than *France*, and they were now in a manner united in the common Defence; and he hop'd the Emperor's Counſels and Conduct would not be ſo betray'd as they had been: That however, he muſt perform what his own

Honour, as well as that of the States, was engag'd in to their Allies, let it coſt what it would.

I imagin'd in what he ſaid of the Emperor's Counſels, he reflected upon the Buſineſs of Prince *Lakowitz*, whoſe Diſgrace made ſo great Noiſe about this time, and with Particulars ſo extraordinary of the *French* Practices in that Court, that they were very hard to believe, and very uncertain to know at that Diſtance, and even at *Vienna* it ſelf; and therefore I would not enter into them with the Prince, nor ſhall I here, as being foreign to this preſent Scene.

There was one Point more I entered into with the Prince, which was upon Occaſion of the many diſcontented Perſons in *England*, at the Courſe of the laſt Miniſtry and War, who were ſuſpected to have trinkled at leaſt with *Holland* about raiſing Seditions, and perhaps Inſurrections in *England*, if the War continu'd, and the *Dutch* Fleets ſhould appear upon our Coaſts, which were like to be unguarded the next Summer by the Straits his Majeſty was in for Money to ſet out a Fleet. It was believ'd, among many others, my Lord *Shaftsbury* was one that had of late plaid this Game; who having been as deep as any Man in the Counſels of the Cabal, and gone ſo far in the publick Applauſe of them, as in a Speech in Parliament to have apply'd the *Delendo Carthago* [Carthage *muſt be deſtroyed*] to our Intereſt in the Deſtruction of *Holland*; yet when he ſaw the Parliament and Nation ſullen upon it, and that the King could not purſue it with ſo much ill Humour in both, he turn'd ſhort upon the Court and the reſt of the Cabal, fell in with the popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament, decried the preſent Deſigns and Conduct, though with the Loſs of his Chancellor's Place, and was believed to manage a Practice in *Holland* for ſome Inſurrection here. I told the Prince what the King ſuſpected of ſome of his Subjects, without naming any; how much Service it would be to his Majeſty to know 'em more certainly, and how kind it would be in his Highneſs to diſcover them. The Prince was ſtanch, and ſaid, He was ſure the King would not preſs him upon a thing ſo much againſt all Honour, as to betray Men that profeſſed to be his Friends. I gave his Majeſty an Account of all that paſs'd between the Prince and me, which was thought at Court both cold to his Majeſty, and ſtiff as to the Peace; and I had no Returns or Orders upon it; but within a Week or ten Days I had Notice, that my Lord *Arlington* and my Lord *Oſſory* intended to make a Turn into *Holland*, with Monſieur *Odyke* and his two Siſters, to make a Viſit to their Friends at the *Hague*; and about the Beginning of *December* they arriv'd in the King's Yachts, but without any ſort of Character, or Shew of Buſineſs.

My Lord *Arlington* brought me a Letter from the King, written all with his own Hand; and telling me he had ſent him to ſet right ſome important Points between his Majeſty and the Prince which ought not to lie longer in doubt, recommending to me all the Aſſiſtance I could give him, and aſſuring me of his Majeſty's Confidence and Kindneſs. His Lordſhip brought the moſt ample Credential likewiſe that could be from his Majeſty to the Prince, who ſtill gave me Part of all that paſs'd between them, with as much Openneſs and Freedom, as t'other did with Coldneſs and Reſerve; and thereby lent me many Lights that I could not otherwiſe have had, to diſcover the Myſtery of this Journey and Affair, which was in great Part a Secret to my Lord Treaſurer himſelf, whom yet his Majeſty was thought to truſt at that time as much as he had ever done any of his Miniſters.

My Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the Head of thoſe Meaſures that the King enter'd into during the Miniſtry of the Cabal, and the War with *Holland*, in Conjunction with *France*, found himſelf ſomething diſcredited with his Maſter upon the ill Iſſue of that Affair, and the Neceſſities which forc'd him to a Separate Peace, both from the Wants of his Treaſury, and Diſcontents of his Parliament and People in general. By the Degrees this Lord's Favour declin'd, the Earl of *Danby*'s encreas'd, who ſucceeded my Lord *Clifford* in the Treaſury, which had ever been my Lord *Arlington*'s Ambition.

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This gave him an implacable Envy and Hatred againſt my Lord *Danby*, which no Offices of Friends cou'd ever allay. He was not well with the Nation for having had ſuch a Part in breaking the Courſe of the Triple Alliance, and making that with *France*, for the Ruin of *Holland*, and, as was commonly thought, for ſome Ends more diſpleaſing at Home. Yet when the ill Humour of the Parliament had broken the Deſigns of the Cabal, and made my Lord *Shaftsbury* ſhift his Sails and fall into the popular Stream, my Lord *Arlington* had gone ſo far upon the ſame Scent, as to joyn with the Duke of *Ormond* and Secretary *Coventry* to perſuade the King to remove the Duke wholly from Court and publick Buſineſs, as a Means to appeaſe the Diſcontents of the Parliament, upon ſome Jealouſies the late Conduct of Affairs had rais'd among them. By this Council my Lord *Arlington* had very much offended the Duke; and finding himſelf ill with His Royal Highneſs, with the Parliament, and every Day declining in Credit with the King, he thought there was no Way of retrieving his Game, but by making himſelf the Inſtrument of ſome ſecret and cloſe Meaſures that might be taken between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He firſt infus'd into His Majeſty the Neceſſity and Advantage of ſuch a Negotiation, and then that of his being employ'd in it, from the Intereſt his Lady's Friends and Kindred in *Holland* wou'd be able to give him, as well as from the Credit of having been ſo long in the Secret of the King's Affairs, and ſo beſt able to give them ſuch Colours as might render the late Conduct of them leſs diſagreeable to the Prince. Tho' he profeſs'd great Friendſhip to me, yet he repreſented me as unlikely to be treated with ſuch a Confidence from the Prince as was requiſite in this Affair, for having been ſo intimate with Monſieur *De Wit* in my former Ambaſſy; and gave the Prince's Unwillingneſs to ſee me during the Campaign, as a Teſtimony of his Diſlike, or at leaſt Indifferency to me. He propos'd going over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Arlington*, but Madam *Beverwaert* her Siſter, who had ſomething in her Humour and Converſation very agreeable to the Prince; Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who took himſelf to be in great Credit in that Court, where he had ſerv'd long, and particularly with Monſieur *Bentinck*: Nor was it forgot to carry over Dr. *Durel*, as a Man fit to practiſe Monſieur *De Mareſt* a *French* Miniſter, who was thought to have Credit with the Prince; and my Lord *Oſſory* was known to have a great Part in his Kindneſs and Eſteem, as well from his Marriage into the *Beverwaert* Family, as from his Bravery ſo much applauded in all Actions where he had been, which was a Quality lov'd by the Prince, tho' employed againſt him.

My Lord *Danby* had been made to believe, that a Letter from the Prince to Monſieur *Odyke*, then one of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors in *England*, had given Occaſion for this Journey, as if the Prince had deſir'd ſome Perſon there from the King, with whom he might enter into the laſt Confidence; but the Prince aſſur'd me there was no ſuch Thing, and that Monſieur *de Ruvigny*, the *French* Miniſter at *London*, had more Part in this Journey than he, or perhaps any body elſe; and that all the Endeavours uſed towards a Peace, came from that Side.

However inſtructed, at leaſt thus accompany'd, my Lord *Arlington* came to the *Hague*; where he told me at our firſt Meeting, that he came over to ſet right ſome Things between the King and the Prince that he doubted were amiſs, and to ſettle a perfect Kindneſs and Confidence between them for the Time to come: That to do this he muſt go to the Bottom of the Sore, and rake into Things paſt, which was an unpleaſant Work, and which I cou'd not do, as having no Part in the King's Buſineſs during that Time wherein the Prince took his Offence at our Counſels: That the King had choſen him for this Office, becauſe he cou'd beſt juſtify His Majeſty's Intentions towards His Highneſs in the whole Courſe of that Affair: That for the Peace, tho' His Majeſty deſir'd it, yet he wou'd not meddle in it, unleſs the Prince of himſelf made any Overtures about it; but wou'd only en-

deavour to give the Prince what Lights he cou'd as to the State of Things in general, and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as from *France*: That if the Prince made no Advances to him upon it, he wou'd let it fall, and leave it in my Hands to be purſu'd by the Orders I ſhou'd receive: That he knew very well ſuch a Commiſſion as his might look unkind, if not injurious, to another Ambaſſador, and that he wou'd not have come if any other had been here; but the King, as well as he, reckon'd ſo far upon the Friendſhip between us, that they were both confident of my being eaſy in it, and giving him any Aſſiſtance he ſhou'd want from me, which he wou'd acquaint me with as the Matter proceeded. He ſaid beſides, That after having fought the King's Battle with the Prince, he muſt fight another of his own, who did not deſerve the Coldneſs His Highneſs had of late expreſs'd to him; and when this was done, all his Buſineſs was ended here, and the reſt wou'd be only ſeeing his Friends, and finding ſome Diverſions from a new Scene: That he deſir'd I wou'd, according to the Forms, bring him and my Lord *Oſſory* the firſt Time to the Prince, and after that they wou'd ſee him no more in Ceremony, nor give me that Trouble.

I told his Lordſhip I was very glad to ſee him, let his Buſineſs be what it wou'd: That I ſhou'd be gladder yet that the King's Buſineſs ſhou'd be done, let it be by whom it wou'd, but much more that it might be by him: That for ſetting Matters right between the King and the Prince, I thought it the beſt Office cou'd be done them both: That for the Way he mention'd of raking into the Sore, and fighting Battles in Defence or Juſtification of what was paſt, I knew not what to ſay to it, but wou'd leave it to his own Prudence; but from what I knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that Sort, I believ'd, ſhou'd be very gentle, and not go too deep; and for my own part was always of Opinion, That *Expoſtulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends*: That I wou'd ſend to the Prince for an Hour; and when I had brought him to His Highneſs, I wou'd leave him there after the firſt Entrances were paſt, and deſir'd no other Part in this Affair than what he thought neceſſary to give me; whenever he did, I ſhou'd ſerve him the beſt I cou'd in ſo good an Endeavour; and for the reſt, I ſhou'd leave the Field free to my Lord *Oſſory* and him, while they ſtaid at the *Hague*, as to all that was Secret: As to the reſt, I deſir'd they wou'd make what Uſe they pleas'd of me and my Houſe.

My Lord *Arlington* took all I ſaid very well; ſaid, 'Twas not neceſſary I ſhou'd leave them after I had introduc'd them to the Prince, but in ſuch a Manner as I ſaw he wou'd not diſlike it, or have any body thought to have any Part in the Succeſſes he expected: So next Morning I brought them to the Prince, and after a Quarter of an Hour's Stay left them together. The Prince wou'd have had me ſtay, but my Lord *Arlington* ſaid not a Word; and I pretended ſome Letters preſs'd me, and ſo went away, and never ſaw them together any more while they ſtaid at the *Hague*, unleſs at Dinner, or in mix'd and publick Company.

The Truth is, I was not the worſe entertain'd during the Courſe of this Adventure; for my Lord *Arlington* told me every Day what he thought fit of all that paſs'd between them; and the Prince told me not only the Thing, but the Manner of it, which was more important than the Matter it ſelf; for this had no Effect, but the other a great deal, and that laſted long. My Lord *Arlington* told me much of his Expoſtulations, and with what good Turns of Wit he had juſtify'd both the King's Part in the late War, and his own; but that upon all he found the Prince dry and ſullen, or at the beſt uneaſy, and as if he wiſh'd it ended: That upon Diſcourſe of the State of *Chriſtendom*, and what related to the War he was engag'd in, he made him no Overtures at all, nor entered further, Than that the King might bring him out of it with Honour if he pleas'd, and with Safety to *Chriſtendom*; if not, it muſt go on till the Fortunes of the Parties changing, made Way for other Thoughts than he believ'd either of them had at this Time: That

this

this might happen after another Campaign, which none but His Majesty cou'd prevent, by inducing *France* to such Terms as he thought just and safe for the rest of *Christendom*.

This was the Sum of what my Lord *Arlington* pretended to have pass'd in Three long Conferences; after which it grew so uneasy between them, that he told me he had absolutely given it over, and wou'd not say a Word more of Business while he was there, and attended His Majesty's Orders after the Return of his Dispatches; but wou'd divert himself in the mean time as well as he cou'd, see the Prince as often as he pleas'd at Dinner, or in Company, but ask it no more in private, unless the Prince of himself desir'd it; and upon the whole, gave all the Signs of being equally disappointed and discontented with the Success of this Undertaking.

The Prince, on the other side, told me with what Arrogance and Insolence my Lord *Arlington* had entered upon all his Expostulations with him, both upon the King's Chapter and his own: That it was not only in the Discourses of it, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, that he cou'd by his Wit make good what he pleas'd; but in the Manner he said all upon that Subject, it was as if he had taken himself for the Prince of *Orange*, and him for my Lord *Arlington*: That all he said was so artificial, and giving such false Colours to Things every body knew, that he that was a plain Man could not bear it, and was never so weary of any Conversation in his Life. In short, all the Prince told me upon it look'd spighted at my Lord *Arlington*, and not very much satisfy'd with the King's Intentions upon this Errand; tho' he said he was sure His Majesty never intended he shou'd treat it in the Manner he had, if he remember'd that he was his Nephew, tho nothing else.

After the first Conversations, my Lord *Arlington* staid near Six Weeks in *Holland*, either upon contrary Winds to return his Dispatches, or to carry him away, often at Dinner with the Prince at Court, or at Count *Waldeck's*, or Monsieur *Odyke's*, or with me, putting on the best Humour and Countenance, affecting the Figure of one that had nothing of Business in his Head, or in the Design of this Journey, but at Heart weary of his Stay in *Holland*, and unwilling to return with no better Account of his Errand; and, as it prov'd, he had Reason for both.

I found the Pensioner and Count *Waldeck* thought, That the Bent of my Lord *Arlington* was to draw the Prince into such Measures of a Peace as *France* then so much desir'd; into a Discovery of those Persons who had made Advances to the Prince or the States of raising Commotions in *England* during the late War; into secret Measures with the King of assisting him against any Rebels at home, as well as Enemies abroad; and into the Hopes or Designs of a Match with the Duke's eldest Daughter: Tho' they said he found the Prince wou'd not enter at all into the First, was obstinate against the Second, treated the Third as a Disrespect to the King, to think he could be so ill beloved, or so imprudent, to need it; and upon Mention made of the last by my Lord *Ossory*, he took no further hold of it than saying, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.*

Thus ended this Mystical Journey, which I have the rather unveil'd, because, perhaps, no other could do it; not I, without so many several Lights from so many several Hands; and because, though it brought forth no present Fruits, yet Seeds were then scattered, out of which sprung afterwards some very great Events.

My Lord *Arlington* return'd, was received but coldly by the King, and ill by the Duke, who was angry that any Mention had been made of the Lady *Mary*, tho' it was done only by my Lord *Ossory*, and whether with Order from the King or not, was not known: So as never any Strain of Court-skill and Contrivance succeeded so unfortunately as this had done, and so contrary to all the Ends the Author of it propos'd to himself. Instead of advancing the Peace, he left it desperate; instead of establishing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; instead of entering into great Personal Confidence and Friendship with the Prince, he left an

an Unkindneſs that laſted ever after; inſtead of retrieving his own Credit at Court, which he found waining upon the Increaſe of my Lord *Danby's*, he made an End of all he had left with the King, who never after us'd him with any Confidence further than the Forms of his Place; and found my Lord Treaſurer's Credit with the King more advanc'd in Six Weeks he had been away, than it had done in many Months before.

Whatever was the Occaſion, *France* had this Winter an extream Deſire of a Peace; and left no Way unattempted to obtain it, that might not too much diſcover the Need they had of it. I ſuppoſe they might apprehend what the Confederates reckon'd upon, with perhaps too much Aſſurance, That if they cou'd gain one Battle, they ſhould certainly enter *France*; and if ever they did, the ill Humours grown under this late Government wou'd certainly break out, and make Way for all the Succeſſes and Ravages they propoſed to themſelves; or at leaſt, for ſuch Terms of a Peace as would leave all the Neighbours of that Crown in Safety and Quiet. A Talk was ſet on foot of a Marriage between *Monſieur's* eldeſt Daughter and the King of *Spain*, in the Heat of the War: A Suſpenſion of Arms was propos'd at *Vienne* by Count *Oxenſtiern* the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador; and the ſending Plenipotentaries immediately after to treat the Peace, with Offers, in caſe this were agreed to, that the Affair of Prince *William* of *Furſtemburg* ſhou'd be reſpited till the End of the Treaty, and Paſports ſhou'd be granted for the Duke of *Lorrain's* Miniſters, upon which Difficulties had been made: Practices were uſed with the Princes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenburg*, to diſjoin them from the Common Alliance. And a particular Intelligence was held between the Marſhal *d'Eſtrades* and one who had been Penſioner of *Maeſtricht*, who communicated all his Letters to the Penſioner *Fagel*: But the Sum of all, was Inſtances for a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*; a Breach of their Meaſures with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and Return of the old ones with *France*, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that cou'd be to the States in Point of Commerce, and all the Perſonal ones that could be deſired by a Prince of *Orange*.

But the Prince was unmoveable in the Point of not leaving his Allies; tho' he began to foreſee he was like to play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field, and perhaps a harder with the People at Home, who grew impatient for a Peace, both upon the cruel Taxes the War had rais'd, and upon the preſent Decay of Trade, as well as Apprehenſion, that with longer Continuance of a War, it wou'd run ſo far into a new Channel by *England* as never to be retriev'd. Upon theſe Conſiderations, the Prince reſolv'd to make one Effort towards a Peace with Honour before this Seaſon ended, and made all further Thoughts of it give Way to the Actions of the approaching Campaign. His Scheme was this; That a Match ſhould be made between the King of *Spain* and *Mademoiſelle*: That *France* ſhou'd give with her in Dowry the late conquer'd Places in *Flanders*: That the King ſhou'd make this Match, and upon theſe Terms; and that he ſhou'd have Two hundred Thouſand Pounds for his good Offices in it. By this Means a Peace wou'd be made with Saſety to *Spain* and to *Holland*, by ſecuring again the Frontiers of *Flanders*; with Honour to *France*, who parted with the conquer'd Towns only as Dowry to a Daughter of *France*; without any Blemiſh to the Prince's Honour or Faith in his Allies; and with Honour and Profit both to His Majeſty, which laſt was thought no unwelcome Circumſtance at that Time in our Court.

This the Prince and Penſioner having digeſted the beſt Way they could, and deduc'd to me, deſir'd me to propoſe to the King; as the only Way of making the Peace he ſo much deſir'd; as a Thing they were ſure he cou'd do, and that *France* cou'd not deny him if he wou'd preſs it; and as the laſt Degree of Favour His Majeſty cou'd expreſs to the Prince, who could no other Way come out of this War with Honour. They deſir'd me to write it to the King himſelf, and that nothing might be ſaid of it to any other Perſon, till His Majeſty ſhould return me His Opinion upon it.

I

I did ſo by two Letters to the King, but had no Hopes given me that it would be effected: Whether *France* took the Deſires of the Prince for an Argument of his being weary of the War, or that he found the People were ſo; or whether they would not end the War, without breaking the Force and Confidence of the preſent Alliance, or (as the Prince thought) without leaving *Flanders* open for another Invaſion, when ſome better Conjuncture ſhould make Way for it; or whether the Revolt of *Meſſina* had given them Hopes of diſabling *Spain*, by drawing their Forces on that Side, and diſpoſing them to a Peace by this Wound in a Part ſo tender, and that might ſpread ſo far into *Italy*; or whether they had now abſolutely engag'd the Crown of *Sweden* to enter into the War, and believ'd that by the Impreſſion that Crown wou'd make in *Pomerania*, they might not only recall the Duke of *Brandenburg* and his Forces from the *Rhine*, but if they ſucceeded, might ſo alarm the Empire on that Side, as to break, or very much weaken, any Conjunction of their Forces next Summer on this Side of the *Rhine*. However it was, this Attempt of the Prince fail'd, and ſo all further Thoughts of a preſent Peace ended, and left me only to purſue the cold Scent of a Mediation in the common Forms, while the Preparations were making on all Sides for a warm Summer in the Field.

The Prince this *February* went into *Gelderland*, to eſtabliſh the new Magiſtracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. Whilſt he was there, the Deputies of that Province, by unanimous Conſent, made him an Offer of the Soveraignty of that Country, with the ancient Title of *Duke of* Gelderland, which they pretended had been formerly in ſome of his Anceſtors. The Prince ſaid, *He wou'd give them no Anſwer upon an Affair of ſuch Moment, without firſt adviſing with the other Provinces.* He immediately writ to thoſe of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, to communicate this Offer to them, and demand their Advice upon it. *Zealand* return'd theirs againſt his accepting it; grounding it upon the Jealouſies it might raiſe in the other Provinces, and Inconſiſtence of it with the Conſtitutions of their Union, which left none of the Provinces at Liberty to diſpoſe of their Soveraignty without Conſent of the reſt. *Utrecht* return'd their Anſwer with Advice to accept it. *Holland* was longer, depending upon the Delays neceſſary in running the Circle of ſo many Towns: So that before it was concluded, the Prince, upon receiving the Advice of *Utrecht*, returned them immediately his Anſwer, with Notice, That he had excus'd himſelf to the States of *Gelderland*, from accepting the Offer they had made him.

Nothing cou'd more imploy the buſy Heads of this Time, than the Courſe of this Affair; ſome attributing it to the Ambition of the Prince, and preſaging the ſame Deſign upon the reſt of the Provinces; others laying it to the Charge of ſome of his young Counſellors; others to a Deſign of ſounding the Humour of the Provinces, and of having the Honour to refuſe it, after they ſhould all have adviſ'd him to accept it, as 'twas believ'd they wou'd do. For my own part, I can ſay nothing of it with Certainty, having never ſeen the Prince while it was upon the Anvil, nor diſcourſed with him upon this Subject either before or after: But if it were an Ambition bent upon the Soveraignty of the reſt of the Provinces, as well as *Gelderland*, it was a Deſign very different from all his Proceedings in the Courſe of the War, when *France* had propos'd it to him with all the Advantages and Support that cou'd be; and as different from what he had ever ſeem'd to underſtand, and to be as much perſuaded of as any Man, That a Soveraign Prince in *Holland* would certainly and ſoon ruin the Trade, and conſequently the Riches and Greatneſs of that State, and leave a Prince of it without Power or Conſideration in the World; whereas the Princes of *Orange*, in the Poſt they have held for Four Generations, have entered into Wars and Treaties with a Regard and Weight equal to moſt of the Kings of *Chriſtendom*. For young Counſellors that were thought to have engag'd the Prince in this Adventure, I cannot ſpeak with more Certainty than of the Intention; but I am ſure if they were in it, they were not alone; for none doubts of Monſieur *Fagel*'s having

having been for it; and Monſieur *Beverning*, who was ever thought as ſtanch a Patriot as any Man among them, told me himſelf, that he had adviſ'd the Prince to accept it; which I believe he would not have done, if he had foreſeen any Danger from it to his Country. But whether the Prince or his Friends had the Part that was commonly thought in the firſt Overture, 'tis certain an Intereſt of the Deputies and Magiſtrates, as well as Nobles of *Gelderland*, had a Share in it too. For whereas this is the firſt Province in the Union, and abounds with Nobles more than all the reſt; yet, by reaſon of their Poverty from a barren Soil, and want of Trade, they are leſs conſider'd than ſeveral other Provinces, and their Voice has been in a manner ſwallow'd up by that of *Holland*, who, by their Trade and Riches, have a great Influence upon thoſe of *Gelderland*. The Deputies of this Province finding themſelves yet leſs conſiderable in the Union than they were before the War, which had extreamly impoveriſh'd their Country during the *French* Conqueſts, thought there was no Way of recovering ſuch a Conſideration in the State, as ſuited with the Rank and Dignity they held, but devolving the Soveraignty of their Province upon the Prince of *Orange*. Beſides, many of the Nobles there having Pretences for themſelves or their Friends in the Military Imployments, thought to make their Court to the Prince, upon whom thoſe Charges depended, by advancing ſuch a Propoſition: And this was certainly a great Ingredient into the firſt Conception of it; but whether conniv'd at, or ſeconded by the Prince, or his Friends, or with what Aims or Inſtructions, I cannot ſay; and ſo leave it as a Muſhroom that grew up ſuddenly, and as ſuddenly wither'd, and left no Sign where it had grown.

At the Prince's Return to the *Hague* in *March* 1675, I receiv'd a Letter from his Majeſty's own Hand, telling me of ſome Advices given him, that the Prince intended to come over into *England* againſt the approaching Seſſion of Parliament, and commanding me to hinder it, as if his Majeſty believed the thing. I adventur'd to aſſure the King there could be nothing in it, before I ſaw the Prince; but when I did, I pretended not to have had it from his Majeſty, but that I heard ſuch a thing had been whiſper'd to him. He ſaid, Yes, and he believ'd by Lord *Arlington*, who had ſometimes talk'd of that Journey after the Peace ſhould be made; however it came, he was ſorry the King ſhould believe it: That he was his Majeſty's Servant, and if he could do him no Service, he would at leaſt do him no Harm: But if the King would be otherwiſe poſſeſs'd, he could not help it; yet he deſir'd me to aſſure him, there had never been any Ground for ſuch a Report. In the Afternoon the Prince came to me, and told me in great Heat, he had, ſince he ſaw me, receiv'd the moſt impertinent Letter from Lord *Arlington* that ever was upon that Subject, treating it as a Reſolution certain and intended for raiſing Heats in the Parliament, and Commotions in the Kingdom; telling him, 'twas like to prove but an ill Friendſhip between the King and him, if it were to be made, *A coup de Batons* [*With Blows*;] and putting him in mind, *Qu'il y a des playes chez vous, qui ſaigneront encore ſi l'on y met la main*, [*That there are ſome Wounds among you, which will bleed afreſh if they be but touched.*] The Prince ſaid he knew well enough what Lord *Arlington* meant by that Expreſſion, for he had told Monſieur *Van Rheede* in *England*, when he went over upon the firſt Motions of the laſt Peace, that the King could make the Prince be ſerv'd as *De Wit* was, if he would ſet himſelf about it. Upon this he fell into the greateſt Rage that ever I ſaw him, againſt my Lord *Arlington*, calling this Proceeding malicious and inſolent, ſaying, he would write to him what he deſerv'd, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common Forms: That ſince he knew not how to truſt the King's Miniſters, he would write to the King himſelf, and deſir'd me to convey his Letters ſo as they might come to no other Hand.

Soon after Count *Waldeck* went to *Vienna* to concert the Actions of the next Campaign, where Count *Montecuculi*, was appointed to command the Imperial Forces inſtead of the Duke *De Bournonville*; and the Count *De Souches* was ſent away into a Government in *Hungary*. In *March* the Elector of *Brandenburg*

denburg came to *Cleves* upon the ſame Concert, where he was met by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marqueſs *De Grana* the Emperor's Miniſter: But the main Point debated here, was thought to be the Defence neceſſary to be made in *Pomerania* againſt the *Swede*, who began now to throw off the Mask, to ravage the Country, and to attack ſome Places neceſſary for their Quarters. The Money likewiſe paid that Court from *France* at *Hamburg* had been ſo publick and ſo avow'd, that none further doubted of a ſudden and open Rupture from that Crown. Whereupon the States ſent to Monſieur *Ehernſtein* (then *Swediſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, and who would have kept ſtill the Figure of a Mediator) to put in no more Memorials to the States upon that Occaſion; ſince they could not receive them from a Miniſter, whoſe Prince had openly, and without Cauſe, attack'd one of their Allies.

At this time arriv'd an Ambaſſador from *Denmark* at the *Hague*, to try what Advantages his Maſter could make of this preſent Conjuncture, by Terms of entering into the Alliance againſt *France* and *Sweden*. And all things being thus in the higheſt Fermentation, a ſudden Damp fell upon the whole Maſs of theſe great Affairs by the Sickneſs of the Prince of *Orange*; which ſhew'd him to be the Spring that gave Motion to all the other Wheels; for while his Illneſs laſted, and the Event was doubtful, all was in ſuſpence, and none of the Parties engag'd ſeem'd to have other Motions or Sentiments than what were rais'd by the Hopes or Fears of ſo important a Life. After ſome Days Feaver it prov'd the Small-Pox, which had been very fatal in his Family, and gave the greater Apprenſions to his Friends, and his Country, who expreſs'd indeed a ſtrange Concernment upon this Occaſion, by a perpetual Concourſe of People to enquire after every Minute's Progreſs of his Illneſs. Whilſt it laſted, he had taken a Fancy hardly to eat or drink any thing but what came from my Houſe, which the People after took Notice of as it paſs'd; and though perhaps few Foreigners have had the Luck to be better thought of or us'd in a ſtrange Country, than we had ever been in *Holland*; yet ſeveral of our *Dutch* Friends told us, that in caſe any thing fatal happen'd to the Prince from this Diſeaſe, they believ'd the People would pull down our Houſes, and tear us all in Pieces, upon knowing what he took in his Sickneſs came from our Hands. God be thank'd all paſs'd without any bad Accident, though ill Symptoms at firſt; and his Recovery, next to the Bleſſing of God, was owing to the great Evenneſs of his Temper, and Conſtancy of Mind, which gave Way to no Impreſſions or Imaginations that uſe to be of ſo ill Conſequence in that Diſeaſe; ſo that it paſs'd in the common Forms, and within twenty Days he was abroad, and fell into the preſent Buſineſs of the Scene, among which the Preparations for the Campaign was the chief.

I cannot here forbear to give Monſieur *Bentinck* the Character due to him, of the beſt Servant I have ever known in Prince's or private Family. He tended his Maſter, during the whole courſe of his Diſeaſe, both Night and Day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever remov'd in his Bed, by any other Hand; and the Prince told me, that whether he ſlept or not he could not tell, but in ſixteen Days and Nights, he never call'd once that he was not anſwer'd by Monſieur *Bentinck*, as if he had been awake. The firſt time the Prince was well enough to have his Head open'd and comb'd, Monſieur *Bentinck*, as ſoon as it was done, begg'd of his Maſter to give him leave to go home, for he was able to hold up no longer: He did ſo, and fell immediately Sick of the ſame Diſeaſe, and in great Extremity; but recover'd juſt ſoon enough to attend his Maſter into the Field, where he was ever next his Perſon.

The Campaign happen'd to begin later than it us'd to do on the *French* ſide; both from the Expectation what the Prince's Sickneſs would end in, and from ſome Commotions ſucceeding one another about this Time in *Guyenne* and *Brittany*, upon Occaſion of the Impoſts or Gabels, which drew ſome of the *French* Forces into thoſe Parts. But when thoſe Troubles were ended

as they were by an unuſual ſtrain of Lenity and Clemency in compoſing them, all imaginable endeavours were us'd to prepare in *France* for the Campaign: The King intended to Attack *Flanders* in the Head of all the choice of his Forces, and with the greateſt Vigour and Impreſſion he could make this Year upon the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; yet the King pretended to be but a Volunteer in the Army, of which he declar'd the Prince of *Conde* General, whether to put the greateſt Compliment he could on ſo great Merit, or to hinder his Brother from making difficulty of Acting under that Prince's Orders. And Monſieur *De Turenne* was to be employ'd in *Alſace*, to attend and amuſe as much as he could the *German* Army, for fear of giving the King too much Diverſion in *Flanders:* And this with Orders to Act by concert with Count *Wrangel*, General of the *Swediſh* Forces in *Pomerania*, who gave hopes of marching ſo far into *Germany* as to concert his Actions, or at leaſt Motions, with thoſe of Monſieur *De Turenne*. On the other ſide, the Confederates were as buſy in their proviſions againſt theſe Deſigns. The Elector of *Mentz* was drawn to throw off the remainders of his Neutrality, and to receive the Imperial Troops into his Towns, as *Strasburg* had done; and Practices were ſet on Foot to change the Temper of the Court of *Bavaria*, with hopes of Succeſs. *Montecuculi* prepar'd to come down into *Alſace* with the Army of the Emperor and the adjoining Circles; and the Elector of *Brandenburg* came to the *Hague* after the Prince of *Orange*'s Illneſs, where Treaties were concluded with the King of *Denmark*'s Miniſters, and renewed with the Duke of *Lunenburg*. After which the Elector went immediately away to the Relief of his own Subjects and Country, then invaded and ſpoil'd by the open Hoſtility of the *Swediſh* Forces. Whilſt he was at the *Hague*, the Compliments paſs'd in Form between us, but without Viſit or Interview, tho' the Elector deſir'd and purſu'd it with more Inſtance than I well underſtood: For he ſent his Miniſter at the *Hague* firſt to me, and afterwards engag'd the Prince himſelf to endeavour it, by finding ſome Expedient in the Difficulties of Ceremony, or elſe by propoſing a third Place. But the *French* Ambaſſadors having taken up a Form of refuſing to viſit any Elector, unleſs they might have the Hand given them in thoſe Princes Houſes, and the Electors having never conſented to it, I told the Prince I could not go lower than the *French* Ambaſſadors did, in that or any other Point; and that meeting in a third Place would look like a ſort of approving the Refuſal made by the Electors: And ſo I never ſaw this Prince during his Stay at the *Hague*; much to my Regret, becauſe I had been poſſeſs'd of many Qualities very eſtimable in him.

In the mean time, how uſeleſs ſoever for the preſent, yet the Forms of his Majeſty's Mediation went on. After it had been accepted by all Parties, the firſt Point that came to be conſider'd was the Place of Treaty; about which, the *Swedes* could not ſurmount the Difficulties during the Courſe of their Mediation. The Houſe of *Auſtria* propos'd to have the Congreſs in ſome of the free Towns of the Empire, as *Francfort*, *Hamburg*, *Strasburg*, and ſome others: *France* refus'd ever to come into any Town of the Empire, upon the Inſults they receiv'd and complain'd of ſo much, at *Cologne*, in the Seiſure of Prince *William* of *Furſtemburg*, and a great Sum of the *French* Money there; but offer'd at the ſame Time to come and treat at *Breda*, tho' belonging to one of the Parties engag'd in the War, which they would make paſs for a great Condeſcenſion, and Teſtimony of that King's Inclination to a Peace.

The Confederates on the other Side would not hear of *Breda:* They took that Propoſition as an Artifice, firſt, to ingratiate with the States beyond the reſt of their Allies; but next, which was the Point of Importance, they look'd upon it as deſigned to carry on either a ſeparate Treaty with the States, or at leaſt private Meaſures and Correſpondencies with ſeveral Towns and Perſons of thoſe Provinces, ſo as to induce, or force the States at laſt into a ſeparate Treaty with *France*, upon the Difficulties or Delays that might ariſe in a General one. And upon this Point the Allies were ſo jealous, that the States Deputies of the Foreign Committee, who manag'd all theſe Affairs in the firſt Reſort, thought it neceſſary to ſeem as averſe againſt treating in any of their

their Dominions, as any of the Allies. Thus all Places in *Germany*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, ſeem'd abſolutely excluded by one part or other; and *London* was diſlik'd by all, as too remote, and of difficult and uncertain Commerce for Letters, by reaſon of the Sea. After much Perplexity upon this Subject in many Conferences I had with the Deputies, and Diſcourſes with the Penſioner, I propos'd two Places as the only I could think of left for any Attempt upon all Circumſtances. The firſt was *Cleves*, which could not be ſaid to belong to the Empire, but to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, as Duke of *Cleves*, and not as a Prince of the Empire. The other was *Nimeguen*, as being the laſt Town belonging to the States, and upon the Borders of *Germany*. Both Towns capable of ſuch a Reception as was neceſſary; both in good Air, and eaſie of Acceſs from all Parts; center'd between *Spain* and *Sweden*, between the *Empire* and *France*, and near *England*, where the Spring of this Treaty was conceiv'd to be. I thought *France* might not diſlike *Cleves*, even upon thoſe Regards the Allies ſuſpected of the Vicinity to the States; and the Confederates could not except againſt it, as belonging to one of them. On the other Side, if the Allies approv'd *Cleves*, and *France* ſhould refuſe it; yet they could not afterwards diſapprove of *Nimeguen*, which was but Three Leagues nearer the *Hague* or *Amſterdam* (where they ſuſpected the *French* Practices) and disjoin'd from both by neceſſary Paſſage of great Rivers, which made the Commerce more difficult and ſlow than it wou'd be from other Towns of the States Dominions. Another Reaſon was, That I knew no other to name that did not ſeem previouſly excluded: And upon this the Deputies conſented that I ſhould propoſe both to the King, that he might do the ſame to all the Parties; but that I ſhou'd begin with *Cleves*, which I did.

This *France* refus'd, upon Pretence of ſome Dependence upon the Empire; but, as was thought, upon Picque to the Duke of *Brandenburg*, with whom they were more offended at this Time than with any of the Allies. After this Refuſal, *Nimeguen* being advanc'd, *France* firſt accepted it; and afterwards the Allies, who could not well refuſe it, after having expreſs'd they would have been ſatisfy'd with *Cleves*: And ſo this Place came to be fix'd for the Scene of this Negotiation.

But at the ſame time that *France* accepted the Place of Treaty, they declar'd, That they wou'd not however ſend any Ambaſſadors thither, till the Emperor had given them Satisfaction upon the Two Points ſo long inſiſted on, of *Prince William* of *Furſtemburg*'s Liberty, and Reſtitution of the Money ſeiz'd at *Cologne*; which were Points had been hitherto as obſtinately refus'd at *Vienna*, as demanded by *France*: So as theſe Paces towards a Peace gain'd at preſent very little Ground; but left Way for the Actions and Succeſſes of the enſuing Campaign, to determine the Times, the Methods, and Conditions of the pretended Treaty.

The *French* began their Action by the Siege of *Limbourg*, with one Part of their Army; whilſt the King, with the reſt, lay encamp'd in a Poſt moſt convenient to oppoſe any Attempt of relieving it, to which Purpoſe the Prince was upon his March; but after a ſhort and weak Reſiſtance it was taken, before he cou'd approach it: For, beſides ſome Delays forc'd by his Sickneſs, he began here to feel the Weight that hung about him in all the Courſe of this War, from the uncertain and ſlow Marches of the *German* Horſe, and the Weakneſs and Diſorders of the *Spaniſh* Troops; which were neceſſary to make up his Army of Strength to oppoſe that of *France*, compos'd of ſuch Numbers, ſuch brave and experienc'd Troops, and under ſo great a Commander as the Prince of *Conde*, and ſo gallant Officers.

After the taking of *Limbourg*, the *French* and Confederate Armies in *Flanders* fell into no conſiderable Action or Attempt: Neither daring to ſit down before any Place of Strength, whilſt the other Army attended them, and was ready to relieve it; and neither ſeeming very earneſt to come to a Battle (unleſs with evident Advantages) upon the Loſs of which ſo great Conſequences ſeem'd to depend, as the *French* entire Conqueſt of *Flanders* on one

Side, on the Confederates marching directly into *France* on the other, after any great Victory. Besides, they seem'd to be amus'd by the Expectation of what was likely to pass in *Germany*, both upon the *Rhine* between the *Imperialists* and *French*, and in *Pomerania* between the *Swede* and *Brandenburg*; which, without new Successes in the *Low-Countries*, were like to decide, in a great measure, the Fate of this War; whilst the Confederates equally presum'd of their Successes in *Alsace*, and the *French* of those of the *Swedes* in the North.

About the End of *July*, the King of *France*, weary of a dull Campaign, left the Army to the Prince of *Conde*, and return'd with his Court to *Versailles*; and the same Month, His Majesty seeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid at present asleep, sent for me to make a short Turn into *England*, and give an Account of all the Observations I had been able to make abroad upon the present Dispositions and Conjunctures, as well as receive his Instructions for the future Progress of his Mediation.

The Parliament in *England*, tho' much pleas'd with the last Peace with *Holland*, yet were not so with His Majesty's Desires of a General one. They thought the Power of *France* too great since their last Conquests in *Flanders*: and their Ambition too declar'd, of atchieving it by one Means, and at one Time or other. They were suspicious of the Court's favouring too much the *French* Designs, by pursuing a Peace that wou'd break so mighty a Confederacy as was now united against *France*. They were jealous of the Counsels which had made the late Alliance and Kindness between us and *France* in the Time of the late Cabal. And besides these Regards, and the common Notions of balancing the Power of our Neighbours, which were very popular; the ambitious Designs of private, but unquiet or aspiring Men, fell in to augment and blow up the general ill Humours upon the more publick Accounts.

The Lord *Shaftsbury*, impatient at his Fall from so great a Share of the Ministry, and hoping to retrieve a Game he was forc'd to give over, had run desperately into the popular Humour, both in Parliament and City, of censuring the Court, exclaiming against our Partiality to *France*, but most of all against the Conduct of the present Ministry: And Lord *Arlington* was so enrag'd at the Growth of my Lord Treasurer's Credit upon the Fall of his own, that he fell in with the common Humour of the Parliament, in fomenting those Jealousies and Practices in the House of Commons, which center'd in a Measure agreed among the most considerable of them, *Not to consent to give the King any Money whilst the present Lord Treasurer continu'd.* Upon these Occasions or Dispositions they grew very high in pursuing the Lord *Lauderdale*, the only Remainder of the Cabal that had now any Credit left at Court; and they press'd the King very earnestly to recall all the *English* Troops in the *French* Service, tho' there was a greater Number in the *Dutch*: But besides, they fell into so great Dissensions between the Two Houses, rais'd upon punctilious Disputes, and Deductions of their several Privileges in opposition to one another, that about the End of *June* the King prorogued them.

Upon my Arrival soon after, His Majesty telling me the several Reasons that had mov'd him to it, said, *That he doubted much, while the War lasted abroad, it wou'd give Occasion or Pretence for these Heats that had of late appear'd in the Parliament, and make him very uneasy in his Revenue, which so much needed their Assistance: That some of the warm Leaders in both Houses had a Mind to engage him in a War against* France, *which they shou'd not do for many Reasons; and, among the rest, because he was sure, if they did, they would leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his Ministers, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King would desire. But besides all this, he doubted an impertinent Quarrel between my Lord Treasurer and Lord Chamberlain did him more Disservice in the Parliament than I could imagine: For the last did not care what Harm he did his Business there, so he could hope to ruin my Lord Treasurer; and had perswaded a great many in the House of Commons, that this wou'd certainly*

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be compaſs'd if they were ſtanch, and declar'd in giving no Money during his Miniſtry: That he knew they were both my Friends, and therefore deſir'd I wou'd try to reconcile them while I ſtaid in England. I endeavour'd it, but fail'd: My Lord *Danby* was very inclinable, being ſo poſted as to deſire only to continue where he was, and that the King's Buſineſs might go well in his Hands; but my Lord *Arlington* was ſo uneaſy in the Poſture he ſtood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord Treaſurer's preſent Greatneſs, that he was untreatable upon this Subject: So when I found the Wound was too much wrankled to be cur'd, I gave it over, telling each of them, That ſince I could not make them Friends, I would at leaſt live with them both as if they were ſo; and deſir'd them not to expect I ſhould ſacrifice one Friend to another. My Lord Treaſurer was content with this Frankneſs, but Lord *Arlington* could not bear this neither, grew dry from this Time, and ſtiff in all that paſs'd between us, ſtill mingling little Reproaches or Touches of my Greatneſs with the other; and grew ſo weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himſelf left out, that he went into the Country for the reſt of the Summer.

Thus the Seeds of Diſcontents that had been ſown in the Parliament under the Counſels of the Cabal, began to ſpring faſt, and root deep, after their Power and Influence was wholly at an End; and thoſe Heats were under other Covers fomented by Two of the Chief that compos'd that Miniſtry, and with Help of Time and Accident grew to ſuch Flames as have ſince appear'd. But whatever began or increas'd them, 'tis certain theſe Agitations in *England* had great Effect upon thoſe of the War and Peace abroad: For the Confederates were confident, That the Humour of the Parliament and People would at laſt engage the King in their Quarrel, which they knew would force *France* to ſuch a Peace as they deſir'd; and *Spain* was ſo preſuming that *England* would not ſuffer the Loſs of *Flanders*, that they grew careleſs of its Defence, or of thoſe Orders and Supplies that were neceſſary to it; truſting for the preſent to the *Dutch* to preſerve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he ſhould find it more in danger. And theſe Conſiderations made the Allies leſs inclinable to a Peace, which they might have had cheaper the following Winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their Share, by Revolutions that were not foreſeen, but yet ſuch as were ſuſpected at this Time, by thoſe that knew the Weakneſs of the *Spaniards*, and Diviſions of the Imperial Court.

While I ſtaid in *England*, which was about Six Weeks, the News came of a great Inſurrection in *Brittany*, which, with the Numbers and Rage it began, might have prov'd of ill Conſequence to the *French* Affairs, if it had met with a Head anſwerable to the Body; but being compos'd of a Scum of the mean People, that hated and ſpoil'd the Nobleſſe of the Province, it was by fair Means partly, and by foul in a little Time appeas'd. The Blow, which was much more conſiderable to *France*, than the Loſs of Provinces would have been, was the Death of Monſieur *De Turenne*, the News whereof came to Court about the ſame Time. This great Captain had for Three Months together kept the Imperial Army at a Bay on t'other Side the *Rhine*; reſolv'd not to fight unleſs with the greateſt Advantage, his Point being to hinder the *German* Forces from beſieging *Philipsburg*, from poſting themſelves in the Towns of *Alſace*, but chiefly from entering into *Lorrain*, or the County of *Burgundy*: All theſe he perform'd; but being preſs'd by the Imperialiſts, and ſtraitened in his Quarters, he ſuffered much by Want of Proviſions, and found his Army diminiſh'd by Sickneſs and Deſertion, which uſe to follow that Condition. At laſt, being neceſſitated for Want of Forage to force a Poſt of the Enemies that ſtraitened him moſt, a warm Skirmiſh began, and with Loſs to the *French*, who were gall'd with Two Pieces of Cannon rais'd upon an Eminence, and playing upon them with Advantage. Monſieur *De Turenne* reſolv'd to raiſe a Battery to diſmount them; and going with *St. Hilaire*, a Lieutenant-General, to chuſe a Place the moſt convenient for it, the Two ſmall Pieces from the Imperial Side fir'd at them almoſt together; one of the Bullets wounded *St. Hilaire* in the Shoulder; and t'other, after Two

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or Three Bounds upon the Ground, ſtruck Monſieur *De Turenne* upon the Breaſt, and without any apparent Wound more than the Contuſion, laid him dead upon the Place, and by ſuch a Death as *Cæſar* us'd to wiſh for, unexpected, ſudden, and without Pain. The Aſtoniſhment was unſpeakable in the *French* Camp upon the Loſs of ſuch a General; the Preſumption as great in that of the Imperialiſts, who reckon'd upon themſelves as Maſters of the whole *French* Army, that was ſtraitened between them and the *Rhine*, in want, diſeas'd, and above all diſcourag'd by the Loſs of their Captain. All others had the ſame Expectations upon this News, but all were diſappointed; and Monſieur *De Lorges* taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the Force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the *Engliſh* Troops, who made ſuch bold Stands in ſeveral Places that they could not be broken till moſt of the Army were march'd off, he paſs'd the *Rhine* in ſight of part of the Imperial Army, and encamp'd himſelf on the other Side in Safety; and ſo preſerv'd it till the Prince of *Conde* was ſent in haſte out of *Flanders*, with a great Enforcement, to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Imperialiſts in *Alſace*.

In the mean time, the Elector of *Brandenburg* drawing his Forces, with ſome Imperialiſts out of *Sileſia*, together, fell upon the *Swedes* in *Pomerania* with that Bravery and Succeſs, that he ſoon beat them out of his Part of the Country, and purſu'd them into their own. He had an Interview with the King of *Denmark*, who was now entered into the Intereſts of the Confederates, and reſolv'd to declare War againſt *Sweden*; and to that end took his Meaſures with the Duke of *Brandenburg* how to purſue it with the beſt Advantage the reſt of the Seaſon.

When the Prince of *Conde* left *Flanders*, to ſucceed Monſieur *De Turenne*, in *Alſace*, the Duke of *Luxemburg* commanded the Army in *Flanders*; but with Orders not to hazard a Battle, and only to obſerve the Prince of *Orange*'s Motions, and to cover any Town that was like to be endanger'd; which he performed ſo well, that no further Action paſs'd this Summer, beſides the Prince's taking and razing of *Binch*. But to make amends for the Unactiveneſs of this Campaign in *Flanders*, the Confederates by Concert on all ſides fell upon an Enterprize of great *Eclat*, and of greater Conſequence, which was the Siege of *Trier*. The Imperialiſts were bent upon it, to open a Paſſage that Way into *France*, finding ſo much Oppoſition in their Deſigns of it by *Alſace*: The *Spaniards* deſired it, to make way for their ſuccouring *Luxemburg* whenever it ſhould be preſs'd, which was of the laſt Importance to them: The Duke of *Lorrain* was violently for it, in hopes of finding a Way open'd for his Entrance into *Lorrain*: The Prince *Palatine* thought it the beſt Preparation for beſieging and carrying *Philipsburg*, which was the Thorn in his Side. So as all theſe joined part of their Troops together, with ſome of the Elector of *Trier*'s, and a Body of the *Lunenburg* Forces under the Dukes of *Zell* and *Oſnabrug*, and ſet down before *Trier*.

The Mareſchal *De Crequi* gather'd all the Forces he could out of the Neighbouring Provinces, and made up a ſtrong Army to relieve it. The Confederates left part of theirs to maintain their Retrenchments about the Town, and march'd with the reſt againſt Monſieur *De Crequi*, paſs'd a River in his Sight, attack'd him, beat him out of the Field with great Slaughter, many Priſoners, and ſuch a Diſperſion of the reſt, that the whole Army ſeem'd to have vaniſh'd in one Day; and Monſieur *De Crequi* got into *Trier* with four or five only in Company: There he made a deſperate Reſiſtance for near a Month againſt the victorious Army, with great Honour and Loſs among the *Engliſh* Troops that were in the Town, and without any Hopes of Relief; nor would he ever capitulate, after all the Extremities he was reduc'd to by the Forms of a Siege, till the Garriſon mutiny'd againſt his Obſtinacy, capitulated for themſelves, and deliver'd up Monſieur *De Crequi* and moſt of the Officers Priſoners to the *Germans*. The Dukes of *Lunenburg* had great Honour in this Action, and the Old Duke of *Lorrain*; and indeed it was one of the moſt vigorous that ſucceeded in the whole Courſe of the War, and carried

the compleateſt Victory, as well as a very conſiderable Town: And the Honour of it was very much due to the Marqueſs *de Grana*, who commanded the Emperor's Forces there, and was eſteem'd to have laid the firſt Deſign, to have concerted the ſeveral Parts of it, engag'd the ſeveral Parties to reſolve upon the ſame Adventure, and kept them firm in it till it was atchiev'd. The Loſs of Men was very great on the *French* Side, both in the Fight and the Siege; and added to Monſieur *De Turenne's* Death, and the Impreſſion expected upon it on that Side from the Count *De Montecuculi*; with the Loſs of the *Swedes*; made ſo great a Change in the Appearance of Affairs, that his Majeſty in a Letter to me, in *September*, after my Return to the *Hague*, bid me uſe it as an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange* to be eaſie in the Buſineſs of a Peace, *That it was now Time for him to begin to apprehend again the Greatneſs of the Houſe of* Auſtria, *inſtead of that of* France. It was indeed expected, that the Imperialiſts in *Alſace* would either enter into *Lorrain*, or at leaſt would take the chief Towns of *Alſace*, and poſt themſelves ſo the following Winter, as to be ready for ſuch an Enterpriſe in the Beginning of the next Spring; and the Count *De Montecuculi* beſieg'd firſt *Haguenau*, and afterwards *Zaberne*, which were the moſt conſiderable Places, to that End. But after *Haguenau* had offer'd to ſurrender upon Conditions, he roſe with his Army to fight the Prince of *Conde*, who made a Motion with his Army as if he intended to relieve it; but ſo order'd it, as the *Germans* fail'd both of the Battle and the Town. It was never comprehended how *Montecuculi* afterwards came to riſe of a ſudden from the Siege of *Zaberne:* Some ſaid, it was upon an expreſs Order from *Vienna* the Night before; others, With deſign of fighting the *French* Army, or beſieging *Philipsburg*; but neither happened: And, which was worſe than all, he ended the Campaign with paſſing back his whole Army over the *Rhine*, and leaving *Alſace* wholly in the Poſſeſſion and at the Mercy of the *French* Troops. Nor have I ever known any Action of ſuch publick Concern, ſo unaccountable as this Retreat; ſince 'tis hard to ſuſpect either Corruption or Court-Faction ſhould go ſo far, tho' both were accus'd of having part in this great and deciſive Event.

The Reſentment of it was thought to have broke the old Duke of *Lorrain's* Heart, who died about this Time, and left Prince *Charles*, his Nephew, the Succeſſion to that Dutchy. No Prince had met with more Misfortunes than this Duke, nor had felt them leſs, or given greater Teſtimony of what Philoſophy teaches, That the Good or Ill of Men's Lives comes more from their Humours than their Fortunes. He was expell'd that Noble and Lovely Dutchy by the Arms of *France* in Cardinal *Richelieu's* Time; forc'd to go into the *Spaniſh* Service in *Flanders* with a Body of *Lorrainers* that would follow his Fortune whatever it was; ſtruggled with Want of Pay to his Troops, with Jealouſie and ill Uſage of the *Spaniſh* Governours; was ſeiz'd and impriſon'd by that Crown; reſtor'd to a ſhatter'd Poſſeſſion of *Lorrain* by the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; and in the Year 1670 forc'd to eſcape by Night, and almoſt alone, by a ſudden Surprize of the *French* Troops, in the Heighth and Security of Peace: After this he never had a Home any more for the reſt of his Life, which was ſpent in ſuing for Protection and Relief from the ſeveral Princes of *Chriſtendom*, who reſented the Injuſtice of his Caſe, which none pretended to defend, but yet none to concern themſelves in it, till upon the laſt War he fell into his Share of the Confederacy, with the Weight of two or three thouſand *Lorrainers* that ſtill follow'd his Fortune, and entered into Leagues with the Emperor and moſt of the Allies for his Reſtitution. He ſeem'd not to deſerve the Fortune of a Prince, only becauſe he ſeem'd not to care for it, to hate the Conſtraints and Ceremonies that belong to it, and to value no Pleaſures in Life but the moſt natural and moſt eaſie; and while he had them, was never out of Humour for wanting the reſt; Generous to his Servants and Soldiers when he had it; and when he wanted, endeavouring to make it up by the Liberties he gave them; very much belov'd and familiar among both: And to give his Picture by a ſmall *Trait*, one of his Miniſters told me, That not long before he died, all his Family was, a Gentleman

man of the Horſe (as he was called), another of his Chamber, and a Boy that look'd to a little Nag he us'd to ride: One Day he called for his Horſe; the two firſt told him, the Boy was not to be found; he bid them however get him his Horſe: They could not agree which of them ſhould go and ſaddle him; till the Duke bid them go, and one or t'other of them do it, or elſe he ſwore he would go down and ſaddle his Horſe himſelf: They were aſham'd, and 'twas done.

About the ſame Time died at the *Hague* the old Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*; a Woman of the moſt Wit and good Senſe, in general, that I have known; and who had thereby a great Part in forming the Race of the Prince, and the mighty Improvement it received from three very extraordinary Women, as well as three ſo great Men in the laſt Deſcents. None has ſhew'd more the Force of Order and Oeconomy than this Princeſs; who with ſmall Revenues, never above twelve thouſand Pounds a Year ſince her Husband's Death, liv'd always in as great Plenty, and more Curiouſneſs and Elegance, than is ſeen in many greater Courts. Among other Pieces of Greatneſs, She was conſtantly ſerved all in Gold Plate, which went ſo far as to great Bottles for Water, and a great Ciſtern for Bottles, to the Key of her Cloſet, and every thing of that kind ſhe uſually touch'd; which I mention, becauſe I think 'tis what the greateſt Kings of *Chriſtendom* have not pretended to, nor any I have heard of on this Side *Perſia*.

In *November* this Year, happen'd a Storm at *North-Weſt*, with a Spring-Tide, ſo violent, as gave Apprehenſions of ſome Loſs irrecoverable to the Province of *Holland*; and by ſeveral Breaches in the great Digues near *Enchuyſen*, and others between *Amſterdam* and *Harlem*, made way for ſuch Inundations as had not been ſeen before by any Man then alive, and filled the Country with many Relations of moſt deplorable Events. But the incredible Diligence and unanimous Endeavours of the People upon ſuch Occaſions, gave a ſtop to the Fury of that Element, and made Way for recovering next Year all the Lands; tho' not the People, Cattle, and Houſes that had been loſt.

Before the End of the Year, the *Danes* took *Wiſmar* from the *Swedes*, and by an open War thoſe two Crowns came to be engaged in the common Quarrel: And after a great Expectation of ſome extraordinary Succeſſes in the *Spaniſh* Affairs from *Don John's* intended Expedition into *Italy*, to command all the Forces and Provinces of that Crown both there and in *Sicily*, when he was ready to go and meet *De Ruyter* at *Barcelonea*, who attended him there, with the *Dutch* Fleet deſign'd for *Meſſina*, he was by a Court-Intrigue recall'd to *Madrid*: The King was then arrived in his Fourteenth Year, and took upon him the Government, as now in Majority; and by the Advice of ſome near him in Favour, writ a Letter to *Don John* to invite him to Court, to aſſiſt him in the Government: He obey'd, but ſtay'd not there above a Fortnight or three Weeks, till by the Credit and Authority of the Queen Mother, he was forc'd to quit his Ground there, and return to *Saragoſſa*. And ſo vaniſh'd a mighty Expectation that had been rais'd in *Spain*, and other Places, of great Effects that were to follow this Prince's coming to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and very great Sums of Money were wholly loſt that had been employ'd in the Preparations of his Journey and Equipage for *Italy*. And *Sicily* was left almoſt hopeleſs of Recovery, from the Succeſſes of the *French*, who had taken many Poſts about *Meſſina*, and threatened many more; and other Towns were feared to follow the Example of that great Revolt.

After the Prince's Return from the Campaign to the *Hague*, in *October*, I had ſeveral Conferences with him upon the Subject of the Peace, and the Terms that both his Majeſty and the States might think reaſonable between *France* and *Spain*, and both thoſe Crowns be in any Probability of conſenting to. That which *France* pretended, was the Terms of the Peace of *Aix*, and retaining the County of *Burgundy* which had been ſince conquered; or if either this Province, or ſome of the moſt important Frontier Towns of *Flanders*, ſhould be reſtored, than an Equivalent to be made them for ſuch Reſtitution. The *Spaniards* talk'd of nothing leſs than the Peace of the *Pyrenees*;

and

and that they would rather loſe the reſt of *Flanders* by the War, than part with *Burgundy* by the Peace; and ſaid, both the King and the States were as much concerned in *Flanders*, as the Crown of *Spain*; and had the ſame Intereſt to ſee it ſafe by a War or a Peace, which could not be by ſuch a Frontier as was left by that of *Aix*.

That which my Lord *Arlington* had propos'd to the Prince and Penſioner; and which paſs'd for His Majeſty's Sentiment, tho' he pretended no Orders, was the Terms of *Aix la Chapelle*: But in regard of the Neceſſity for the *Spaniards* to have a better Frontier in *Flanders* than was left by that Peace, That the *French* ſhould give up *Aeth*, and *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*: And that if they parted with the County of *Burgundy*, it ſhould be for ſomething in Exchange. His Majeſty commanded me to aſſure the Prince, That if a Peace could be made upon theſe Terms, or any ſo near them that he might hope to obtain the Conſent of *France*, His Majeſty for the Security of *Flanders* would give his own Guaranty to the Peace, and enter into the ſtricteſt Alliance the States could deſire for preſerving it, or defending *Flanders* in caſe of a new Rupture. He bid me further aſſure the Prince, That for his Patrimonial Lands in *Burgundy* (which were about eight thouſand Pounds a Year, and Lordſhips of the greateſt Royalty in that County) he would undertake for his ſecure poſſeſſing them, though that County ſhould remain in the *French* Hands; or for ſelling them to that King, and at what Price the Prince himſelf could think fit to value them.

The Prince's Anſwer was, That for his own part he could be very well content to leave the Terms of a Peace to His Majeſty himſelf, and believ'd the States would do ſo too; but they were both engag'd by Treaty and Honour to their Allies, and there was no thought of making Peace without them. That he believ'd the *Spaniards* might be perſuaded to it upon the Terms of *Aix*, with Reſtitution only of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, towards compoſing ſome kind of neceſſary Frontier on that Side; but to part with *Aire* and *St. Omer*, without any further and greater Exchange, he believ'd they would not in the preſent Poſture of Things. That for *France* retaining the County of *Burgundy*, as conquer'd in this laſt War, he was ſure neither *Spain* nor the Emperor would ever conſent to it; unleſs they were beaten into it by Diſaſters they had no Reaſon to expect; tho' for his own part, he ſhould be content with it, provided the *French* would reſtore *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Liſle* and *Douay*, with their Dependencies, to the *Spaniards*, in lieu of it; becauſe by that means *Flanders* would have a ſecure Frontier on that Side, and a reaſonable good one by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* on the other; and the Security of *Flanders* was the chief Intereſt of the States upon the Peace. That for himſelf, he thank'd His Majeſty for his Offer, as to his Lands in *Burgundy*; but they never came into his Thought upon the Terms of a Peace, nor ſhould ever hinder it; but on t'other ſide, he would be content to loſe them all, to gain one good Town more for the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*.

When I put him in mind, as the King order'd me, of the Apprehenſions he and the States might have of the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if their Succeſſes continued; he told me, *There was no need of that, till they ſhould go beyond the Peace of the* Pyrenees; *whenever that ſhould happen, he ſhould be as much a* French-man *as he was now a* Spaniard; *but not before.* He ended, in deſiring that whatever Plan His Majeſty thought fit to propoſe for a Peace, he would do it at the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*; for the Number and Variety of Pretenſions and Intereſts were grown ſo great, by all the Parties now engag'd in the War, that it could not be done in any other Place; and for his part, he could never conſent to any Treaty ſeparate from his Allies. That he believ'd they would be reaſonable; and if *France* would be ſo too, the Peace might be made; if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them to Reaſon; and that this might have done it, if ſome Differences between him and the *Spaniards* in the Actions propos'd, had not hindered the Succeſſes they hop'd for in *Flanders*, and if *Montecueuli*'s Impatience to be at

Vienna, and paſs the Winter there, upon the Factions ſtirring at Court, had not made him repaſs the *Rhine*, and take his Winter-quarters in the Circles of the Empire there; becauſe if he had done it in *Alſace*, he doubted his Preſence with the Army might be thought neceſſary.

After this Conference, and no Return from his Majeſty to the Account I gave him of it, the Diſcourſe ceas'd of private Meaſures to be agreed between His Majeſty and the Prince and States, for promoting a Peace; and all Thoughts began now to turn upon forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*.

I had another Teſtimony given me of the Firmneſs I had always found in the Prince upon the Subject of the Peace, by what one of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters told me had lately paſs'd between him and the Duke *De Villa Hermoſa*. His Highneſs had a long Pretence depending at *Madrid*, for about Two hundred thouſand Pounds owing to his Family from that Crown ſince the Peace of *Munſter*. It had ever been delay'd, tho' never refus'd: An Agent from the Prince had of late very much preſs'd the Queen Regent of *Spain* upon this Subject, and with much ado had obtain'd an Order for Fifty thouſand Pounds; and Bills were put into his Hands by the Miniſters there, which when they arriv'd in *Flanders*, inſtead of being pay'd, were proteſted. The Duke *De Villa Hermoſa* was ſo aſhamed of this Treatment, that he ſent a Perſon purpoſely to excuſe it to the Prince, and aſſure him the Fault was not in the Queen nor Miniſters, but only in the Choice of Hands by which it was tranſmitted, and deſired his Highneſs would not take it ill of the Queen. The Prince anſwer'd, No, not at all; on t'other ſide I have Reaſon to take it well of the Queen, for if ſhe did not think me the honeſteſt Man in the World, ſhe would not uſe me ſo; however, nothing of this kind ſhall hinder me from doing what I owe to my Allies, or to my Honour.

Notwithſtanding all I had written from the Prince to His Majeſty upon this Subject, yet my Lord *Arlington*, upon pretended Intelligence from his Relations in *Holland*, endeavour'd to perſuade him that he knew not the Prince's Mind for want of ſome body that had more Credit with him than I had; and at the ſame time he purſu'd the Prince by Letters, to deſire the King to ſend over ſome ſuch Perſon as he might treat with in the laſt Confidence in all Matters between them. The Prince ſhew'd me his Letters, and bid me aſſure the King and my Lord Treaſurer, that he could ſay no more than he had done to me, and would not ſay ſo much to any other Man. However, my Lord *Arlington*, upon the former Suggeſtions, prevail'd with the King to ſend over Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* inſtructed, to know the Bottom of the Prince's Mind upon the Subject of the Peace, before the Campaign began. He acquainted the Prince with this Reſolution, and that he was a Perſon they knew His Highneſs would truſt: The Prince ſhewed me this Letter too, and ſaid, He knew not what he meant; that Lord *Arlington* knew as well as any Man how far he truſted both Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* and me. This good Uſage ended all Correſpondence between Lord *Arlington* and me, which had laſted by Letters to this Time, tho' coldly ſince my being laſt in *England*. But upon Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* coming to the *Hague* in *January*, and my Preparation to go for *Nimeguen*, I ended that Scent; having not learn'd enough of the Age, nor the Court I liv'd in, to act an unſincere Part either in Friendſhip or in Love.

When Sir *Gabriel* came to the *Hague*, he paſs'd for a Man of ſome great Intrigue, was perpetually at Court, or in Converſation and Viſits with the Perſons near the Prince, or moſt imploy'd in the State. But he and Lord *Arlington* were ſoon ſatisfy'd to how good Purpoſe he came over; for the Prince, who is the ſincereſt Man in the World, hating all Tricks, and thoſe that uſe them, gave him no Mark of the leaſt Confidence while he ſtaid, and ſent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by truſting another Hand with all he writ of Conſequence into *England*, before he went into the Field. The Truth is, the Prince took this Journey of his to have been

been deſigned by my Lord *Arlington*, both out of Spight to me, and to give Jealouſies to the Confederates, by the Suſpicion of ſomething in Agitation between the King and the Prince that I was not thought fit to be truſted with. And indeed ſeveral of their Miniſters at the *Hague* were apt to fall into ſuch Surmiſes; but Monſieur *De Lyra*, a *Spaniſh* Miniſter, a Perſon much credited in his own Court, and much in the Prince's Confidence, was ever firm in the Belief of his Highneſs's Honour and Conſtancy (which he us'd to ſay his Maſter truſted to more than to any Treaties,) and ſo help'd to prevent all ſuch Impreſſions.

In the mean time, all Motions neceſſary towards forming the Congreſs at *Nimeguen* began to be made by the ſeveral Parties, and gave Appearances of the Ambaſſadors meeting ſuddenly there. The great Obſtruction hitherto had been the Point of Prince *William* of *Furſtemburg*'s Liberty, which *France* had abſolutely inſiſted on before they ſent their Ambaſſadors, and the Emperor had been induc'd to promiſe only upon Concluſion of the Treaty. But an Expedient was found out to ſalve the Honour of *France* upon this Point, rather than the Treaty ſhould be hinder'd, which was at that Time thought neceſſary for their Affairs: The Biſhop of *Strasburg* made a formal Requeſt to the King of *France*, That no private Intereſts or Reſpects of his Brother, might delay the Treaty of a Peace which was of ſo much Conſequence to all *Chriſtendom*; and this Requeſt being at this Time eaſily receiv'd and granted, no further Difficulty was made upon this Point.

His Majeſty thereupon invited all the Princes concern'd in the War, to haſten away their Miniſters to the Place of Congreſs, and acquainted them with his having order'd his own to repair immediately thither; and having ſome Months before appointed the Lord *Berkley* (then Ambaſſador at *Paris*) Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* His Ambaſſadors, Mediators, and Plenipotentaries for the Treaty of *Nimeguen*; Sir *Lionel* was accordingly diſpatch'd away, and arriv'd at the *Hague* towards the End of *January* 1676, and brought with him our Inſtructions for that Ambaſſy; and after ſome few Days Stay at the *Hague*, went away for *Nimeguen*. But the Expedition of the Paſsports, from and to all the Miniſters of the ſeveral Parties, having been for ſome time under my Care, and many of them come to my Hands, tho' others were entangled ſtill in ſome Difficulty or other, we both concluded it neceſſary for me to continue at the *Hague* till this was diſpatched; whilſt Sir *Lionel* ſhould go upon the Place of Congreſs, and by the Preſence of a Mediator, invite the reſt to make more haſte than many of them ſeem'd diſpos'd to at this Time.

The *French* Ambaſſadors were already come to *Charleville*, where they ſtaid for their Paſsports only, to go on with their Journey; and upon Sir *Lionel*'s Arrival at the *Hague*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came to us to acquaint us with the States Orders for their immediate Repair to *Nimeguen*, and for the Magiſtrates of that City (which they now conſider'd as a Neutral Town) to receive all Orders from us the Mediators, and particularly any we pleas'd to give about our Reception upon our Arrival there.

We told them His Majeſty's Thoughts were upon the Succeſſes of the Treaty, and that nothing could more obſtruct it than the Ceremonies which uſed to attend thoſe Meetings; and therefore he order'd us to introduce as much as we could among all the Ambaſſadors, the Method of living there as much like private Men as could conſiſt with the Honour of their Characters; and to this End, that we ſhould make no publick Entries, and give thereby an Example to thoſe that came after us.

To avoid all Punctilioes about the Time of the ſeveral Parties diſpatching the Paſsports, it was agreed that all ſhould be ſent to the *Hague* from the ſeveral Courts, and there ſhould be put into my Hands; to the end, that when I found my ſelf poſſeſs'd of them, I ſhould make the Diſtribution reciprocally to both Parties at the ſame Time. Thoſe of *France* were early with me, but ſhort in ſome Points of thoſe from the Confederates; the Chief whereof was the Omiſſion of Liberty granted to the Ambaſſadors to

diſpatch Couriers to their Maſters Courts upon Paſsports of the reſpective Ambaſſadors, which was thought neceſſary for the Progreſs of the Treaty. Another was the Omiſſion of Paſsports for the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Miniſters in the Form uſual and expected: For whereas the Crown of *France* had always treated the former Dukes of *Lorrain* with the Title of Duke, and Appellation of Brother; their Paſsports now treated the new Duke only with *Couſin*, and *Prince* Charles *of* Lorrain; the reſt were minute Differences or Miſtakes of Words, which are not worth the Mention, and were eaſily ſurmounted. Of all theſe his Majeſty had early Notice, and imployed his Offices towards *France* for ſome Months, without Anſwer upon that of *Lorrain*, and with poſitive Refuſal of inſerting the Clauſe for Liberty of Paſsports; tho' Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* ſeveral times, during this Pauſe, writ to the States, That the King often aſſur'd him (their Ambaſſador at *London*) that there ſhould be no Difficulty in the Buſineſs of *Lorrain*.

About the Beginning of *February* this Year 1676, I receiv'd a Letter from Monſieur *De Pompone*, then Secretary for foreign Affairs in *France*, to tell me, That his Maſter having been acquainted from his Majeſty with the Difficulties occurring in forming the Congreſs, had order'd him to let me know his Reaſons upon them. As to that of Couriers, That he thought it not fit to have his Countries and Towns lie open to his Enemies Obſervations and Diſcoveries, upon pretext of ſuch Couriers frequent Paſſage; That the Inconvenience would be the ſame to the Confederates; and that he ask'd no more than he gave. As to the Point of *Lorrain*, That his Maſter could not give Paſsports with the Stile of *Duke*, which carried that of *Brother*; pretending that Dutchy belong'd to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty by the Treaty in 1662 between him and the laſt Duke.

Not many Days after, I receiv'd Notice from Secretary *Williamſon*, of the ſame Account having been given his Majeſty by Monſieur *De Ruvigny*, with order to acquaint the States with it; which I had not done upon Monſieur *De Pompone*'s Letter, as not thinking fit to make any Paces in theſe Matters without Orders from his Majeſty. The States and all their Allies were very much ſurpris'd with this Pretence of *Lorrain*, which *France* had never before advanc'd, or ſo much as mention'd, either upon the Seiſure of that Dutchy, or ſince that Time, in the Accounts of it by their Miniſters in the ſeveral Courts of *Chriſtendom*; they had only profeſs'd to have found ſuch a Seiſure neceſſary for preſerving the Peace wherein *Chriſtendom* then was, from the dangerous or uncertain Diſpoſitions of that Duke, with whom his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty could take no certain Meaſures, and his Enemies would be practiſing; but that it was without any Intention of retaining any part of that Dutchy, otherwiſe than for this End of preſerving the Peace of *Chriſtendom*. All this, with many more Circumſtances, Monſieur *Serinchamps*, the *Lorrain* Envoy, alledg'd at the Conferences with the States and Allies upon this Occaſion; and for the Treaty of 1662, he ſeem'd to wonder it ſhould ever be mention'd, as a Thing wholly invalid, and, as every body thought, thereupon long ſince forgotten; That the laſt Duke had no Power to diſpoſe of that Dutchy from his Nephew; becauſe, if the *Salique Law* had place in *Lorrain*, it was unalienable from the next Heir-Male; if the *Feminine Succeſſion*, then that Duke himſelf had no Title at all to it, but it belong'd to the preſent Duke even in the Life of his Uncle. Secondly, That it was invalid, by the *French* Non-performance of the only Condition on their Side, upon which the Old Duke pretended to have made it; which was, *That the Princes of that Family ſhould be aſſumed into the Rank of Princes of the Blood in* France; and that upon regiſtering that Treaty of 1662 in the Parliament of *Paris*, without that Clauſe, the Old Duke had declar'd it void within three Weeks after it was made. Thirdly, That a Treaty was concluded the Year after, being 1663, at *Marſal*, between the moſt Chriſtian King and the ſaid Duke; by which he was to continue in the Poſſeſſion of all his Territories, beſides *Marſal*, in the ſame manner as he enjoyed them by the Treaty of 1661, as he did till the Seiſure of them by *France* in 1670, during a profound Peace, and with the

the Profeſſions above-mention'd made by *France* to his Majeſty at that Time (as Monſieur *Serinchamps* averr'd) as well as to the other Courts of *Chriſtendom*.

Theſe Arguments were of ſuch Force with all the Confederates, that they were unanimous and firm in poſitively inſiſting upon the Paſsports of that Duke, with the uſual Forms; and the more, ſince *France* had advanc'd a Pretence to that Dutchy, which was never thought of before among the Allies. The *Auſtrian* Miniſters told me frankly, That the Treaty ſhould never be without this Allowance of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Title, nor the Peace without his Reſtitution. The States ſaid, They for their parts would willingly refer this, and any other Matters concerning the Treaty, to his Majeſty's Arbitration; but that they were bound already by other Treaties to their Allies; and particularly, to the Duke of *Lorrain*; and could not break from them upon a Point of ſuch apparent Right as this. The Prince ſpoke the ſame Language, and ſaid further, That he was bound by his Oath of Stadtholder, among other Things, to endeavour to the utmoſt of his Power to keep the States to the due Obſervance of their Treaties; and ſo, by the Grace of God, he would do in this as well as others.

All this being ſignified to his Majeſty, and by him to *France*, that Court continued peremptory in the Matter; and the Allies perſiſting in the ſame Diſpoſition, the Congreſs began to be look'd upon from all Sides as a Thing ended before it began. The Allies took this Pretence for a Declaration from *France* of their Reſolution there ſhou'd be no Treaty at preſent; and grounded it upon ſome great Expectation or Deſign they had upon further Progreſſes in *Sicily*, or new ones in *Naples*; or elſe from Hopes of bringing in the *Poles* to the Aſſiſtance of *Sweden*.

But the Truth was, That *France* had been forced to diſcover upon this Incident what they had always at Heart: And I ever obſerved in the Courſe of all theſe Negotiations, That there were three Points for which *France* thought the War worth continuing to the laſt Extremity; which were, rather than reſtore *Lorrain*, or *Burgundy*, or leave a good Frontier on both Sides of the *Spaniſh* Territories in *Flanders*. The two firſt would hinder the Progreſs of their great Deſign, whether of extending their Empire only to the *Rhine*, or beyond it: The laſt would hinder their Conqueſt of *Flanders*, whenever they purſu'd the finiſhing of that Adventure; by leaving a Paſſage for the *Germans* to relieve it, and by ſo great and dangerous a Diverſion as entering *France* through *Lorrain* or *Burgundy*.

His Majeſty moſt certainly diſapproved, and was ſurpris'd with this Pretence of *France* to the Dutchy of *Lorrain*; but yet was prevailed with by Monſieur *De Ruvigny* to offer the Expedient of his Majeſty, as Mediator, giving all Paſsports neceſſary to the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*. Monſieur *Van Beuninghen* in this Matter acted the Part rather of a *Burgomaſter of* Amſterdam, than an *Ambaſſador of the States*; and to make Court to that Town, which began to expreſs great Impatience for the Peace, he aſſur'd his Majeſty, That his Maſters could not fail of conſenting to this Expedient. I foreſaw it would be refus'd, and gave his Majeſty Notice of it before I propos'd it to the States, as thinking his Honour, and that of the Mediation, concerned in ſuch a Refuſal; but receiving direct Orders to propoſe it, I did ſo. The States told me, They wou'd of themſelves conſent to this, or whatever elſe his Majeſty ſhould propoſe; but having communicated it to their Allies, they would not hear of it; ſome refuſing it with Heat, and Reflection upon his Majeſty's Partiality to *France*; others with Sullenneſs and Silence, referring themſelves to new Orders from their Maſters.

Hereupon the Congreſs grew wholly deſperate, and all Parties prepar'd for the Field; without any other View, for the three Months following the firſt Riſe of this Pretenſion. In the mean time there paſs'd a Fight between the *French*, and *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* Ships, near *Meſſina*; wherein *De Ruyter* was ſhot in the Heel by a Cannon-bullet, of which he died within few Days after, and determined the greateſt Loſs to have certainly happened on that Side, by that of the ableſt Sea-Captain of his Age, and the beſt Servant that

any

any Prince or State could have: For the reſt, the Advantage was not conſiderable on either Part in this Fight, nor the Conſequence material in the Progreſs of the *French* Arms in *Sicily*, or in any Proſpect of great Enterpriſes upon *Naples*. On the other ſide, the *Swediſh* Affairs went very ill in *Pomerania*, and were threatened with great Invaſions the following Campaign, both from *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*. This decry'd the Counſels of thoſe Perſons that engag'd them in this Quarrel. Two Ambaſſadors, Count *Oxenſtiern* and *Olivecrans*, were appointed for the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, who had ever been of the Sentiments of the Faction which now began to prevail in the *Swediſh* Court: They grew impatient for a Peace, and for the Treaty in order to it: They declar'd their Diſapproval of the *French* Pretenſion rais'd to *Lorrain*, which ſeem'd only to obſtruct it; and that they would ſend their Miniſters to the Congreſs, whether the *French* came or not: And their Commiſſary at the *Hague* ſo well ſeconded theſe new Diſpoſitions of his Court, that whilſt the Congreſs look'd deſperate by the declared Obſtinacy of both Sides upon the Point of *Lorrain*, Ships and Paſsports were diſpatch'd by the States, with Conſent of their Allies, to fetch the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors from *Gottemburg* into *Holland*.

The Confederates were beſides much animated in their Hopes, from the Diſpoſitions and Humours expreſs'd in a late Seſſion of Parliament in *England*; which grew ſo high againſt the *French*, or at leaſt, upon that Pretence, againſt the preſent Conduct of his Majeſty or his Miniſters, that the King prorogu'd them about *Chriſtmas*, before any of the Matters projected by the warm Men amongſt the Houſe of Commons were brought into Form.

The *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the Head of a great and brave Army threatened ſome great Enterprize. The Prince was preparing to go into the Field, with Reſolution and Hopes of having the Honour of a Battle at the Opening of the Campaign; all Thoughts of the Congreſs meeting before the End of it were laid aſide; when about the middle of *May* I was extremely ſurpris'd to receive a Packet from Secretary *Williamſon*, with the *French* Paſsports for the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Miniſters, in the Form and with the Stiles demanded by the Allies. And hereupon all Difficulties being remov'd, the Paſsports were exchang'd by the End of *May*.

Some Days were loſt, by a new Demand of the Allies for Paſsports likewiſe for the Duke of *Neuburg*'s Miniſters, who was newly entered into the common Alliance; and the ſame Paces were expected likewiſe for the Duke of *Bavaria* (at leaſt ſo the *Germans* flattered themſelves or their Friends.) Upon this, ſome of the Miniſters of the Allies at the *Hague*, whoſe Maſters were very unwilling the Congreſs ſhou'd begin before the Campaign ended, prevail'd with the States to ſend Deputies to me, to demand Paſsports for the Duke of *Neuburg*, and any other Princes that ſhould enter into their Alliance; and to declare, That if theſe were refus'd by *France*, they would look upon what had been already granted as void.

I was ſomething ſurpris'd at ſo unexpected a Meſſage from the States; and told their Deputies, That ſuch a Reſolution was unpracticable: That his Majeſty had undertaken to procure Paſsports for the Parties engag'd in the War, and all the Allies they had nam'd on both Sides, which was done, and thereupon the Congreſs ready to begin; and ſuch a Delay as this would occaſion, was both a Diſreſpect to his Majeſty, and that could not be conſented to by *France*, nor the Reciprocal of it by any of the Allies that foreſaw the Conſequences which might happen upon it: That ſome Ally of *France* might fall off to the Confederates, or ſome of the Confederates to *France*; and with ſuch Circumſtances, as it could not be expected either of them ſhould think fit to give Paſsports, or treat with them at the Congreſs; nor was it a Thing in any Form, to demand Paſsports without naming for whom they ſhou'd be. After ſeveral other Exceptions, the Deputies deſir'd me to let them repreſent my Reaſons againſt it to the States, and to expect their Anſwer till the next Afternoon; and one of them told me as he went out, That I had all the

Reaſon

Reaſon in the World, and that they had been too eaſy in it upon the Inſtances of ſome Allies. Next Day the Deputies came to let me know the States had alter'd their Reſolution, and deſir'd only, That His Majeſty would procure Paſsports for the Duke of *Neuburg*'s Miniſters; which I eaſily undertook. This Change had not paſs'd without violent Heats between the States Deputies and the Miniſters of ſome Allies, who preſs'd them ſo far, that one of the Deputies anſwer'd him, *Que pretendez-vous donc, Meſſieurs, de nous faire dechirer par la Canaille?* [*Do you intend then, Gentlemen, to make us be torn in Pieces by the Rabble?*] Which ſhews the Diſpoſition that ran ſo generally at this Time throughout the Trading Provinces towards a Peace.

There remained now but one Preliminary undetermin'd, which was, To fix ſome Extent of Neutral Country about the Place of Congreſs: *France* would have extended it two Leagues round; the Allies would have it bounded on one Side by the River *Waal*, upon which *Nimeguen* ſtood, and was divided by it from the *Betuwe*, a Part of the Province of *Holland*, and through which lay the ſtraight Road into the reſt of that Country. Both theſe Propoſals were grounded upon the ſame Reaſon: That of *France* to facilitate the Commerce of their Ambaſſadors with the Towns of *Holland*, incite the Deſires, and enter into Practices of Peace diſtinct from the Motions of the Congreſs; that of the Allies to prevent or encumber the too eaſie and undiſcovered Paſſage of the *French* Emiſſaries upon this Occaſion. However, both were poſitive in their Opinions; ſo as this Matter came not to be determin'd till ſome time after the Congreſs began, and but lamely then.

CHAP. II.

THE Prince was now ready to go into the Field, and told me, That before he went, he muſt have ſome Talk with me in private, and at leiſure; and to that Purpoſe deſir'd it might be in the Garden of *Honſlaerdyck*. We appointed the Hour, and met accordingly. He told me, I would eaſily believe, That being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often preſs'd by his Friends to think of marrying, and had many Perſons propoſed to him, as their ſeveral Humours led them; That for his own part, he knew it was a Thing to be done at one Time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the Thoughts of it, otherwiſe than in general, till the War was ended: That, beſides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States began to preſs him more earneſtly every Day, and the more, as they ſaw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more Reaſon to do it than any others: That he had at laſt promis'd them he would think of it more ſeriouſly and particularly, and ſo he had, and reſolv'd he would marry; but the Choice of a Perſon he thought more difficult: That he found himſelf inclin'd to no Propoſals had been made him out of *France* or *Germany*, nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occaſion by any of his Friends, but that of *England*: That before he concluded to make any Paces that Way, he was reſolv'd to have my Opinion upon two Points; but yet would not ask it, unleſs I promis'd to anſwer him as a Friend, or at leaſt an indifferent Perſon, and not as the King's Ambaſſador. When I told him he ſhould be obey'd, he went on, and ſaid, That he would confeſs to me, during the late War, neither the States, nor he in particular, were without Applications from ſeveral Perſons, and conſiderable, in *England*, who would fain have engag'd them to head the Diſcontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation, and might perhaps have prov'd very dangerous to that Crown, if it had not ended as it did: That all theſe Perſons, who pretended to be much his Friends, were extreamly againſt any Thoughts of his marrying in *England*; their Reaſons were, That he would by it loſe all the Eſteem and Intereſt he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Diſpoſitions and Deſigns of the Court, which were generally thought ſo

ſo different from thoſe of the Nation, eſpecially upon the Point of Religion, that his Friends there did not believe the Government could be long without ſome great Diſturbance, unleſs they changed their Meaſures, which was not eſteem'd very likely to be done: And upon this he deſir'd my Thoughts as a Friend. The next was upon the Perſon and Diſpoſitions of the young Lady; for tho' it would not paſs in the World for a Prince to ſeem concern'd in thoſe Particulars; yet for himſelf, he would tell me, without any ſort of Affectation, that he was ſo, and in ſuch a Degree, that no Circumſtances of Fortune or Intereſt could engage him, without thoſe of the Perſon, eſpecially thoſe of Humour and Diſpoſitions: That he might, perhaps, not be very eaſie for a Wife to live with; he was ſure he ſhould not to ſuch Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age: That if he ſhould meet with one to give him Trouble at Home, 'twas what he ſhould not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the Courſe of his Life: And that after the Manner he was reſolv'd to live with a Wife, which ſhould be the beſt he could; he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon her Diſpoſition and Education; and if I knew any Thing particular of the Lady *Mary* in theſe Points, he deſir'd me to tell him freely.

I anſwer'd his Highneſs, That I was very glad to find he was reſolv'd to marry, being what he owed his Family and Friends: That I was much more pleas'd that his Inclination led him to endeavour it in *England*: That I thought it as much for his Intereſt, as others of his *Engliſh* Friends thought it was againſt it: That the King and his Highneſs would ever be able to do one another more Good, and more Harm, than any other Princes could do either of them, by being Friend or Enemies: That it was a great Step to be one Degree nearer the Crown, and in all Appearance the next: That for his Friends (as they pretended) in *England*, they muſt ſee much further than I did, to believe the King in any ſuch Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd: That the Crown of *England* ſtood upon ſurer Foundations than ever it had done in former Times, and the more for what had paſs'd in the laſt Reign; and that I believ'd the People would be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himſelf believ'd them: That it was however in his Power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as ſhort Turns to ſuch an End; if not, yet with the Help of a little good Husbandry, he might paſs his Reign in Peace, tho' not perhaps with ſo much Eaſe at Home, or Glory Abroad, as if he fell into the Vein of his People: That if the Court were of Sentiments different from thoſe of his Highneſs, yet his Advifers would make him a greater Compliment in believing him as likely to induce the Court to his, as in concluding they would bring him to theirs; and if that ſhould happen, the moſt ſeditious Men in *England* would be hard put to it to find an ill Side in ſuch a Match: That for the other Point, I could ſay nothing to it, but that I had always heard my Wife and my Siſter ſpeak with all the Advantage that could be of what they could diſcern in a Princeſs ſo young, and more from what they had been told by the Governeſs, with whom they had a particular Friendſhip, and who they were ſure took all the Care that could be in ſo much of Education as fell to her Share.

After Two Hours Diſcourſe upon this Subject, the Prince concluded he would enter upon this Purſuit; and in order to it, would write both to the King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in it, and their Leave that he might go over into *England* at the End of the Campaign: That my Wife, who was then going over upon my private Affairs, ſhould carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her Stay there, ſhould endeavour to inform her ſelf the moſt particularly ſhe could, of all that concern'd the Perſon, Humour, and Diſpoſitions of the young Princeſs, in which he ſeem'd ſo much concern'd.

Within two or three Days after theſe Diſcourſes, the Prince brought his Letters to my Wife, and went immediately to the Army, and ſhe went ſuddenly after into *England* with theſe Diſpatches, and left me preparing for my

my Journey to *Nimeguen*, where the *Dutch* firſt, and after them the *French* Ambaſſadors were arriv'd, and conſequently thoſe of the two principal Parties in the War.

Before I went, *Du Moulin* met my Chaplain in the *Voorhout*, and told him he was ſo ill, that he knew he had not long to live; and that he could not die in quiet, without asking my Pardon for ſo many falſe and injurious Things as he confeſs'd to have ſaid of me ſince my laſt Ambaſſy in *Holland*, tho' he had before had all the Eſteem that could be for me. He deſir'd my Chaplain, ſince I had always refus'd to ſee him, that he would do this Office for him, and ask my Pardon as from a dying Man. This *Du Moulin*, after having been much imploy'd and favoured by my Lord *Arlington*, during the Counſels and Vogue of the Triple Alliance, and diſgraced by him after the Change of thoſe Meaſures in *England*, went over into *Holland*, was entertain'd by the Prince as one of his Secretaries, grew into great Favour and Confidence during the War, was made uſe of by the Malecontents of *England* in their Applications at the *Hague*; and was thought worth all my Lord *Arlington*'s Inſtances and Endeavours when he was at the *Hague*, to remove him from the Prince's Service. I receiv'd afterwards Commands to the ſame Purpoſe, and compaſs'd it not without Time and Difficulty: He had not been long laid aſide when this happen'd; and whether that, or the Knowledge of the Prince's late Reſolution to purſue the Match in *England*, help'd to break his Heart; or whether it were a Conſumption, as his Friends gave out, I know not; but he died ſoon after, and with him the Intrigues of that Party in *England*, that had for ſome time imploy'd him, and buſy'd his Friends in *Holland*.

After many Delays in the Diſpatch and Exchange of the Paſſports, I got looſe from the *Hague* about the Beginning of *July* 1676, upon my Journey to *Nimeguen*; where the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors being already arriv'd, preſs'd very much for my coming, in regard Sir *Lionel Jenkins* excus'd himſelf from performing any Acts or Offices of the Mediation till my Arrival, and contented himſelf to paſs only the uſual Viſits. The Diſpoſitions I obſerved in the ſeveral Parties towards the Succeſs of this Congreſs, when I went in order to the Opening of it, were very different, and very unlikely to draw it to any ſudden Iſſue; but only to attend and be govern'd by the Succeſſes of the ſeveral Armies in the Field, and the Events expected from the Actions of the Campaign. The *French* had given all the Facility they could for ſome Months paſt to the forming of the Congreſs, and made all the Haſte they could for their Ambaſſadors to be upon the Place, deſiring no better Peace than upon the preſent Plan of Affairs; and hoping by their Forwardneſs, and the great Backwardneſs of ſome of the Allies, to make Way for ſome ſeparate Treaties with thoſe among them who began to be impatient for Peace. The Houſe of *Auſtria* was ſullen, as Lofers uſe to be, and ſo were very ſlow and reſty in all their Paces towards this Treaty; the *Germans* hoping for great Succeſſes of their Arms in this Campaign, and the *Spaniards* flattering themſelves with the Intereſts His Majeſty had in the Preſervation of *Flanders*, and with the Part which the Parliament in *England* ſeem'd of late to have taken in their Affairs; and both were in hopes that ſomething might ariſe from one of theſe Sides, to make Room for Pretenſions that could not be in Countenance as Things ſtood at preſent. The *Swede* was very earneſt for a Peace, as having more Hopes of recovering himſelf that Way, than by the Courſe of a War. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were violent for continuing the War; finding the *Swedes* weak, divided, and unrelievable by *France*, any otherwiſe than with their Money, and hoping to drive them this Summer out of *Germany*. The States were very deſirous of the Peace, having no Pretences of their own, but to get well out of a War that ruin'd their Trade, and drain'd their Money; but they durſt not break from their Confederates, not truſting *England* enough, nor *France* at all, ſo as to leave themſelves in a Condition of depending upon either of them after the Peace ſhould be made. One general Thread ran through the Counſels on both Sides; on the *French*, to break the Confidence and Union of the Confederacy

cy by different Paces and Advances to the ſeveral Parties in the Courſe of the Treaty; on the Confederates, to preſerve the ſame Confidence and Union with which they had carried on the War, even after the Peace ſhould be made. His Majeſty, tho' he was offer'd by ſome of the Parties to be Arbiter, as well as Mediator, in the preſent Differences; and was known by them all to have it in Power to make that Figure as he pleas'd; yet choſe the other, and gave us Orders accordingly, only to perform the Offices of a bare Mediation, and to avoid the Parties ſubmitting their Differences to his Determination: So that upon the whole, it was eaſy to foreſee the Congreſs would only prove a Buſineſs of Form; and proceed no otherwiſe than as it ſhould be moved, or rather governed by the Events of the Field.

However, the Opening of it might well be called the Dawn of a Peace; which put me in mind of the only Prophecy of this Sort that I had ever thought worth taking Notice of; nor ſhould I have done ſo, but that Monſieur *Colbert* ſhewed it me at my coming to *Nimeguen*, and made me remember to have ſeen it in my Lord *Arlington*'s Hands in the Year 1668, who told me it was very old, and had been found in ſome Abbey of *Germany*. It was in theſe Terms:

Lilium intrabit in terram Leonis, feras in brachiis gerens; Aquila movebit alas, & in auxilium veniet filius hominis ab Auſtro: Tunc erit ingens bellum per totum terrarum orbem; ſed poſt quatuor annos pax eluceſcet, & ſalus erit filio hominis unde exitum putabatur.

The Lilly *ſhall invade the Land of the* Lion, *bearing wild Beaſts in its Arms; the* Eagle *ſhall move its Wings, and the Son of Man ſhall come to his Aſſiſtance from the South: Then there ſhall be great War throughout the World; but after Four Years Peace ſhall dawn, and the Son of Man be deliver'd by thoſe from whom his Ruin was expected.*

Thoſe who have a Mind to give Credit to ſuch Prophecies from the Courſe of Events, muſt allow the *Leopards* (the Ancient Arms of *England*) to be meant by the *wild Beaſts*; the King of *Spain* by *the Son of Man*; the Congreſs at *Nimeguen* (Four Years after the War began) by the *Dawn of Peace*; and *Spain*'s having been ſav'd by the States and the Prince of *Orange*, by *thoſe from whom its Ruin was expected.* But I eaſily believe, that as moſt Prophecies which run in the World, ariſe from the Contrivances of crafty, or the Dreams of enthuſiaſtical Heads; and the Senſe of them (where there is any) lies wrapt up in myſtical or incoherent Expreſſions, fit to receive many ſorts of Interpretations; and ſome perhaps from the Leiſure of great Wits that are ill imploy'd, and ſeek Diverſion to themſelves, by writing Things at random, with the ſcornful Thought of amuſing the World about nothing: So others are broach'd for old, either after Events happen, or when they are ſo probable as to be eaſily conjectur'd by foreſeeing Men: And it ſeems ſtrange, that of the firſt Kind (being ſo many) no more happen to be fulfill'd, with the Help of ſo much Inclination to believe, as well as ſo much Invention to wreſt the Meaning of Words to the Senſe pretended. But whether this I mention may not have been one of the laſt Kind, is uncertain; for in that very Year it was produc'd, and given my Lord *Arlington* by a *French-man* (as he told me) the Deſign of this War was not only laying, but well advanc'd by the Practices of Monſieur *Colbert* upon the Miniſters of our Court (where he was then Ambaſſador) and by the violent Humour of my Lord *Clifford* to enter into the Leagues then projected by *France*; ſo that the very Day the Parliament gave His Majeſty a mighty Sum of Money, to compliment him upon ſo applauded a Council and Succeſs as that of the Triple Alliance in the Year 1668, that Lord, coming out of the Houſe of Commons, where he was then a Member, could not hold ſaying to a Friend of mine who came out with him, That for all this great Joy, it muſt not be long before we have another War with *Holland*. And which of theſe two Prophecies were the more to be conſider'd, or the better inſpir'd, I leave it to every one to gueſs as they pleaſe.

Nimeguen is ſeated upon the Side of a Hill, which is the laſt of *Germany*, and ſtoops upon the River *Waal*, which waſhes the lower Part of the Town, and divides it from the *Betuwe*, an Iſland lying all upon flat low Ground, between the *Waal* and the old *Rhine*, which was the ancient Seat of thoſe the *Romans* called *Batavians*, and, for their Bravery and Love of Liberty, took into their Confederacy, when they ſubjected all the neighbouring Parts of *Gaul* and *Germany*. *Betuwe* and *Waal* were the Ancient *German* Names, and turn'd into *Batavia* and *Vahalis* by the *Roman* Terminations, as *Cologne* and *Cleves* are *Roman* Names changed into *German*. *Betuwe* ſignifies in the old *German fat Earth*, as *Veluwe* (a great Heathy Country on t'other Side the *Rhine*) does *coarſe* or *barren Earth*. Whether *Nimeguen* came from *Neomagum*, or *Neomagum* from *Nimeguen*, I cannot determine; but the old Caſtle, as well as many Antiquities found about it, ſhew it to have been a Colony of the *Romans*; and it is ſeated in very good Air, encompaſs'd on three Sides by great and dry Heaths, is well built, and inhabited by a good Sort of People.

I excus'd my ſelf from letting the Magiſtrates of *Nimeguen* know what Time I deſign'd my Arrival there, tho' they ſent to inform themſelves while I was upon the Way; and I refus'd any Ceremonies at Entry, to prevent that Pretence in other Ambaſſadors, and the Troubles and Diſturbances ſuch publick Receptions might occaſion. However I could not eſcape ſome Part of it, for which I had like to have paid a great deal more than 'twas worth. The River of *Nimeguen* is very rapid in the midſt of the Stream, which lies near the Town, and ſpreads very broad upon the other Side to the *Betuwe*, being upon flat Grounds. The firſt Part of it is paſs'd by a very large Ferry-Boat, which held at once my Two Coaches and Six Horſes, one Waggon with my Trunks, Eight Saddle-Horſes, and wou'd have receiv'd many more. This Boat is of a Contrivance ſo ſingular, as well as ſo commodious, that I have much wonder'd never to have ſeen it practis'd in any other Place; for the Force of the Stream drives the Boat croſs the River without the leaſt Pains of the Men, being kept to its Courſe by a ſtrong Cable extended from one Side to the other, and faſtened to a Pulley ſet up for that Purpoſe in the Boat; ſo that no Streſs of Weather hinders this Paſſage, and the harder the Stream runs, the ſooner 'tis made. Where the River grows ſhallow, and the Current ſlack, on the *Betuwe* Side, it is ſupply'd by a Bridge of Planks for about Two Hundred Paces, which are ill kept, many looſe or ſhaking, and no Defence on the Sides. When my Coaches were upon this Bridge, the Cannon of the Town began to fire, and ſo continued all the while as I was upon the River; which was a Piece of Civility well underſtood; but my Horſes were ſo unruly with that Noiſe, and the Clatter of the Planks, that they were much likelier to have carried me into the River than into the Boat. But when, with the Help of my Servants on foot that led them, we got in there, we were ſafe as in a Houſe, and got well away to the Town, where I landed at Sir *Lionel Jenkins*'s Houſe, and ſtay'd there till late in the Evening, to avoid any Viſits or Ceremonies that Night.

The next Day I was viſited by the *French* Ambaſſadors. With Monſieur *D'Avaux* paſs'd little but what was common upon ſuch Occaſions: But the Mareſchal *D'Eſtrades* and Monſieur *Colbert*, being of my particular Acquaintance in my former Ambaſſies at the *Hague* and *Aix la Chapelle*, pretended, in their firſt ſeparate Viſits, to enter with me upon Points and Terms of great Confidence, and upon Matters that gave me Light into the whole Deſign of *France* intended by the Steps of this Treaty, to which they had of late ſhew'd ſo great Forwardneſs, at leaſt in the forming of this Congreſs, and Diſpatch of their Ambaſſadors, before thoſe of the Allies were in any Motion, or perhaps Diſpoſition towards it. They both told me, That they had expreſs and private Orders from the King their Maſter, to make me particular Compliments upon the Eſteem his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had for my Perſon, and to make their Application wholly to me in the Courſe of this

Negotiation, tho' one of us Miniſters Mediators came from reſiding in their own Court; but they knew very very well I had the King my Maſter's Confidence, as well as that of his Miniſters, and that having had the Framing of this Congreſs from the firſt Overtures, and through all the Preliminaries, there was no other Hand but mine capable of finiſhing it; and therefore they preſag'd me all the Glory of it: That I might reckon upon all the Facility their Maſter could give towards it; but that after ſuch Succeſſes in the War, and at the Head of ſo great Forces both at Land and Sea, it could not be expected he ſhould yield to reſtore what his Arms had conquer'd. On t'other Side, they knew very well, that tho' the States were bent upon the Peace, yet the Frowardneſs or extravagant Demands of their Allies, would engage them as long as they could in the War, unleſs the Prince of *Orange* would interpoſe his Authority, which was ſo great with all the Allies, that they were ſure of their conſenting to whatever Terms the Prince ſhould be reſolute in propoſing for the Peace: That to draw it therefore to a happy Iſſue, there was no Way but for his Highneſs firſt to agree privately with *France* upon the Conditions, and what every Party ſhould content themſelves with; and afterwards, in the Courſe of the Treaty, to draw all Things, by Concert together, to the Scope agreed between them; in which the Prince might make uſe of the known Temper of the States to bring it to a ſudden Iſſue, and to make a Separate Peace, in caſe the unreaſonable Pretences of their Allies ſhould hinder or delay a General one: That this Part was acted by the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Munſter*, who was in private Concert with *France* thro' the whole Proceedings of that Treaty, tho' he went on with the Allies in the publick Tranſactions: That he ow'd the Greatneſs of his Houſe to this Counſel, and to the Conſideration and Support it had ever ſince receiv'd from the Crown of *France*: That by purſuing the ſame at *Nimeguen*, it would be in the Prince of *Orange*'s Power to do the ſame for himſelf and and his Family; and that for what concern'd his own perſonal Intereſts and Advantages, their Maſter had given them power to aſſure him, he ſhould have *Carte Blanche*, and draw his own Conditions upon it. That tho' they had other Ways of making this Overture to the Prince, yet they had Order to do it by none but me, if I would charge my ſelf with it: That they knew the Credit and Confidence I was in with the Prince, and how far he would deferr to my Opinions in what concern'd the Publick Intereſts of his Allies as well as his own; and that if I would eſpouſe this Affair, beſides the Glory of having alone given a Peace to *Chriſtendom*, I might reckon upon what I pleas'd my ſelf from the Bounty and Generoſity of the King their Maſter.

This was the Sum of what was ſaid by them both, tho' in ſeveral and private Viſits; but I obſerv'd Monſieur *Colbert* to have been inſtructed with more particular Confidence, and to deſign it with me, even apart from both his Colleagues and mine, in the Purſuit of this Intelligence; but Monſieur *D'Eſtrades* valued himſelf chiefly upon his entering into it with me preferable to all others, tho' he had ſeveral other Ways of doing it with the Prince, as well as into what Practices he ſhould think fit with the States, by the Help of ſo many Friendſhips and Habitudes as I knew he had contracted in *Holland* during ſo long a Courſe of Employments there.

I anſwer'd, That I was oblig'd to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for a good Opinion, and to them for giving it him, not having my ſelf at all the Honour of being known to him: That I ſhould make no ill Uſe of this great Honour and Confidence, whether I ſhould be able to make a good one or not: That for his Majeſty's Diſpoſitions to promote the Peace, they knew them as well as I; but that many Conſiderations had engag'd him to inſtruct us the Mediators only to promote a general Peace, and not to enter into any Paces towards any particular one, or ſeparate, between the Parties, which ſuch a private and previous Concert between *France* and the Prince of *Orange* would look very like; and therefore I did not ſee how I could enter upon it without particular Orders from the King: That beſides, I would confeſs to them, that I did not think they would be of any great Effect ſhould I receive ſuch Orders;

and

and that the beſt Service I could do them (the Ambaſſadors) was to let them know very freely all that I knew, or at leaſt thought, of the Prince of *Orange*, and his Diſpoſitions in this great Affair, that they might the better gueſs what Paces to expect from him: That I was ſure he deſir'd the Peace as much as the States could do; that the weak Conduct of *Spain*, and diſtracted Counſels of the Empire, were enough to force him upon it, without many other Circumſtances that were too well known to trouble them with. That the Prince knew very well there would be no Difficulty at all in the Terms of a Peace between *France* and *Holland*, and that all would ariſe from their Allies, who had enter'd into the War only in their Defence: That their Faith and Honour were ſince engag'd by many Treaties concluded with them, and which hindered them from making any ſeparate Peace: That in all thoſe Treaties the Prince's Honour was more particularly engag'd, upon which perſonally the ſeveral Confederate Princes were known to rely more, than upon any publick Reſolution or Inſtrument of the States. That if any Ways could be found, or Offers made towards bringing his Highneſs out of this War, with the Safety of his Honour, by the Satisfaction of his Allies, upon any ſort of Terms, I was ſure he would fall into them with all the Joy that could be; but to break from them againſt all Faith and Agreements, by ſeparate Meaſures, I believ'd he would never be induc'd, but by the laſt Extremities of the War, or Neceſſities at home: And that for his own Perſonal Intereſts, I was confident no Advantages to be offered him, would ever be conſider'd by his Highneſs, how great ſoever; but that two or three Towns, more or leſs, to the *Spaniards*, for the Strength of their Frontier in *Flanders*, would prevail more with him than all could be done for his Intereſt in *Orange* or *Burgundy*; and that all other Propoſitions of Advantages more than were avow'd in the Courſe of the Treaty, were, I believ'd, what he would take ill from any that ſhould make them; and yet whenever I ſaw him next, I would tell him of all that had paſs'd in this Converſation: But for the Deference they believ'd his Highneſs might have for my Sentiments, I would aſſure them, my Opinion was, he had none for mine, or any Man's elſe, further than as their Arguments prevail'd upon his Judgment: That he had Senſe enough to govern himſelf, and I believ'd he would always truſt to it, tho' he might adviſe with other Men.

After theſe Converſations, during the Time I ſtay'd at *Nimeguen*, Monſieur *Colbert* made many ſmall Attacks of this kind upon me, and ſometimes contented himſelf only to let fall ſome Things in Converſation, to try if I was diſpos'd to enter further upon that Subject: But the Mareſchal *D'Eſtrades* immediately began to turn his Battery another Way, which was upon the Penſioner *Fagel*, by the Intervention of a Perſon of *Maeſtricht*, many of whoſe Letters the Penſioner ſhew'd me upon the ſame Occaſion; and with all the Offers that could be made of Conſideration and Advantage to the Intereſts of the Prince of *Orange*; which met with no other Reception from his Highneſs than what I foretold.

After the firſt Viſits between us and the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, whom only we found at *Nimeguen*, we receiv'd a Viſit from the Magiſtrates of the Town, who told us, they had Order from the States to remit the Government of the City to our Diſpoſition, during the preſent Treaty; and to proceed no otherwiſe in it, than according to ſuch Orders as they ſhould receive from us the Mediators. We told them, It was his Majeſty's Pleaſure, that we ſhould not at all intermeddle with it, but that on the contrary, we ſhould conſign into the Hands of the ordinary Juſtice of the Town any of our Domeſticks that ſhould be guilty of any Crime againſt the Peace or Government of the Place; and that Juſtice ſhould be done upon them, according to their Faults; and that we ſhould not take upon us to withdraw or protect them from the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice, by the Rights and Privileges of that Character his Majeſty had given us.

After this we applied our ſelves to propoſe ſome Regulations for the Order and Quiet of ſo numerous an Aſſembly as this was like to prove (in a Town

but

but too ſtrait, and compos'd of narrow Streets) and to the Eſtabliſhment of ſome Compaſs of Neutral Country about it, for the Convenience and Diverſiſement of the Company that ſhould compoſe it. For the firſt, we gave in a Paper to the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, with certain Articles, to which we deſir'd their Conſent; not doubting, but all others that ſhould come after, would eaſily fall into what they ſhould previouſly agree to upon our Deſire. They were theſe, as we gave them in *French*, the Language uſed in all Conferences, and moſt Papers, that paſs'd in this Treaty.

1. *Que pour eviter les Inconveniens qui pourroient arriver par le grand nombre de trains dans des rues qui ſont ſi etroites, & entre des coines ſi incommodes, Les Ambaſſadeurs Mediateurs propoſent, De ne faire les Viſites, meſme celles de Ceremonie, qu'avec chacun Ambaſſadeur deux Pages & quatre Laquais; & un Caroſſe, a deux Chevaux; & de n'aller a aucune place de Conference, ou autres lieux publics avec plus d'un Page & deux Laquais a chaque Ambaſſadeur.*

1. *That for avoiding the Inconveniences which may happen by the great Number of Trains in the Streets, which are ſo narrow, and Turnings ſo incommodious, the Ambaſſadors Mediators propoſe, Not to make any Viſits, even thoſe of Ceremony, with more than two Pages and four Lackeys each Ambaſſador; and one Coach, with two Horſes; and not to go to any Place of Conference, or other publick Places, with more than one Page and two Lackeys to every Ambaſſador.*

2. *Qu'en cas de rencontre de Caroſſes dans les lieux trop eſtroits pour le paſſage de l'un & de l'autre, chacun, au-lieu de s'embarraſſer pour le pas, y apportera toute ſorte de facilite, & s'arreſtera le premier quand il ſera le premier averti que le paſſage eſt trop eſtroit, & fera place en cas que de ſon coſte cela ſe trouve le plus facile.*

2. *That when Coaches meet in too narrow places, where there is not room to paſs by one another, every one, inſtead of contending for Precedency, ſhall mind rather to make the Paſſage eaſie to each other, and ſtop firſt if he have the firſt Notice that the Paſſage is too ſtreight, and give Place to the other, in caſe it be more eaſy on his Side.*

3. *Que les Laquais ne porteront eſpee, baton ni baguette, par les rues, ni les Pages plus que de baguette ſeulement.*

3. *That Lackeys ſhall not wear a Sword, nor carry a Staff or Stick in the Streets; nor Pages any more than a little Stick.*

4. *Que les Ambaſſadeurs ſur aucun crime commis par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre la paix publique, renonceront a la protection des dits domeſtiques, & les remettront auſſi-toſt entre les mains de la Juſtice de la ville, la prians et autoriſans de proceder contre eux ſelon les regles ordinaires.*

4. *That the Ambaſſadors, upon any Crime committed againſt the publick Peace, by any of their Domeſticks, ſhall renounce all Protection of the ſaid Domeſticks, and deliver them up into the Hands of the Magiſtrates of the City; deſiring and authorizing them to proceed againſt them according to their ordinary Rules.*

5. *Qu'en cas de quelque inſulte ou querelle faite par aucun de leurs domeſtiques contre ceux d'aucun autre Ambaſſadeur ou Miniſtre Public, Les Ambaſſadeurs remettront tels domeſtiques entre les mains du Maiſtre de la Partie offenſee pour eſtre punis a ſa diſcretion.*

5. *That in caſe any Inſult or Quarrel be made by the Domeſticks of one Ambaſſador, againſt thoſe of another Ambaſſador or publick Miniſter, the Ambaſſador ſhall deliver up ſuch their Domeſticks into the Hands of the Maſter of the Party offended, to be puniſh'd at his Diſcretion.*

The *French* Ambaſſadors receiv'd this Paper with much Approbation and Compliment to us, upon the Deſign and Conception of it, and ſaid they were ready to give their full Conſent to every Part of it, excepting only the ſecond Article; but upon this they could not, without firſt acquainting their Maſter, from whom they had Orders to maintain, upon all Occaſions, the Rank

Rank that *Spain* had yielded to them by Treaty; ſo that they could not ſtop or make way for the Miniſters of that Crown, though they would do it for thoſe of *Brandenburg*. We told them, we doubted not but the Emperor's Ambaſſadors would be content to fall into the General Rule for ſo good an End; and that for our ſelves the Mediators (who were out of all Competition by that Quality) we reſolv'd to practiſe it with the reſt, and give the Example.

The *French* Ambaſſadors ſeem'd ſatisfied, in their own Opinions; but however, deſir'd they might firſt communicate it to their Court. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors wholly approv'd it, and reſolv'd to conform their Practice accordingly, unleſs they found other Ambaſſadors ſhould decline it. However, about a Fortnight after, the *French* Ambaſſadors, upon Diſpatches from their Court, began to change their Language; and told us, that for the firſt Article, Monſieur *De Pompone* thought it not neceſſary to reſtrain the Numbers of Ambaſſadors Trains, ſince they were well provided againſt Diſorders by the following Articles: That beſides, this would in a manner level the Ambaſſadors of the greateſt Kings with the Miniſters of ſmaller Princes, at leaſt in the Eyes of the *menu Peuple* [*the Vulgar*] who meaſure the Dignity of Perſons by the Train that attend them. For the ſecond Article, they conſented to it, with an Apoſtyle of their own upon it, providing, that it ſhould not prejudice the Rights of any Princes, nor ever be drawn into conſequence in any other Place or Time: We found by theſe Anſwers, that the *French* Ambaſſadors had leſs Vanity than their Court, and wonder'd to find it ſo avow'd, and to deſcend to Circumſtances ſo low and ſo minute: For tho' Vanity be a Weakneſs, or a Fault, that the feweſt Men are without; yet it is that of all others that the feweſt will own; and few private Men, tho' perhaps affected with the Gazes and Opinion of the Rabble that fill the Streets as they paſs, will yet pretend or confeſs to conſider them. However, we thought beſt to let it paſs, and the rather, becauſe we knew it was no more the Senſe of the *French* Ambaſſadors than ours; for which they had one more particular Reaſon, which was the Noiſe that ran of the magnificent Preparations and Equipage deſign'd by the Marqueſs *De Balbaces* and Count *Antoine* towards their Appearance in this Congreſs; the firſt whereof was one of the richeſt Subjects of *Spain*, Heir and Deſcendent of the Famous *Spinola*; and the other had great Revenues from the Duke of *Oldenburg* (being his Natural Son) and was choſen by *Denmark* on Purpoſe to appear with Luſtre in this Ambaſſy: And the *French* Ambaſſadors apprehended, either being outſhined by theſe at their Arrival, or being engag'd in greater Expences upon the Vye than they expected from their Court; which uſually leaves thoſe kinds of Services to future Rewards, by ſucceeding Employments and Advances, rather than preſent Supplies. When we receiv'd this Anſwer from them, we only ſaid Monſieur *Pompone*'s reaſoning from the *menu Peuple* [*the Vulgar*] ſeem'd a little below the Greatneſs of his Maſter, or the Stile of a Great Miniſter; but that we ſhould acquaint the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors with it, that they might be at Liberty to retract the Conſent they had already given, ſince they, the *French*, ſeem'd to have done ſo; but that, for our ſelves, we would obſerve at leaſt the Rules we had propos'd to others, and let them follow either the Rules or Examples as they pleas'd. The *French* would by no Means allow to have refus'd them, and ſaid, they had only told us Monſieur *Pompone*'s Reflections upon them; but that they could not abſolutely conſent till they had concerted with their Allies, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, whoſe Arrival they daily expected. However, tho' they were by theſe wholly approv'd, yet the *French* Ambaſſadors, during the Aſſembly, made all their firſt Viſits with the three ſeveral Ambaſſadors Coaches and ſix Horſes, and the whole Number of their Train; which ſometimes reach'd further than the Space between their Houſes, and of the Miniſters where the Viſit was paid. But we continu'd to make ours only with two Horſes, and the Number of Servants we had propos'd; and the reſt of the Rules were obſerv'd by all with ſo good Effect, that for one

one whole Year I reſided there together, there never happen'd any Diſorder or Complaint from ſo numerous Trains.

For the Neutral Country, we at firſt propos'd by Concert with the *French* Ambaſſadors, to extend it about three Leagues, ſo as to take in the Town of *Cleves*, which has been always celebrated for one of the pleaſanteſt Seats of *Germany*; but upon tranſmitting this Propoſal to the *French* Court, a Reſolution came back to their Ambaſſadors to admit only two Leagues from *Nimeguen*, and that to continue ſubject to Contribution, and to Execution upon Failure of that being paid, as was uſual to the Garriſon of *Maeſtricht*. This we thought unpracticable, with the Safety of the Ambaſſadors or their Retinues, that ſhould make uſe of a Neutrality ſubject to Inroads of arm'd Troops upon Pretence of Contribution, and admitted of many Diſputes. The *French* Ambaſſadors had Orders from their Court, to go out of Town upon any Occaſion of Airing and Entertainment; the *Dutch* deſir'd us to let the *French* know, the States could not be anſwerable for their doing it ſafely, till a Neutral Country were eſtabliſh'd without being liable to Contribution. After ſome Time, rather than continue Priſoners to the Town, or venture the Inconvenience and Danger of Parties ranging within the Bounds of a Neutral Country, a Compaſs was agreed, about two *Engliſh* Miles from the Town; and mark'd out with ſeveral great Poſts erected to that Purpoſe, within which all Perſons ſhould have Liberty, and no Soldier ſhould be ſuffered to come in upon any Pretext whatſoever.

Several Pretenſions was raiſed at the Opening of this Congreſs (which was reckon'd from the Time of two Mediators Arrival upon the Place) about the Right of ſeveral Princes to ſend Ambaſſadors, and many Diſputes aroſe upon them. It had been agreed at the Treaty of *Munſter*, that every Elector ſhould be allow'd to ſend a Miniſter thither, with the Character of Ambaſſador; but if they ſent more than one in Commiſſion, that the Firſt only ſhould be treated with Excellence, and other Ceremonies of Ambaſſadors. This Rule was agreed to follow at *Nimeguen*: And the Elector of *Brandenburg* ſent two Ambaſſadors thither; but we treated the firſt only with the uſual Ceremonies, and left the other to his Pretences and Complaints. The *French* follow'd our Example; and the other Ambaſſadors did ſome one, ſome the other, according as their Intereſts engag'd them to comply with that Elector in this Pretence.

Upon Admiſſion of the Electors to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Congreſs, the ſame Pretence was ſoon after rais'd by the Dukes of *Lorrain*, *Neuburg* and *Lunenburg*: Much Altercation was us'd upon this Subject; but the Precedents alledg'd, not being found without Diſpute, the Thing lay quiet, and their Envoys arrived after ſome Time at *Nimeguen*.

We agreed neither to give the firſt Viſit, nor the Hand in our Houſes, to any Character under that of Ambaſſador; nor to other Perſons of Quality, that were not either Counts of the Empire, or General Officers of Armies.

There was no Diſpute about the Rank with the Mediators, the *French* having firſt yielded it by Order of their Court, till the *Imperialiſts* came; who neither yielded nor refus'd it, but ſeem'd deſirous to have that Mark of Diſtinction allow'd between the Emperor's Ambaſſadors and thoſe of all other Crown'd Heads. We held on our Pretence of it from theſe, as well as the reſt; but kept it from coming to any Deciſion till the very ſigning of the Treaty; finding the Emperor not inclin'd to yield it, and knowing that if it were refus'd there, the Admiſſion granted by the reſt might come to be retracted upon that Example.

The other Ambaſſadors were left to their uſual Pretences: The *French*, that all ſhould yield to them; and the reſt, of none yielding to one another; in which the *Swedes* carried the Point, even with their Allies the *French*, as nicely and poſitively as any others.

The *Swedes* arriv'd about the middle of *Auguſt*, ſent firſt to us, and then to the *French*, to notify their Arrival. This happen'd late in the Evening; ſo we deferred our Compliments and Deſires of an Hour till next Morning.

The

The *French* made theirs the ſame Night to Monſieur *Oxenſtiern*, the firſt in Commiſſion; who gave them an Hour the next Morning; and to our Secretaries, who came to them about that Time, they gave an Hour in the Afternoon. The Viſits were made accordingly: But upon our inſiſting that the firſt Viſit ought to be return'd to the Mediators, from whomſoever the firſt ſhould be received; the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors, after ſome Time to conſider it, determin'd the Point, and made us the firſt Viſit, tho' the *French* had firſt made it to them. And this was obſerv'd by the Ambaſſadors that afterwards arriv'd during my Reſidence there.

I remember no other Points of the Ceremonial that ſeem to have been eſtabliſh'd by the Courſe of this Aſſembly; unleſs it was one particular to our ſelves, who declared that we would dine with no Ambaſſador till the Peace was concluded, being deſirous to avoid the Trouble and Engagements of perpetual Invitations, as well as the Unkindneſs of Excuſes, at one Time, or to ſome Perſon, more than another; but our own Tables were open, each of us three Days in the Week, Two Poſt-days being reſerved to our ſelves for Buſineſs, and one for Diverſion or Exercise abroad; and ſeveral of the Ambaſſadors, eſpecially the *French*, came to our Tables, notwithſtanding this Reſolution, which they ſeem'd to take a little to Heart. But to make amends, we divided the Nights by Turns. Where there were any Ladies in the Ambaſſadors Houſes, and where the Evenings were ſpent in Dancing or Play, or careleſs and eaſy Suppers or Collations; in theſe Entertainments, as I ſeldom fail'd of making a Part, and my Colleague never had any; ſo it gave Occaſion for a good Saying that paſs'd upon it, *Que la Mediation eſtoit toujours en pied pour faire ſa function* [*That the Mediation was always in a Poſture to go on with its Buſineſs:*] For I uſed to go to bed, and riſe late; while my Colleague was a-Bed by Eight, and up by Four! And to ſay truth, Two more different Men were never joyn'd in one Commiſſion, nor agreed better in it.

For Buſineſs, there was very little for many Months after the Congreſs began, till the Arrival of the *Imperial* Miniſters; only the *French* Ambaſſadors, ſoon after my coming, demanding an Audience, came to make us the Offer of exhibiting their *Plein-Pouvoirs* [*Full Powers*] into our Hands, not doubting, as they ſaid, of the *Dutch* being ready to do the ſame. But upon our acquainting the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors with this Overture, they told us, That it was in the Choice of the *French* Ambaſſadors to do it when they pleas'd; but they did not conceive the haſtening of it would gain any Time, ſince they had no Orders to make that Pace without a previous Concert with their Allies; and conſequently, tho' the *French* ſhould do it, yet they would, at preſent, neither exhibit their own, nor make any Reflections (as might be neceſſary) upon thoſe of the *French*. From this Anſwer, the *French* took Occaſion to preſs the *Dutch* extreamly upon making Inſtances to all their Allies to haſten to the Treaty, or elſe to declare that they would enter into Affair with them; and not without ſome Intimation of their Maſter's being reſolv'd to recall them, in caſe this was refus'd or much longer delay'd. The *Dutch* excus'd the Retardments given to the Treaty ſo long, by the many Difficulties rais'd by the *French* Court upon Occaſion of the Paſſports, which were not yet diſpatch'd to ſome of their new Allies; but however promis'd to acquaint the States with theſe Inſtances, and endeavour to diſpoſe them to fix ſome Time, by which they would order their Ambaſſadors to enter into Matter, unleſs the Miniſters of the Allies were arriv'd at *Nimeguen*.

In theſe, and ſeveral other Points, interceding between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, we carried the Propoſals and Anſwers from one to the other, at their Houſes, by Word of Mouth; which continued till the Aſſembly was compleated, and a Place of Conference, with much Difficulty, agreed at the Stadthouſe of *Nimeguen*; where, after many Difficulties between the two Confederacies, and many more between the Parties that compos'd each of them, Two Chambers were at length agreed for the Par-

ties, and One for the Mediators, by which our Pains was leſſen'd, but without other Advantage. Nor was there any Point that gave us more Trouble than the adjuſting this among the Parties; for the *French* were from the very firſt moſt declaredly averſe from treating, either by Writings, or from agreeing to a Place of publick Conference; conceiving this would tend to keep the Body of the Confederacy united in the Treaty, as well as the War; whereas their Deſign was to break that Union here, which they could not in the Field; and find ſome Way or other of entering into ſeparate Meaſures for a Peace with ſome of the Parties engag'd. In the mean time the Allies found, or took, as many Occaſions as they could of delaying the Diſpatch of their Miniſters to the Congreſs, while they had Hopes of hindering the *Dutch* from proceeding without them; and that they believ'd might be done till this Campaign ſhould end; from the Events whereof the ſeveral Princes might the better take their Meaſures for the Conditions of a Peace that ſhould be propos'd or inſiſted on in this Treaty. And this Diſpoſition of theirs was ſo well purſu'd, that no other Ambaſſadors arriv'd at *Nimeguen* till *November*; tho' we, and the *French*, and the *Dutch*, had been ſo long upon the Place, and the *Swedes* ſoon after us.

In the mean time the Succeſſes of the Campaign, that were expected abſolutely to govern the Motions of the Treaty, were various as to the Groſs of the War; but ran as high to the Advantage of the *French*, as to the Diſadvantage of the *Swediſh* Affairs. By Force of great Treaſures, and the great Order in diſpoſing them, the *French* Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, ſo as to enable them to take the Field as they pleas'd in the Spring, without fearing the Weather for their Foot, or expecting Graſs for their Horſe. On t'other Side, the *Spaniards* Want of Money and Order, left their Troops in *Flanders* neither capable to act by themſelves upon any ſudden Attempt, nor to ſupply with Proviſions in their March either *Dutch* or *Germans* that ſhould come to their Relief. Their Towns were ill fortify'd, and worſe defended; ſo that the King of *France* marching in the Head of a brave and numerous Army, took *Conde* in Four Days in the Month of *April* this Year 1676, before any of the Confederates were in the Field; and in *May* ſent to the Duke of *Orleans* to beſiege *Bouchain* with ſome Part of his Troops, being a ſmall, tho' ſtrong Place, and very conſiderable for its Situation to the Defence of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. The King with the Strength of his Army, poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, as to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from being able to relieve it, or to fight without Diſadvantage.

The Prince ſtruggled through all the Difficulties from the Seaſon, or Want of Proviſions and Magazines in *Flanders*, and marched with his Army in ſight of the *French* King by the Middle of *May*. The Armies continued ſome Days facing one another, and ſeveral times drawing out in Order to a Battle, which neither of them thought fit to begin; whether not willing to hazard, without Neceſſity or Advantage, ſo deciſive an Action as this was like to prove; or whether the *French* contented themſelves to carry their Point by hindering the Relief of *Bouchain*, which muſt fall without it; while the Prince of *Orange* was with-held by the *Spaniards* from purſuing his, which was to give a Battle that the *Spaniards* knew could not be loſt without the Loſs of *Flanders*. The Armies continued facing one another till *Bouchain* was ſurrendered the eighth Day of the Siege. The Prince returned to refreſh his Army, harraſs'd with ſo haſty a March upon ſo ſudden Preparations; and the King of *France* return'd home, leaving his Army under the Marſhal *De Schomberg*, to attend the Motions of the Enemies. The Prince fell into Concert with the *Spaniards* and *German* Princes near the *Lower Rhine* for the Siege of *Maeſtricht*; which, tho' the ſtrongeſt of the *Dutch* Frontiers when it was taken, had been yet fortify'd by the *French* ſince they poſſeſs'd it with all the Advantages of Art and Expence, and with a Garriſon of eight thouſand choſen Men, under *Calvo*, a reſolute *Catalonian*, who commanded there under the Marſhal *D'Eſtrades* Governour of the Place, but then at *Nimeguen*.

About

About the End of *July* the Trenches were open'd by the Prince, and the Siege carried on with ſuch Bravery, ſo many and deſperate Aſſaults, for about three Weeks; that as Wagers were continually offer'd, with Odds, at *Nimeguen*, that it wou'd be taken within ſuch or ſuch a Time, ſo we did not obſerve the Marſhal *D'Eſtrades* was willing to take them, or ſeem'd at all confident it would be ſo well defended. The Prince, or the *Rhingrave* (who was deſign'd for Governour of the Town, as his Father had been) was ever in the Head of the Attacks; and made great Uſe, as well as Proof of the deſperate Courage of the *Engliſh* Troops, upon all thoſe Occaſions: Many of the Outworks were taken, with great Slaughter on both Sides; but were ſupplied by new Retrenchments, and by all the Art and Induſtry of a reſolute Captain, and brave Soldiers, within. About the Middle of *Auguſt*, the Prince, expoſing himſelf upon all Occaſions, receiv'd a Musket-ſhot in his Arm; at which perceiving thoſe about him were daunted, he immediately pull'd off his Hat with the Arm that was hurt, and waved it about his Head, to ſhew the Wound was but in the Fleſh, and the Bone ſafe; at which they all reviv'd, and the Prince went on without Interruption in all the Paces of the Siege. But a cruel Sickneſs falling into his Army, weaken'd it more than all the Aſſaults they had given the Town. The *Germans* came not up with the Supplies they had promiſes, and upon which Aſſurance the Siege was undertaken; and the *Rhingrave*, who, next the Prince, was the Spring of this Action, happening to be wounded ſoon after, was forc'd to leave the Camp for a Caſtle in the Neighbourhood, where he died: By all which the Army grew diſheartened, and the Siege faint. In the mean time Monſieur *De Schomberg*, who truſted to a vigorous Defence at *Maeſtricht*, had beſieg'd and taken *Aire*; and after the Prince's Army was weaken'd by the Accidents of the Siege, march'd with all the *French* Forces through the Heart of the *Spaniſh* Low-Countries, to the Relief of *Maeſtricht*; upon whoſe Approach, and the Reſolutions of a Council of War in the Prince's Camp, the Siege was rais'd, and with it the Campaign ended in the *Dutch* or *Spaniſh* Provinces. And from this time the Prince of *Orange* began to deſpair of any Succeſs in the War, after ſuch Tryals and Experience of ſuch Weakneſs in the *Spaniſh* Forces and Conduct, and Uncertainty in the *German* Counſels or Reſolutions.

However, the *Imperial* Army took *Philipsburg* in the End of *September* this Year 1676; which was yielded for want of Proviſions, and as much againſt common Opinion and Expectation, as the contrary Event in the Siege of *Maeſtricht*.

The Affairs of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* proſper'd all this while againſt *Sweden*, with Advantage in moſt of the Sieges and Encounters that paſs'd this Summer and the firſt Part of the Winter following, ſo that the *Swedes* ſeem'd to be loſing apace all they had ſo long poſſeſs'd in *Germany*: But the *Imperial* Forces, tho' joyn'd by thoſe of the ſeveral Princes upon the *Upper Rhine*, had made no Progreſs in their deſign'd Conqueſts there, and were forc'd to ſeek their old Quarters on the *German* Side of the *Rhine* upon the Approach of the *French*, which was a true and undiſputed Deciſion of the ſmall Succeſs of this Campaign.

After it was ended, the Parties engag'd in the War began to turn their Thoughts, or at leaſt their Eyes, more towards the Motions of the Treaty than they had hitherto done. The Prince of *Orange* writ to me, deſir'd to ſee me for a Day or two at *Soesdyck* near *Amersfort*, about a Day's Journey from *Nimeguen*. He complained much, and with too much Reaſon, of the Conduct of his Allies; the Weakneſs, or rather Uſeleſneſs of the *Spaniſh* Troops in *Flanders*, for want of Pay or Order; the *Imperial* Armies acting without Deſign upon the *Rhine*, or with Dependence upon Orders from *Vienna*, where the Emulation of the Miniſters made ſuch Diſtraction, and Counter-paces of their Generals, that the Campaign had paſs'd with ſmall Effect, after the Promiſe of vigorouſly invading either *Lorrain* or *France*: How the Dukes of *Lunenburg* had fail'd of ſending their Troops to *Maeſtricht*; which,

with the Sickneſs of the Camp, had render'd that Siege ineffectual: So that he began to deſpair of any good Iſſue of the War; and wou'd be glad to hear I hop'd for a Better of the Peace, upon our Scene at *Nimeguen*, after the Paces and Progreſs whereof he made particular Enquiries. I told him how little Advances had been hitherto made, by the Slowneſs of his Allies diſpatching their Miniſters thither; how little Succeſs could be expected from the Pretenſions of the Parties when they ſhould meet; eſpecially *France* pretending to keep all they had got by the War, and *Spain* to recover all they had loſt; how his Majeſty ſeem'd of the Mind to concern himſelf no further than the Paces of a Mediator, our Orders being only to convey the Mind or Propoſals of the Parties from one to another, and even to avoid the Offers of any References upon them to his Majeſty's Determination; ſo that my Opinion was, That it muſt be the War alone that muſt make the Peace, and that I ſuppos'd it would do at one time or other, by the Weakneſs and Wearineſs of one of the Parties.

The Prince ſeem'd of my Mind, and ſaid, The Events of the War would depend upon the Conduct at *Madrid* and *Vienna* before next Campaign; for without ſome great Succeſſes, he did not believe the States would be induc'd to continue it longer. I told the Prince the Diſcourſes Monſieur *Colbert* had entertain'd me with upon my Arrival at *Nimeguen*, in which his Highneſs was chiefly concern'd. Upon which he reply'd coldly, He had heard enough of the ſame Kind another Way, which Monſieur *D'Eſtrades* had found out to Penſioner *Fagel*; but that they knew him little that made him ſuch Overtures; and for his own Intereſts or Advantages, let them find a Way of ſaving his Honour, by ſatisfying *Spain*, and nothing of his Concerns ſhould retard the Peace an Hour.

After my Return to *Nimeguen*, I found the *French* making all the Advances they could towards the Progreſs of the Treaty; and they were (no doubt) in earneſt; for being in a Poſture to inſiſt upon their preſent Poſſeſſions, and having made a great Hand of this laſt Campaign, they were willing, like Gameſters that have won much, to give over, unleſs oblig'd to play on by thoſe that had loſt. The *Swedes* were more in haſte and in earneſt for the Peace than any, hoping no Reſource for their Loſſes in *Germany* by the War. The *Dutch* were grown impatient for the Peace, finding *France* would make no Difficulty of any thing between them, offering privately by their Emiſſaries, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, ſuch a Reglement of Commerce as they could deſire, the Reſtitution of *Maeſtricht*, and of all Satisfaction the Prince of *Orange* could pretend upon his Loſſes, or their Seiſures, in the War. But *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were as violent againſt the Peace, having ſwallow'd up in their Hopes all that *Sweden* had poſſeſs'd in *Germany*: And tho' the Emperor ſeem'd to pretend little after the taking of *Philipsburg*, beſides the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, and the Towns of *Alſace*, to the Poſture they were left in by the *Munſter* Treaty; yet they were ſo faſt linked, both with their *German* Allies and with *Spain*, that they reſolv'd to make no Paces in the Treaty but by common Concert: And *Spain*, tho' ſenſible of the Condition their Affairs in *Flanders* were in, as well as in *Sicily*; yet upon a Deſign then hatching at *Madrid*, for Removal of the Queen Regent and her Miniſtry, to introduce *Don John* to head the Affairs of their Government, had conceived great Hopes to recover thoſe deſperate Infirmities that their inveterate Diſorders both in Counſels and Conduct, eſpecially in their Finances, had for ſo long time occaſion'd. Beſides, they had Confidences ſtill given them from their Miniſters in *England*, that his Majeſty would not, after all, be contented to ſee *Flanders* loſt, or wou'd be forc'd into the War by the Humour of his Parliament. For theſe Reaſons the Allies ſeem'd to make no Haſte at all to the Congreſs, and ſome of them hardly to look that Way; and none of the Parties were yet arriv'd, beſides the *French*, the *Swedes*, and the *Dutch*: But about the End of *September*, the *French* Ambaſſadors gave us Notice, That their Maſter having made ſo many Advances towards Peace, and being ſo ill ſeconded by the Proceedings of the Confederates, and their Slowneſs in coming

coming to the Treaty, was reſolv'd to recall his Ambaſſadors, unleſs thoſe of the chief Confederates ſhould repair to *Nimeguen* within the Space of one Month.

This we communicated to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, and they to the States; who, after ſome Conferences with the Miniſters of their Allies, came to a Reſolution, that they would enter upon the Treaty themſelves, if the Miniſters of their Confederates ſhould not repair to *Nimeguen* by the firſt of *November*; which was afterwards, upon ſome Diſputes, declar'd to be meant Old Stile, being that of the Place where the Congreſs was held.

The Noiſe of this Reſolution of the States was more, among the Allies, than the Danger; ſince there were Ways enough to raiſe Difficulties, and ſpin out Time, after the Ambaſſadors ſhould arrive, as well as before; but yet it had ſo much Effect, that the ſeveral Confederates did upon it begin to haſten away one or other of their intended Ambaſſadors towards *Nimeguen* (as Count *Konitz* from *Vienna*, *Don Pedro Ronquillo* from *England*, where he then reſided as *Spaniſh* Envoy;) but not the Perſons principally intruſted, or at the Head of their Ambaſſies, nor with Powers to proceed further than Preliminaries; and from *Denmark* Monſieur *Heug*, without any News of Count *Antoine*'s Preparation, who was appointed chief of that Ambaſſy; any more than of the Biſhop of *Gurck*, or Marqueſs *De Balbaces*, the chiefeſt of thoſe deſigned from the Emperor and *Spain*.

In the mean time the *Dutch* began to lay Load upon their Allies, for their Backwardneſs, ſo declar'd, in making any Paces towards the Treaty; to cavil upon the Obligations they were under of ſo many great Subſidies to ſo many Princes their Allies, for carrying on a War which the Allies purſued for their own ſeparate Intereſts or Ambition, though enter'd into perhaps at firſt for Defence of *Holland*, with whoſe Safety theirs were complicated. Hereupon their Miniſters, both at the *Hague* and *Nimeguen*, took the Liberty to ſay publickly, and upon ſeveral Occaſions, and in ſeveral Companies, that their Maſters would pay no Subſidies to their Allies the next Campaign, unleſs, in the mean time, they would, by their fair and ſincere Proceedings in the Treaty, put the *French* in the Wrong, as their Expreſſion was.

The *Swedes* had, as well as the *French*, offer'd to deliver us their Powers; but this was deferred by the *Dutch* to the Arrival of their Allies, till after the firſt of *November* was elapſed. The *French* began to preſs them upon it, in Conſequence of the States Reſolution; and after ſome little Demurrs, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors agreed to deliver theirs. So by Concert, not without Difficulty, we agreed, that on the 21ſt of *November* the ſeveral Powers ſhould be brought to us the Mediators, by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, at ſuch Hours as they ſhould ſeverally take from us; ſhould be depoſited in our Hands; and that we ſhould afterwards communicate the Originals mutually to the ſeveral Ambaſſadors at their Houſes, and leave Copies with them, atteſted by us the Mediators.

This was done accordingly; and the Morning after, the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors brought us an Account of ſeveral Exceptions they were forc'd to make againſt ſeveral Expreſſions in the *French* and *Swediſh* Prefaces to their Powers, which they ſaid were fitter for *Manifeſtoes* than for *Powers of a Treaty*, eſpecially thoſe of juſtifying the War and maintaining the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*. But the greateſt Streſs they laid, was upon a Clauſe in the *French* Powers, mentioning the Pope's Mediation; which they ſaid their Maſters could never conſent to now, no more than they had at *Munſter*. To ſay Truth, tho' the gaining of Time for the Allies coming might have ſome part in theſe Exceptions of the *Dutch*, yet they were fram'd with great Art; and ſhew'd the great Quickneſs and Sharpneſs of Monſieur *Van Beverning*'s Apprehenſion, as well as his Skill and Experience in theſe kind of Affairs; being, I think, without diſpute, the moſt practis'd and the ableſt Ambaſſador, of any I have ever met in the Courſe of my Employments.

The *Dutch* Exceptions were return'd, by others from the *French* and *Swedes*, againſt their Powers; but with Offer from both of entering into the Treaty, while

while these Matters should be adjusting. The *Dutch* accepted it, provided the *French* would oblige themselves to procure new Powers, free from the Exceptions rais'd against them, as the *Dutch* offer'd to do. After much Debate, they all agreed in desiring us the Mediators to draw up a Form of Powers to be us'd by all the Parties: We did it, and it was approv'd by them all; with some Reserve only from the *French*, whether it would be fit to mention any Mediation, since that of the Pope's was left out; and some little Tentatives upon us, whether we would be content to leave out all Mention of his Majesty's Mediation, as well as that of the Pope's? This we excus'd our selves from doing, the whole Frame of the Congress having proceeded from his Majesty's Mediation, without any Intervention of the Pope's; and the King's having been accepted by all the Parties, which the Pope's had not been; but on the contrary, the very Mention of it in the Powers declar'd against by several of them. And by Orders we receiv'd from Court upon occasion of this Dispute, we declared to all the Parties, that tho' his Majesty pretended not to exclude any other Mediation that the Parties should think fit to use, yet he could not in any wise act jointly with that of the Pope; nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any Commerce either of Visits or Conferences, with any of his that might be employ'd at *Nimeguen*.

In *November* arriv'd Monsieur *Heng*, one of the *Danish* Ambassadors; Monsieur *Somnitz* and *Blaspyl*, the two *Brandenburg* Ambassadors; Lord *Berkley* from *Paris*; and soon after, *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, one of the *Spanish* Ambassadors; but the last continu'd incognito till the arrival of Count *Kinkski*, who, whether he had taken the Gout, or the Gout had taken him, continu'd upon that Pretence at *Cologne* till the new Year was begun.

The *Spanish* Ambassador coming upon Visits to my Wife, and meeting me there, found that Way of entering into the present Business of the Scene, as much as if he had been declar'd upon it. He agreed with the *French* in this one Point, of desiring either the Pope's Mediation might be mention'd in their Powers; or that his Majesty, in Consideration of the Peace, would suffer the Mention of his to be left out: But the *Dane*, on t'other Side, agreed with the *Dutch*, in refusing to admit any Power with Mention of the Pope's Mediation. There arose likewise another Difficulty, from a seeming Expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party several Powers granted for treating with the several Parties they were in War with; which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their Allies: And in these Disputes or Difficulties the Year 1676 ended.

I enter not at all into the Detail, or so much as Mention, of the many Incidents that fell into the Course of this Treaty upon Punctilio's of Visits or Ceremonials; because they seem to me but so many Impertinencies that are grown this last Age into the Character of Ambassadors; having been rais'd and cultivated by Men, who wanting other Talents to value themselves upon in those Imployments, endeavour'd to do it by Exactness or Niceties in the Forms; and besides, they have been taken notice of by discourses concerning this Treaty, and at one time or other may be exactly known by the Original Papers of our Ambassy, which are in two or three several Hands: Whereas I intend chiefly to declare the Course of this great Affair, by the more material Circumstances, and from true Springs of those Events that succeeded, rather than trouble my self with the Forms that serv'd to amuse so long this Assembly at *Nimeguen*.

I shall only make two Observations upon the Ceremonial; the first is, upon the Emperor's Conduct towards the *Brandenburg* Ambassadors; allowing his Ministers to treat them both like Ambassadors of Crown'd Heads, though we gave it only to the first of the Ambassy upon the Precedent of the *Munster* Treaty, and were follow'd in it by the *French* and *Swedes* in the whole Course of this Treaty at *Nimeguen*. This Pace of the Emperor seem'd not so much grounded, as some thought, upon his Compliance with so considerable an Ally, as upon a Design to assist another Pretension of his own; which is, not only a Difference of Place, but also of Rank, from all other Crown'd Heads

of

of *Chriſtendom*: Whereas the other Kings, though they yield him the Place, yet they do not allow him a Difference of Rank. But if the Emperor could by his Example prevail with other Kings to treat the Electors like Crown'd Heads, it would fortifie the Pretenſions of the Emperor to a Difference of Rank; ſince there is a great one, and out of all conteſt, between him and the Electors.

My ſecond Remark is, That among all the Punctilioes between the Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, none ſeem'd to me to carry them to ſuch Heights as the *Swedes* and the *Danes*. The firſt ſtanding as ſtiff upon all Points of not ſeeming to yield in the leaſt to the *French* Ambaſſadors, tho' their Allies, and from a Crown not only of ſo mighty Power, but from whom alone they expected the reſtoring of their broken State in *Germany*: And the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador, upon the *French* Powers being exhibited in *French*, ſaid he would give his in *Daniſh*, unleſs they would do it in *Latin*, as a common Language; alledging he knew no Difference between Crown'd Heads; that the *Daniſh* Kings had been as great as the *French* are now, and in their preſent Dominions are as abſolute. Upon all which Monſieur *Van Beverning* could not forbear to reflect, and ſay to us, That in his Remembrance there was no ſort of Competition made by thoſe two Northern Kings with the other three great Kings of *Chriſtendom*; That the Treatment of the States to them was very different, and their Miniſters made no Difficulty of ſigning any Inſtruments after the Miniſters of the three great Crowns. 'Tis, I think, out of queſtion, that the Pretenſion of Parity among the Crown'd Heads, was firſt made in the North by *Guſtavus*, when he told Monſieur *Grammont* the *French* Ambaſſador in *Sweden* upon this Occaſion, That for his part he knew no Diſtinction among Crown'd Heads, but what was made by their Virtue; and this Pretence was not diſputed with him, in reſpect to the Greatneſs of his Qualities, as well as of his Attempts and Succeſſes; and his Example was follow'd by the Kings of *Denmark*, and has ſince left Place for a Thing conteſted among them all. 'Tis true, the *French* have claim'd the Precedence next to the Emperor, with more Noiſe and Haughtineſs than the reſt, but have been yielded to by none except the *Spaniards*, upon the Fear of a War they were not able to deal with; nor have they ſince been willing to own the Weakneſs of that Conceſſion, but have choſen to fall into what Meaſures they could of encouraging and eſtabliſhing the Pretence of Parity among Crown'd Heads. The moſt remarkable Inſtance of this happen'd at *Nimeguen*; where upon a publick Meeting of the Allies, the Diſpute ariſing between *Spain* and *Denmark* for the Place at Table, *Don Pedro* conſented to have it taken by turns, and the firſt to be divided by lot. The *French* Ambaſſadors made their Pretence of Preference next the Mediators at *Nimeguen*, in the firſt Return of their Viſits from Ambaſſadors arriving; but 'twas neither yielded to by *Swede* or *Dane*, nor practis'd by the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, who made their firſt Viſit to the Mediators, and the next without Diſtinction to the firſt that had viſited them. The Emperor took Advantage of the *French*, as well as the reſt, having yielded to the Mediators; and during this Treaty made a Scruple, tho' not a Refuſal, of doing it; by which he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf from the other Crown'd Heads. We were content to keep it, as much as we could, from Deciſion with them; but it once happen'd, that upon a Meeting with the Allies at the *Dane*'s Houſe, Count *Kinkſki* was there before I and Sir *Lionel* came into the Room, where Chairs were ſet for all the Ambaſſadors. After the common Salutations, I went ſtrait up to the Chair that was firſt in Rank, and ſtood before it, to ſit down when the reſt were ready; but my Colleague, either loſing his Time by being engag'd in longer Civilities, or by a Deſire not to be engaged in Conteſts, gave room to Count *Kinkſki* (a very briſk Man) to come and ſtand before the Chair that was next me, and conſequently between me and my Colleague: When I ſaw this, and conſider'd, that tho' the Place was given me by the Imperialiſts, yet it was not given to the King's Ambaſſy; I choſe not to ſit down; but falling into the Conference that was intended, I ſtood all the while as if I did it careleſly, and ſo left the Matter undecided.

The

The Prince of *Orange*, about the latter End of *December*, writ very earnestly to me, to make a Step for some few Days to the *Hague*, knowing I had leave from His Majesty to do it when I thought fit. And finding all Things without present Motion at *Nimeguen*, I went thither, and arriv'd the last Day of the Year. The first of the next, being 1677, I attended his Highness: We fell into large Discourses of the Progress of the Treaty, the Coldness of the Parties, the affected Delays of the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, the declar'd Aversion of the *Danes* and *Brandenburgh*; and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal Paces of this Congress. Upon all which the Prince ask'd, if I had heard any more of his Majesty's Mind upon the Peace, since I had been last with him? I told him what I remember'd of his last Letter to me upon that Subject; which was, That he concluded from the Prince's Discourses to me, that he had then no mind to Peace; that he was sorry for it, because he thought it was his Interest to have it: That he had try'd to know the Mind of *France* upon it; but if they would not open themselves further on one side, nor his Highness on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himself with performing only his Part of Mediator, and in the common Forms. The Prince said, This look'd very cold, since his Majesty was alone able to make the Peace, and knew well enough what it could come to by the Forms of the Congress. That for his own part, he desir'd it, and had a great deal of Reason; both because his Majesty seem'd to do so, and to think it his own Interest as well as the Prince's, and because the States not only thought it their Interest, but absolutely necessary for them. That he would not say this to any but to the King, by me; because if *France* should know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the Terms: That both *Spain* and the Emperor had less Mind to it now, than they had at the End of the last Campaign; the new Ministers being less inclin'd to it than the old had been; so that there was not one of the Allies that had any mind to it, besides the States. That for his own part, he should be always in the same mind with them, and therefore very much desir'd it; but did not know which way to go about it, at least so as to compass it before the next Campaign. And if that once began, they should be all at Sea again, and should be forced to go just as the Wind should drive them: That if his Majesty had a Mind to make it, and would let him know freely the Conditions upon which either he desir'd or believ'd it might be made, he would endeavour to concert it the best he could with his Majesty, and that with all the Freedom and Sincerity in the World; so it might be done with any Safety to his own Honour, and the Interests of his Country.

All this he desir'd me to write directly to his Majesty from him, as he knew I had not only Leave, but Command to do, upon any Occasion that I thought deserved it.

Two Days after, I saw the Pensioner *Fagel* upon some common Affairs incident to my Ambassy at the *Hague*, which had been left in the Hands of the Secretary of that Ambassy. When these Discourses were past, he ask'd me if I had brought them Peace from *Nimeguen*? I reply'd, That since he was so ignorant of what had pass'd there, I would tell him, That they had carried their Matters there *En habiles gens* [*Like able Men:*] That to bring their Allies to the Congress, they had pretended to treat by the First of *November*, whether they came or not: That after that Day pass'd, they had found Fault with the Powers exhibited, had offer'd at new, made the Mediators course from one to t'other, spun out two Month's Time in these Paces, and thereby were gotten in Sight both of *Spanish* and *Imperial* Ministers, which I suppos'd was the Point they always intended, and afterwards to keep Pace with them. The Pensioner answer'd me, with something in his Face both serious and sad, That either I did not know them, and the Course of their Affairs since I left the *Hague*, or else I would not seem to know them: That they not only desir'd the Peace from their Hearts, but thought it absolutely necessary for them: That they would certainly have entered into the

the Treaty at the Time, if the *French* had either exhibited Powers in h Form to be at all admitted, or would have oblig'd themſelves to procure new ones; nay, That they would not inſiſt upon a Peace according to their Allies Pretenſions, nor could he anſwer that they would not make a Separate one. I ſaid, That was a Matter of ſuch moment, as I was ſure they would think of it another Year before they did it. With this he drew up his Chair cloſer to me, and began a Diſcourſe with more Heat and Earneſtneſs than agreed well with the Poſture of Health he was in; ſaying, firſt, That they had thought enough of it already; and with thinking much, had begun to find it was without Remedy: That they had great Obligations to *Spain*, for entering into the War to ſave their Country, and thereby to ſave *Flanders* too; but they had made them no ill Return, by continuing it now three Years only for the Intereſts of *Spain*, ſince there remain'd nothing of Conſequence between *France* and them: That they had further engag'd themſelves to carry it on this following Year, and ſo would have done with the Forces they did the laſt, if their Allies had perform'd the Parts they had likewiſe engag'd; but for *Spain*, they took no Care, but to let them ſee they were reſolv'd to periſh: That they had ſent their Fleet home from *Sicily*, without the Payments agreed on; and left them to be paid by the States at their Return: That not a Penny could be got of a great Sum they ow'd them for Carriages and Proviſions the laſt Summer, and which was deſign'd for Magazines againſt next Year in *Flanders*, without which their Armies could not march in that Country, where they were ſure to find none of the *Spaniards* providing: That they had repreſented to *Spain* the Neceſſity but of keeping ſo many Forces well regulated and paid, as might defend their Towns while the Prince ſhould take the Field with the Army of the State, and hinder or divert any great Sieges there; but not a Word of Anſwer: That they had then deſir'd them to receive ſo many of the Troops of the *German* Princes, their Allies, as might defend their moſt important Places; but inſtead of this, they drove them out of their Country: That for the Emperor, they had always told him, That unleſs his Army would march into *France*, or at leaſt force them to a Battle by ſuch Forces as might draw great Detachments of the *French* out of *Flanders*, that Country would not be ſav'd the laſt Summer, or at leaſt not the next, unleſs his Army took up their Quarters this Winter in *Alſace*, or on that Side of the *Rhine*: But at *Vienna* they conſider'd *Flanders* as much as the *Dutch* do *Hungary*; and becauſe the Imperial Officers could better find their private Account by Winter Quarters in *Germany*, than in a Country haraſs'd like *Alſace*, their Armies muſt repaſs the *Rhine* this Winter, and thereby loſe all the Advantages of the laſt Campaign, and Hopes of the next: That for want of Magazines in *Flanders*, two or three ſtrong Frontiers would be loſt there next Spring, before the Imperialiſts could take the Field; and if *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, and *Mons*, were taken, all the reſt would revolt, conſidering the Miſeries they had already ſuffer'd, and muſt by a longer War: That the Prince would not be able to prevent it, or be ſoon enough in the Field to march, for Want of Proviſions in *Flanders*, the Country growing deſolate by the unſettled Contributions; or at leaſt, not with ſuch an Army as to venture a Battle, or raiſe a Siege, while the *Spaniſh* Troops were ſo weak, and the *French* would be ſo ſtrong, at a Time when they had no Enemy to divert them upon the *Rhine*: That the Prince's Friends could not ſuffer him to go into the Field, only to ſee Towns loſt under his Noſe, and perhaps all *Flanders*, while he was expected to defend it; and at the ſame time was render'd incapable of doing it by the Faults of the *Spaniards*, who yet would not fail to reproach him, as well as his Enemies abroad, and Ill-willers at home, that would be glad of the Occaſion. In the mean time, from *France* they could have whatever Conditions they pretended, either by reſtoring *Maeſtricht*, a Reglement of Commerce, or any Advantages to the Houſe of *Orange*; and as to this laſt, whatever the Prince himſelf would demand: That to this Purpoſe they had every Week preſſing Letters from Monſieur *D'Eſtrades* to

make the Separate Peace; and tho' he ſhould fall into it with the greateſt Regret that could be, yet he did not ſee what elſe was to be done, and did not know one Man in *Holland* that was not of the ſame Mind: That he did not talk with me as an Ambaſſador, but a Friend, whoſe Opinion he eſteem'd and deſir'd: That he told me freely *Leur Fort & leur Foible* [*Their Strength and their Weakneſs*;] and would be glad to know what elſe I thought they could do upon all theſe Circumſtances, *Et dans l'Accablement de leur Eſtat par une ſi longue Guerre* [*And in the Diſtreſs of their State by ſo long a War.*] I returned his Compliment, but excus'd my ſelf from giving my Opinion to a Perſon ſo well able to take Meaſures that were the fitteſt for the States Conduct or his own; but deſired to know what he reckon'd would become of *Flanders* after the *Dutch* had made their Separate Peace, becauſe the Fate of that Country was that wherein the reſt of their Neighbours were concern'd as well as they. He anſwer'd it wou'd be loſt in one Summer, or in two, but more probably in one: That he believ'd *Cambray*, *Valenciennes*, *Namur*, and *Mons*, might be loſt in one Summer: That after their Loſs, the great Towns within would not offer at defending themſelves, excepting *Antwerp* and *Oſtend*, for which they might perhaps take ſome Meaſures with *France*, as I knew the *French* had offer'd Monſieur *De Wit* upon their firſt Invaſion in 1667. I ask'd him how he reckon'd this State was to live with *France* after the Loſs of *Flanders*? And if he thought it could be otherwiſe than at Diſcretion? He deſir'd me to believe, That if they could hope to ſave *Flanders* by the War, they would not think of a Separate Peace; but if it muſt be loſt, they had rather it ſhould be by the laſt, which would leſs exhauſt their Country and diſhonour the Prince: That after *Flanders* was loſt, they muſt live ſo with *France*, as would make them find it their Intereſt rather to preſerve their State than to deſtroy it: That it was not to be choſen, but to be ſwallowed like a deſperate Remedy: That he had hop'd for ſome Reſource from better Conduct in the *Spaniſh* Affairs; or that ſome great Impreſſion of the *German* Armies upon that Side of *France*, might have brought the Peace to ſome reaſonable Terms: That for his own part he had ever believ'd, that *England* it ſelf would cry Halt, at one Step or other that *France* was making; and that if we would be content to ſee half *Flanders* loſt, yet we would not all; nor *Sicily* neither, for the Intereſt of our Trade in the *Mediterranean*: That the King had the Peace in his Hands for theſe two Years paſt, might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon ſuch Conditions as he ſhould think fit, of Juſtice and Safety to the reſt of his Neighbours as well as himſelf: That all Men knew, *France* was not in a Condition to refuſe whatever Terms his Majeſty reſolv'd on, or to venture a War with *England* in Conjunction with the reſt of the Allies: That the leaſt Shew of it, if at all credited in *France*, was enough to make the Peace: That they had long repreſented all this in *England* by Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, and offer'd his Majeſty to be the Arbiter of it, and to fall into the Terms he ſhould preſcribe; but not a Word in Anſwer, and all receiv'd with ſuch a Coldneſs as never was, though other People thought we had Reaſon to be a little more concern'd: That this put him more upon thinking a Separate Peace neceſſary, than all the reſt: That he confeſs'd, *Cuncta prius tentanda* [*All Means were firſt to be tried*] till he found at laſt 'twas *immedicabile Vulnus* [*an incurable Wound*:] That for their living with *France* after *Flanders* was loſt, he knew well enough what I meant by asking; but after that, the Aims of *France* would be more upon *Italy* or *Germany*, or perhaps upon us, than them: That it could not be the Intereſt of *France* to deſtroy or conquer this State, but to preſerve it in a Dependence upon that Crown: That they could make better Uſe of the *Dutch* Fleets, than of a few poor Fiſher-Towns that they ſhould be reduc'd to if any Violation were made either upon their Liberties or Religion: That the King of *France* had ſeen their Country, and knew it, and underſtood it ſo, and ſaid upon all Occaſions, That he had rather have them for his Friends than his Subjects; but if, after all, I concluded their State muſt fall in Four

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and twenty Hours, yet it were better for them to defer it to the laſt Hour, and that it ſhould happen at Night rather than at Noon.

This was diſcours'd with ſuch Vehemence and Warmth, that he was not able to go on; and having ſaid, it was not Matter to be reſolv'd between us Two, I left him, after wiſhing him Health enough to go through the Thoughts and Buſineſſes of ſo great a Conjuncture.

Next Morning I went to the Prince, and after ſome common Talk, told him what had paſt in my Viſit to the Penſioner, and ask'd his Highneſs, if he had ſeen him ſince, or knew any thing of it? He ſaid No; and ſo I told him the Detail of it; and upon Concluſion, that he ſaid he ſaw nothing elſe to be done but to make a Separate Peace; and that he knew not a Man in *Holland* who was not of his Mind. The Prince interrupted me, ſaying, Yes, I am ſure I know one, and that is my ſelf, and I will hinder it as long as I can; but if any thing ſhould happen to me, I know it would be done in two Days Time. I ask'd him, whether he was of the Penſioner's Mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign? He ſaid, The Appearances were ill; but Campaigns did not always end as they began: That Accidents might happen which no Man could foreſee; and that if they came to one fair Battel, none could anſwer for the Event: That the King might make the Peace, if he pleas'd, before it began; but if we were ſo indifferent as to let this Seaſon paſs, for his part he muſt go on, and take his Fortune: That he had ſeen that Morning a poor old Man, tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, againſt the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal: That when with the laſt Endeavours he was juſt got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carried him quite back again; but he turn'd his Boat as ſoon as he could, and fell to his Oars again; and thus three or four times while the Prince ſaw him; and concluded this old Man's Buſineſs and his were too like one another, and that he ought however to do juſt as the old Man did, without knowing what would ſucceed, any more than what did in the poor Man's Caſe.

All that paſs'd upon theſe Diſcourſes I repreſented very particularly to the Court, the firſt Part immediately to the King, the reſt to the Secretaries of State; and added my own Opinion, that if his Majeſty continu'd to interpoſe no further than by the bare and common Offices of this Mediation in the Place and Forms of a Treaty, and the *Auſtrians* held off from the Progreſs of it, as well as the Northern Allies, and as they had all hitherto done, it would certainly follow, that the *French* and *Dutch* would fall into private Negotiations, and by what I could obſerve on both Sides, were like to adjuſt them in a very little Time, and leave them ready to clap up a Peace in two Days, when the *Dutch* ſhould grow more impatient of the Slowneſs or Unſincereneſs of their Allies Proceedings in the General Treaty, or whenever the violent Humour of the People ſhould force the Prince to fall into the ſame Opinion with the States upon this Matter. This I eſteem'd my ſelf oblig'd to ſay, that his Majeſty might want no Lights that were neceſſary upon ſo nice, and yet ſo dangerous a Conjuncture. I had his Majeſty's Anſwer in a long Letter of his own Hand, complaining much of the Confederate Miniſters in *England* caballing with Parliament Men, and raiſing all Mens Spirits as high againſt the Peace as they could; and that they had done it to ſuch a degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any Steps with *France* towards a General Peace, unleſs the *Dutch* Ambaſſador would firſt put in a Memorial, preſſing his Majeſty from the States to do it, and declaring, that without it they ſaw *Flanders* would be loſt.

From Secretary *Williamſon* I had no other Anſwer material upon all the Penſioner's Diſcourſes, nor my own Opinion upon the preſent Conjuncture, but that his Majeſty, and the Lords of the Foreign Committee, wonder'd I ſhould think the *French* were ſo ready for a Separate Peace, if the *Dutch* ſhould fall into thoſe Thoughts; and that they did not remember they had ever receiv'd any thing from either Me or my Colleague at *Nimeguen* that look'd that Way. Upon which I told him the frequent Converſations I

had had with Monſieur *Colbert* upon that Subject, and the ſeveral Letters the Penſioner had ſhewn me from the Marſhal *D'Eſtrades*, or his Inſtrument at *Maeſtricht*. But to all this I receiv'd no Anſwer, nor ſo much as Reflection; though I thought this Part was my Duty as Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, whether it were ſo as Mediator at *Nimeguen* or not.

The Prince and Penſioner were both willing the King ſhould be comply'd with in the Government of Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*'s Paces and Language at *London*; but preſs'd me to write once more to know his Majeſty's Opinion upon the Terms of a Peace, or elſe he ſaid it would be too late, while the Seaſon advanc'd towards the Campaign. Upon which I deſir'd him to conſider there might be three Weeks Difference between his firſt telling his own Thoughts to his Majeſty, and receiving his Majeſty's Opinion upon them; or ſending firſt to know his Majeſty's, then returning his own, and afterwards expecting the King's again in caſe they differ'd: Beſides, I believed his Majeſty would take it kinder, and as a Piece of more Confidence, if his Highneſs made no Difficulty of explaining himſelf firſt. The Prince pauſed a while, and then ſaid, to ſhew the Confidence he deſired to live in with his Majeſty, he would make no further Difficulty of it, though he might have many Reaſons to do it: That if the King had a mind to make a ſudden Peace, he thought he muſt do it upon the Foot of *Aix la Chapelle*; which he would have the more Ground for, becauſe it was a Peace he both made and warranted: That for Exchanges, he thought there ſhould be no other propoſed upon it, but only of *Aeth* and *Charleroy* for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; which two laſt he thought imported a great deal more to *France*, than the others, unleſs they would declare that they intended to end this War with the Proſpect of Beginning another, by which they might get the reſt of *Flanders*: That this was all needed paſs between *France* and *Spain*; and for the Emperor and this State, that the firſt having taken *Philipsburg* from the *French*, ſhould raze it; and the *French* having taken *Maeſtricht* from the *Dutch*, ſhould raze it too; and ſo this whole War ſhould paſs, *Comme un tourbillon qui avoit ceſſe, apres avoir menace beaucoup, & fait fort peu de Remuemens au Monde* [*As a Storm that had ceaſed, after it had threatened much, and made but little Alterations in the World*.]

I was ſurpriz'd to hear a Propoſition ſo on the ſudden, ſo ſhort, and ſo deciſive, and that ſeem'd ſo eaſy towards a ſhort Cloſe, if his Majeſty ſhould fall into it; and I eſteem'd it a Strain in the Prince of the moſt conſummate Knowledge in the whole preſent Scheme of Affairs, and moſt deciſive Judgment upon them that he could have given after the longeſt Deliberation and matureſt Advice. I obſerv'd however to his Highneſs upon it, that he had not explain'd what was to become of *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*; and next, Whether he believ'd it at all likely, that *France*, after ſuch Acquiſitions made in this War, and ſo many more expected, ſhould come to ſuch Reſtitutions of what they poſſeſs'd, without any Equivalent. The Prince reply'd, both were explained by the Terms he propoſed of *Aix la Chapelle*: That for *Lorrain*, *France* never pretended to keep it, but from the laſt Duke only: That *Burgundy* could not be parted with by *Spain*, without the *French* reſtoring ſo many Towns for it in *Flanders* as would raiſe endleſs Debates, draw the Buſineſs into Lengths, and ſo leave it to the Deciſion of another Campaign. For the Second, he ſaid, he had Reaſon to doubt it, and did not believe it would be done but by his Majeſty's vigorous Interpoſition, but by that he was ſure it would be eaſily effected; but if his Majeſty would not endeavour it, the War muſt go on, and God Almighty muſt decide it: That all the Allies would be glad of it, and believed that upon *Don John*'s coming to the Head of the *Spaniſh* Affairs, there would be a new World there: That however one Town well defended, or one Battel well fought, might change the Scene: That for himſelf he would confeſs, the King could never do ſo kind a Part, as to bring him with ſome Honour out of this War, and upon ſome moderate Terms; but if he was content that *France* ſhould make them inſupportable, they would venture All rather than receive them; and for *Holland*'s

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making it a Separate Peace, let the Penſioner, or any others, tell what they would, they ſhould never do it while he was alive and was able to hinder it. And he would ſay one thing more to me, that he belived he was able to hinder it: That if he died, he knew it would be done next Day; but when that ſhould happen, this Matter muſt be ſome other's Care, and perhaps we in *England* were the moſt concern'd to look after it.

I promis'd to repreſent all he had ſaid directly to his Majeſty, and ſo I did immediately; and the Prince went next Day to *Dieren*, within ſix Leagues of *Nimeguen*, where I promis'd to come to him as ſoon as I ſhould be poſſeſs'd of his Majeſty's Anſwer. And I am the more particular in all theſe Diſcourſes with the Prince and the Penſioner upon this great Conjuncture, becauſe they do not only diſcover the true Springs from which the Peace was afterwards deriv'd, but repreſent moſt of the Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*, as they were obſerv'd by the Two Perſons that, next to Monſieur *De Wit*, underſtood them the beſt of any I have ever met within the Courſe of my Negotiations.

After the Prince was gone, I had one Conference more with the Penſioner, who told me he was ſtill of Opinion it muſt come to a Separate Peace: That he had told the Emperor's Miniſters the ſame Thing; and that if they did not at *Vienna* fall into the Meaſures propos'd and inſiſted on by the States before the middle of *February* next, they ſhould be forc'd to make it: That if *Don Emanuel de Lyra* had not now aſſur'd them of the Remiſes being actually come from *Spain*, for Payment of the laſt Year's Charge of the Fleets, both in the *Mediterranean* and *Baltick*, according to Agreement, the Peace could not have been kept off this Winter it ſelf. I told him the Prince was of another Mind, and had ſaid to me a Separate Peace ſhould never be made while he liv'd, and was able to hinder it; and that he believed he ſhou'd have it in his Power. The Penſioner reply'd, He ſhou'd come to it with as much Regret as the Prince himſelf; but that his Highneſs himſelf might be forc'd to it by the ill Conduct of his Allies, the ill Succeſſes of the next Campaign, and the Mutinies of the People, to which they were already but too much diſpos'd at *Amſterdam* by the Delays of the Treaty at *Nimeguen*: That the late Revolution in *Spain* againſt the Queen Regent and her Miniſtry, had ſhew'd enough what might be brought about by a violent and general Humour of the People; and the Prince knew the Country too well to go too far againſt it: That it was in his Majeſty's Hands to make a General Peace, if he pleas'd, before the Campaign began; and perhaps it was in the Conduct of *Spain* and the Emperor to engage *Holland* in one Campaign more, by the Meaſures they had propos'd: If both theſe fail'd, a Separate Peace muſt be made.

While I ſtaid at the *Hague*, which was about a Month, my Colleagues at *Nimeguen* had, it ſeems, found out a Negotiation grown between the *French* Ambaſſadors and Monſieur *Van Beverning*, ſeparate from the Miniſters of his Allies, and without any Communication of the Mediators, which they ſuſpected would end in a Separate Peace. Of this they thought fit to give Part to the Court, and of their Suſpicions upon it; as they had done in my Abſence; and receiv'd an immediate Order upon it, That in caſe they found a Separate Peace concluding, or concluded between *France* and *Holland* at *Nimeguen*, they ſhould proteſt publickly againſt it in his Majeſty's Name. This my Colleague Sir *Lionel Jenkins* writ to me at the *Hague* about the 10th of *January*, and was in great Pain upon it. He apprehended the Thing, but expected not to know it till 'twas done, and then doubted any good Conſequences from our Proteſtation. He deſir'd I would both ſend him my Thoughts upon it, and the ſame to the Court, as ſoon as I could.

I did ſo, both to my Lord Treaſurer and Mr. Secretary *Coventry*; and told them very freely, That I could not underſtand the Reaſon or the Drift of ſuch an Order as my Colleagues had receiv'd to make ſuch a Proteſtation: That if a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland* were thought as dangerous in the Court, as I knew it was in the Country, the King might endea-

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vour to prevent it, and had it ſtill in his Power, as he had had a great while: But if it were once concluded, I did not ſee any other Effect of our Proteſtation, unleſs it were to irritate both the Parties, and bind them the faſter, by our being angry at their Conjunction. Nor did I know what Ground could be given for ſuch a Proteſtation; for tho' the Parties had accepted his Majeſty's Mediation of a General Peace, yet none of them had oblig'd themſelves to his Majeſty not to treat a Separate One, or without his Offices of Mediation; and if they had, I did not ſee why the ſame Intereſts that could make them break through ſo many Obligations to their Allies, ſhould not make them as bold with a Mediator: That, as to prevent the Thing may be a very wiſe and neceſſary Counſel, ſo his Majeſty's Reſolution in it ought to be ſignified as early as can be, where it is likely to be of moment to that End, which was to *France*: But if the Thing ſhould be firſt done, as I could not tell how to ground our Offence, ſo I could as little how to ſeek our Revenge; and it wou'd be to ſtay till we were ſtruck, and then truſt to crying out: That to the beſt of my Senſe, it were better to anger any one of the Parties before a Separate Peace, than both of them after; and if we muſt ſtrain any Points of Courteſy with them, to do it rather by making a Fair and General Peace, than by complaining or proteſting againſt a Separate One.

I thought, I confeſs, that upon this Repreſentation from my Colleagues, without any Knowledge of mine, or Suſpicion that the Matter was working up at *Nimeguen* when I left it, and yet agreeing ſo much with what I had foreſeen and repreſented from the *Hague*, and meeting ſuch a Reſentment at our Court as appear'd by the Order tranſmitted to my Colleagues upon it; there was little Queſtion but his Majeſty would declare himſelf upon the Terms of a General Peace to both Parties, which I knew very well would be refus'd by neither, if he were poſitive in it, and ſupported, as he would certainly have been, by the Prince: But our Counſels at Court were ſo in ballance, between the Deſires of living at leaſt fair with *France*, and the Fears of too much diſpleaſing the Parliaments upon their frequent Seſſions, that our Paces upon this whole Affair look'd all like croſs Purpoſes, which no Man at home or abroad could well underſtand, and were often miſtaken by both Parties engag'd in the War, as well as by both Parties in the Houſe of Commons, till the Thing was wreſted out of our Hands.

About the Twenty Fifth of *January* 1677, I receiv'd his Majeſty's Anſwer to my laſt Diſpatches by the Prince's Directions, and carried them immediately away to *Dieren*, which was little out of my Way to *Nimeguen*, and there communicated them to the Prince. They conſiſted of two Parts; the Firſt, An Offer of his Majeſty's entering into the ſtrongeſt Defenſive Alliance with the States, thereby to ſecure them from all Apprehenſions from *France*, after the Peace ſhould be made. The Second, was his Majeſty's Remarks, rather than Concluſion or Judgment, upon the Terms propos'd by the Prince for a Peace: That he believ'd it might be compaſs'd with *France*, upon the Exchange of *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, for *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Conde*, and *Bouchain*: That this Scheme was what his Majeſty thought poſſible to be obtain'd of *France*, tho' not what was to be wiſh'd.

I obſerv'd the Prince's Countenance to change when I nam'd *Cambray* and the reſt of the Towns; yet he heard me through, and the many nice Reaſons of Sir *J——W——* upon the Matter; as of a double Frontier this would give to *Flanders*, the Safety whereof was a Thing both his Majeſty and the States were moſt concerned in; and many other Ways of cutting the Feather. After which the Prince ſaid, He believ'd Dinner was ready, and we would talk of it after we had din'd; and ſo went out; but as he was near the Door, he turn'd to me, and ſaid, Tho' we ſhould talk more of it after Dinner, yet he would tell me now, and in few Words, That he muſt rather die than make ſuch a Peace.

After Dinner, we went again into his Chamber, where he began with telling me I had ſpoil'd his Dinner: That he had not expected ſuch a Return of the

the Confidence he had begun towards his Majesty. He observ'd the Offer of Alliance came to me in a Letter of his Majesty's own Hand; but that about the Terms of a Peace, from the Secretary only: That it was in a Stile as if he thought him a Child, or to be fed with Whipt Cream: That since all this had been before the Foreign Committee, he knew very well it had been with the *French* Ambassador too, and that the Terms were his, and a great deal worse than they could have directly from *France*. He cast them up distinctly, and what in plain Language they amounted to: That *Spain* must part with all *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, and *St. Omer*, which were of the Value of two other Provinces in the Consequences of any War between *France* and *Spain*; and all for the Five Towns mention'd: That in short all must be ventur'd, since he was in, and found no other Way out. I told the Prince that I hop'd he would send his Majesty his own Thoughts upon it; but that he would think a little more before he did it. He said, he would write to the King that Night, but would not enter into the Detail of the Business, which was not worth the Pains, but would leave it to me. He desir'd me further to let his Majesty know, That he had been very plain in what he had told me of his own Thoughts upon this whole Matter, and had gone as low as he could with any Regard to the Safety of his Country, and his Allies, or his Honour: That he doubted whether *Spain* would ever have consented to those very Terms; but for these he knew they could not, tho' they were sure to lose all *Flanders* by the War: And for himself, he could never propose it to them; but if *Flanders* were left in that Posture, it could never be defended upon another Invasion, neither by *Holland*, nor by *England* it self; and he was so far of the *Spaniards* Mind, That if *Flanders* must be lost, it had better be so by a War than by a Peace: That whenever that was, *Holland* must fall into an absolute Dependence upon *France*; so that what his Majesty offer'd of an Alliance with them, would be to no Purpose; for they would not be made the Stage of a War after the Loss of *Flanders*, and wherein they were sure no Alliance of his Majesty, nor Forces neither, could defend them. He concluded, That if his Majesty would help him out of this War with any Honour and Safety, either upon Kindness to him, or Consideration of what Concernment his own Crowns were like to have in the Issue of this Affair, he would acknowledge and endeavour to deserve it as long as he liv'd; if not, the War must go on, be the Event what it would; and for his own part, he would rather charge a thousand Men with a hundred, nay, tho' he were sure to die in the Charge, than enter into any Concert of a Peace upon these Conditions.

I gave his Majesty an Account of all that pass'd in this Interview, and return'd to my Post at *Nimeguen*.

The Allies had taken great Umbrage at my Journey to the *Hague*, as design'd for negotiating some Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*; but the Prince and Pensioner seem'd careless to satisfy them, and made that Use only of it to let them know that no such Thing was yet intended, but that *Holland* would be forced to it at last, if the Emperor and *Spain* fell not into those Measures that they had propos'd to them, both at *Vienna* and *Madrid*, for the vigorous Prosecution of the next Campaign. Which had some Effect at *Vienna*, but little in *Spain* or *Flanders*, as was felt in the Beginning of the Spring.

At my Return to *Nimeguen*, I found that in my Absence Count *Kinkski* was arriv'd, who was a Person of great Parts, of a sharp and quick Apprehension, but exact and scrupulous in his Conduct, rigid in his Opinions, never before vers'd in these sort of Imployments, and thereby very punctilious: This had engag'd him in Difficulties upon the Ceremony of Visits, both with my Colleagues and the *French*, upon his first Arrival; which lasted with these till the End of the Congress, so as to hinder all Visits between them: But I had the good Fortune to retrieve all ill Correspondence that had happen'd between the Mediators and him. I found likewise, that a secret Intelligence was grown between the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, which was manag'd by Monsieur

Olivecrans,

Olivecrans, the Second *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, and wholly apart from my Colleagues, whoſe Intervention had been only us'd when the Matter was firſt agreed between thoſe Parties: That Monſieur *Van Beverning* drove on very violently towards a Peace, and with little Regard of his Allies; and ſaid he had Order from the States, *De pouſſer l'Affaire tant qu'il lui ſeroit poſſible* [*To puſh the Buſineſs on as vigorouſly as poſſible*:] That thoſe Ambaſſadors had come to a ſort of Agreement about the Form and Number of Powers, which was, That the Mediators ſhould be deſir'd to draw up a Form of Preamble, which ſhould be common to all the Parties, and contain nothing more, but that ſuch and ſuch Princes, out of a ſincere Deſire of Peace, had ſent ſuch and ſuch Perſons to *Nimeguen*, which had been choſe for the Place of Treaty, by the Interceſſion of the King of *Great Britain*: That the Mediators ſhould likewiſe draw up an Obligatory Act, to be ſign'd by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, and put into their Hands on the ſame Day, for the procuring new Powers within Sixty Days after the Date: That the Titles in the new Powers ſhould be inſerted, *bona fide*, according to the uſual Stile of the Chancellary of each Court; and that an Act of *Salvo* ſhould be ſign'd by the ſeveral Ambaſſadors, for no Conſequence to be drawn hereafter, for the Uſe or Omiſſion of any Titles in theſe Powers.

I found likewiſe, That theſe Points had been agreed among all the Allies, by the formal Intervention of my Colleagues, after they had firſt been concerted between the *French* and *Dutch*: That theſe Ambaſſadors had entered into a Courſe of mutual Viſits; owning publickly, that they did it as neceſſary to facilitate the Progreſs of the Treaty: And that the *Dutch* began to talk of finiſhing an Eventual Treaty (as they call'd it) for themſelves, as ſoon as the Acts about Powers were wholly diſpatch'd; which ſhould not take Place till the General Peace was concluded; but after which they, the *Dutch*, intended to employ their Offices between their Allies and the *French*.

I found likewiſe, that Mr. *Hide* had increas'd the Number of the Mediators in my Abſence, who having been ſent into *Poland* the Summer paſt, to Chriſten that King's Child, and to condole with the Emperor upon the late Empreſs's Death, had perform'd the firſt Compliment from his Majeſty; but upon his coming from thence to *Vienna*, found the Emperor married, and ſo paſs'd on privately home, and arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, ſoon after I left it upon my Journey to the *Hague*; where he came to me, after having ſtaid a Fortnight at *Nimeguen*. He told me at the *Hague*, That upon his Return by *Rotterdam*, he had there met Letters from Court with a Commiſſion to ſtop for ſome ſhort time at *Nimeguen*, and take the Character of one of the Ambaſſadors Mediators there, by which he might be enabled at his Return to give his Majeſty an Account of the State and Progreſs of Affairs there. He ſaid, this Commiſſion was intended to find him at *Nimeguen*, upon the Stop he made there; but having not arriv'd till he had left that Place, he was in doubt whether he ſhould make any Uſe of it or not, and deſir'd my Advice, whether to return to *Nimeguen*, or to go forward for *England*. I eaſily perceived what this Diſpatch was intended for, to introduce him into thoſe kinds of Characters and Employments; and ſo adviſ'd him to go back to *Nimeguen*, which he did, and made a Part of the Ambaſſy during a ſhort Stay there, but excus'd himſelf from entering into the Management of any Conferences or Diſpatches, ſo that by his Modeſty, and my Lord *Berkley's* great Age and Infirmities, the Fatigue of that Employment lay ſtill upon me and Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who writ alternately the Diſpatches from the Ambaſſy to Court, and the others to other Princes and Miniſters, by Concert, all the while I was upon the Place.

I found likewiſe, at my Return to *Nimeguen*, ſome few Difficulties yet remaining, which obſtructed the Diſpatch intended about the Powers: For tho' the *French* had conſented to furniſh new Powers, and ſeveral for the Emperor, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Holland*; yet they refus'd a diſtinct one for *Brandenburg*, which theſe Miniſters inſiſted on; and the *Dutch* were in ſuch Obligations to that Prince, that they were forc'd to do ſo too, tho' unwillingly,

lingly, as doubting the Success with *France*, and foreseeing the Consequence of the same Pretence to be rais'd upon it by other Princes of *Germany*, not only Electors, but the Houses of *Lunenburg* and *Neuburg*, who yielded to the Electors in no Point, but that one of Precedence. But the *Dutch*, to distinguish that of *Brandenburg*, alledg'd to us, that he was Principal in the War of *Sweden*, and so could not be included as an Ally only, either by the Emperor, or by the States.

The *Danish* Ambassador stood positively upon the common Use of the *Latin* Tongue between *France* and them in their Powers, or else to give his in *Danish*, if they gave theirs in *French*. These said, That it was a Novelty and an Impertinence; and that if in all the Intercourse that had ever been between those two Crowns, the Language had not been *French* on their Side, and *Latin* on the *Danes*, even in any one Instrument, they were content they should give their Powers not only in *Danish*, but in *Hebrew* if they pleas'd. The *Dane* said, He could not give Account of all Precedents: That if ill ones had been hitherto us'd, 'twas time to establish new ones that were good: That his Master had more right to do it than any former King, being now Successive in that Crown, which was before Elective; and being more absolute in his Dominions than any other King of *Christendom*; for there was now nothing in *Denmark*, but *La Volonte du Roy* [*The Will of the King*;] upon all which he said his Orders were positive, and he could not proceed without the Stile he pretended.

These two Points chiefly had obstructed the final Agreement about the Powers, for near a Month; after which we prevail'd with the *French* to yield to new Powers for *Brandenburg*, upon Assurance from the *Dutch* Ambassadors that they expected no such Pretension for any other of their *German* Allies; but that if any should be rais'd and refus'd by *France*, yet that should not hinder or delay the *Dutch* from proceeding in the Treaty. The *Dane*'s Pretence about the Languages, being neither countenanc'd nor approv'd by any of his Allies, was at last yielded by him; which had been better never started, as having lost him Ground in that which was intended by it, which was to establish the Principle of a Parity among Crown'd Heads.

There was an Accident happen'd likewise in my Absence, which had rais'd great Heats among the Parties. Upon Count *Kinkski*'s Arrival, the Allies began their Meeting at his House; by which they hop'd to govern the General Resolutions, and keep the Alliance from breaking into any separate Pieces. The *Dutch* Ambassadors, who pretended to influence the Peace more than any of their Allies, stomach'd the Count's Design and Carriage at these Conferences, where they said he pretended to be sole Dictator, and they were unwilling to enter into plain Contradictions, or the same Heats at his own House; upon which they went to the Stadthouse, and chose there a Room for their Conferences among all the Allies, which, upon the first Practice, gave great Offence to the *French* Ambassadors. They said it was a Breach upon the Neutrality of the Place, establish'd by the Assembly's being there; and that the *Dutch* had now arrogated to themselves the Disposal of the Town-House, without common Agreement. The *Dutch* alledg'd, the Rooms they had taken were not belonging to the Town, but to the Nobles of *Gelderland*, and were below Stairs; and that all above remain'd to be dispos'd of still by the Mediators for the common Use of the Parties when they should desire it. The *French* were not satisfy'd with these Reasons, and threatened to break the Assembly. We at last prevail'd with the Allies to forbear the Use of the Stadthouse, till we drew up a formal Proposal to be made by us the Mediators, to all Parties, desiring them, That for their Ease and Convenience, all Parties would meet in one Room at the Stadthouse, or at least the two Alliances in two several Rooms, whilst we should meet in another, and be there ready to perform all Offices between them. This last was accepted, and we design'd the several Rooms for our selves and the Parties; but were forc'd to find two Rooms for the *French* and *Swedes* to meet apart,

whoſe Competition, tho' Allies, would not ſuffer them to meet in one, or decide it by Lot, as the *Spaniard* and *Dane* had done.

There remain'd one Difficulty more, which particularly concern'd his Majeſty, both *French* and *Spaniards*, as well as *Imperialiſts*, had inſiſted, even with Emulation, That the Pope's Mediation ſhould be mention'd in the new Powers, as well as his Majeſty's. The *Dutch* and *Danes* both had abſolutely refus'd to treat upon any Powers where the Pope's Mediation ſhould be mention'd. We had likewiſe repreſented to them, How great a Difference there was between his Majeſty's Mediation, that had been accepted by all Parties, and the Pope's, that had been ſo only by a Part of them; and the very Mention of it abſolutely refus'd by ſeveral others, to be admitted into the Powers: That his Majeſty's Mediation had propos'd the Place of Treaty, exchang'd the Paſsports, form'd the Aſſembly, manag'd all the Negotiations in it ſo long, without the Appearance of any Miniſter from the Pope, or Knowledge whether he would be receiv'd if he came, or by whom his Mediation would be accepted or imploy'd. At length it was reſolv'd, That the Mention of his Majeſty's Mediation alone ſhould be made in the ſeveral Powers: And ſo all being agreed, about the middle of *February* all the ſeveral Acts were ſign'd, and put into our Hands, and by us exchang'd among the ſeveral Parties.

After this Diſpatch of all Preliminaries to the Treaty, the ſeveral Parties, by Agreement, brought into our Hands their ſeveral Propoſitions or Pretenſions. The *French* ſeem'd in theirs to demand nothing of the Emperor and of *Brandenburg*, but the entire reſtoring of the Treaty of *Munſter*: Of *Spain*, the retaining of all they had conquer'd in this War, upon the *Spaniards* having firſt broken the Peace. From the States-General they made no Demand, but offer'd them the reſtoring of their Friendſhip, and that they would hearken to a Treaty of Commerce. On the other ſide, the Emperour's Demands were, that *France* ſhould reſtore to him, to the Empire, and all his Allies, whatever they had taken from them in the Courſe of this War, and make Reparation for all Damages they had ſuffer'd in it. The *Spaniards* demanded all the Places they had loſt, and all the Damages they had ſuffer'd from *France* ſince the Year 1665. The *Dutch* demanded from *France* the Reſtitution of *Maeſtricht*, Satisfaction to the Prince of *Orange* in what did concern the Principality of *Orange*, and a Reglement of Commerce, with a Renunciation of all Pretenſions each Party might have upon the other. As for the great Damages they had ſuſtain'd, they ſaid, they ſacrific'd them all to the publick Peace, provided Satisfaction might be given to their Allies.

For the Northern Kings, and *German* Princes, their Demands were ſo extended, that I ſhall forbear relating them, and ſum them up in this only; that thoſe who had gain'd by the War, pretended to retain all they had got; and thoſe that had loſt, pretended to recover all they had loſt, and to be repaid the Damages they had ſuffer'd by the War. Count *Kinkski* deliver'd into our Hands likewiſe the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Pretenſions, ſeal'd as the reſt were; but we open'd them not, upon the *French* telling us they had not receiv'd from Court any Counter-Pretenſions upon the Duke of *Lorrain*; whereof they believ'd the Reaſon to be, That no Miniſter of his had yet appear'd at the Congreſs. Indeed, their Pretenſions againſt *Lorrain* had never yet been made ſince the Death of the late Duke, and would have been very hard to draw up by their ableſt Miniſters or Advocates themſelves; and therefore they thought fit to decline them, and reſerve them for the Terms of a Peace, when they ſhould be able to preſcribe, rather than to treat them.

By theſe Propoſitions of the ſeveral Parties, it eaſily appear'd to the World, what wiſe Men knew before, how little Hopes there were of a Peace, from the Motions of this Treaty in the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs; and how it was wholly to be expected from the Courſe and Influence of future Events in the Progreſs of the War.

About

About the 24th of *February*, I went to the Prince at his Houſe at *Soeſdyck*; a Day's Journey from *Nimeguen*, upon a Letter from his Highneſs, deſiring it of me. I had about a Week before written to him by the King's Command, upon which his Highneſs deſir'd to ſpeak with me. I went, and told him the Contents of my laſt Diſpatch. He ask'd me whether it were from the King himſelf, or from any of the Miniſters: I told him, it was from Secretary *Williamſon*, by the King's Command. The Prince ſaid, Then he knew from whence it came; but however deſir'd me to read the Particulars to him: Which were, the King's Apprehenſion of a Miſtake in the Prince, becauſe the Terms mention'd by his Majeſty were not any Propoſitions (which he did not think his Part to make) nor had he any Authority for it, but only a Piece of Confidence he had enter'd into with the Prince. Next, That the Exchange of *Cambray* was only propos'd as a Thing to be wiſh'd; that ſo ſix Towns might be reſtored to *Spain*, inſtead of five the Prince had propos'd, which in his Majeſty's Opinion would make a kind of a double Frontier to *Bruſſels*, and ſo leave *Flanders* ſafer than by the Prince's Scheme: Therefore his Majeſty deſir'd the Prince would think further of it, and not let it fall ſo flat as he did by his laſt Anſwer, without trying what it could be beaten out to. But however offer'd, That if his Highneſs had any other Propoſition to make to *France*, the King would very readily hand it over to them in the beſt manner he could.

Whilſt I was reading this to the Prince, he could hardly hear it out with any Patience, Sir *I——W——*'s Stile was always ſo diſagreeable to him; and he thought the whole Caſt of this ſo artificial, that he receiv'd it at firſt with Indignation and Scorn, rather than with thoſe further Thoughts that were deſir'd of him. He ſaid the Stile of *Letting it fall ſo flat*, was my Lord *Arlington's*; and *The double Frontier, as it were, for* Bruſſels, was ſome of the Secretary's *Creſme Fouettee* [*Whipt Cream*] and fit for Children. The reſt he took to be all the *French* Ambaſſador's; who would fain continue a private Treaty with him by the King's Hand, while his Maſter went into the Field. His Anſwer was very plain: That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to ſay at this Time. That when he ſpoke to me ſo lately at the *Hague*, He believ'd the Peace might have been made, and upon better Terms than he propos'd, if the King had deſir'd them from *France*, either upon Kindneſs to him, or upon the Intereſts of his own Crowns. That he was ſorry to find the King's Thoughts ſo different from his; and that whenever they grew nearer, he ſhould be glad to know it. But he look'd now upon the Campaign as begun; and believ'd at the Time we talk'd, the Guns were playing before *Valenciennes*. That he ſaw now no Hopes of a Peace, but expected a long War; unleſs *Flanders* ſhould be loſt, and in that Caſe the States muſt make the beſt Terms they could. That he expected a very ill Beginning of the Campaign, to make an ill Figure in it himſelf, and to bare the Shame of Faults that others would make; but if the Emperor had perform'd what he had promiſ'd, the Campaign might not end as it began. That however he was in, and muſt go on, *Et quand on eſt a la grande meſſe, on y eſt* [*And when one is at High-Maſs, one is at it*;] (meaning, I ſuppoſe, that one muſt ſtay till 'tis done, becauſe the Crowd is ſo great one can't get out.) That he gave his Majeſty Thanks for his Offer of handing over to *France* any Propoſition he ſhould make; but that never was his Meaning: For if it had, he could eaſily have found a directer Way. That his Intention was only to enter into a Confidence with his Majeſty upon the Subject of the Peace, and to owe it wholly to him; but if any thing was propos'd by the King to *France*, otherwiſe than as his own Thoughts, it muſt be from the Body of the Alliance, and not from him.

After theſe Diſcourſes, the Prince went immediately away for the *Hague*, and I return'd to *Nimeguen*; where all Negotiations ſeem'd wholly at a Stand, and ſo continu'd till towards the End of *April*. In this time arriv'd Monſieur *Stratman*, one of the Imperial Ambaſſadors; Monſieur *Chriſtin*, one of the *Spaniſh*; but he and *Don Pedro* having only the Character of Plenipotentiaries,

ries, and pretending thereupon the Treatment of Ambaſſadors, and the *French* and *Swedes* refuſing it to that Character, they continued *incognito* till the Arrival of the Marqueſs *De Balbaces*.

For Monſieur *Stratman*; Upon his Notification to the ſeveral Ambaſſadors (at the ſame Time, as he ſaid) the *Dane* and the *Swede* made him firſt their Viſits, and after them the *French*: Whereupon, having firſt made his to the Mediators, he returned them to the *Swede*, the *Dane* being out of Town; after which he ſent to demand an Hour of the *French*; but Monſieur *D'Eſtrades* return'd his Anſwer, That having fail'd of the Reſpect due to the King his Maſter, they would not admit of any Viſit from him. Hereupon Monſieur *Kinkski* and Monſieur *Stratman* deſir'd us to ask upon what Point the *French* refus'd their Viſit, ſaying, It could be upon no other but a Pretence of Preference to all other Crowns, and expecting the firſt Viſits to be made to the *French*, tho' other Ambaſſadors had firſt viſited the Imperialiſts. This they deſir'd much the *French* would avow, believing it would embroil them with the *Swedes* as well as with us, who they knew would declare againſt any ſuch Pretence. But the *French*, upon our Application from the Imperialiſts, kept ſtanch to their firſt Anſwer, That Monſieur *Stratman avoit manque du reſpect au Roy leur Maiſtre.* [*Had been wanting in the Reſpect due to the King their Maſter.*] That he had done it in ſeveral Points, and knew very well in what: And further than this they would not enter into the Matter, but continued poſitive in refuſing the Viſit.

Whilſt ſuch Matters as theſe help'd to amuſe the Congreſs, and keep them in Countenance, the eſſential Parts of the Treaty were manag'd in the Field: *France* had in the Beginning of the Year block'd up *Cambray*; and *Valenciennes* about the End of *February*. Having provided ſufficient Magazines in the Winter for the Suſtenance of their Forces, they began to break into *Flanders*, and into the Parts of *Germany* on t'other Side the *Rhine*, and with all the moſt cruel Ravages of burning and ſpoiling thoſe Parts of *Germany* that could be exercis'd, and ſuch as had not yet been us'd on either Side ſince the War began. The Allies made Complaints of this new manner of War to his Majeſty; who imploy'd his Offices towards *France*, to hinder ſuch Proſecution of a Quarrel, while a Peace was treating under his Mediation: But the Thing was done, and their Point was gain'd; which was, by an entire Ruin of the Country, to hinder the Imperialiſts from finding any Subſiſtence for their Troops, if they ſhould march into *Alſace*, and thereby divert thoſe Forces that the *French* reſolv'd to employ this Spring in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could take the Field and march to the Relief of thoſe Places they intended to attack.

About the Seventeenth of *March*, the King of *France* took *Valenciennes*; having ſurmounted the very Force of the Seaſons, and ſet down before it about the Beginning of that Month. From thence he marched with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to St. *Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five Days Siege from the Opening of the Trenches, he took *Cambray*, like all the other *Spaniſh* Towns, by Surrender upon Articles; but the Cittadel held out for ſome Days longer.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* having receiv'd their Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the *French* to go on with their Deſign upon *Flanders*, whilſt the Treaty ſerv'd but for an Amuſement, reſolv'd to go on with the War for another Campaign; being kept up to this Reſolution by the Vigour of the Prince of *Orange*, in preſſing them upon the Obſervance of their Treaties, and Purſuit of their Intereſt, in the Defence of *Flanders*. Upon the firſt Motion of the *French*, the Prince had begun to prepare for that of his Troops likewiſe, and preſs'd the *Spaniards* to have theirs in Readineſs to join him; and with all imaginable Endeavours provided for the Subſiſtence of his Army in their March towards *Flanders*, which the *Spaniards* had taken no Care of. But with all the Diligence and Application that could be uſed, he could not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*; but with part of the Forces of the States alone, and without either Troops, or ſo much as Guides, furniſh'd

furniſh'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards St. *Omer*, reſolute to raiſe that Siege with the Hazard of a Battle, at what Diſadvantage ſoever. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a ſmall part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before St. *Omer*, march'd to meet the Prince of *Orange*, and upon the Way was reinforc'd by Monſieur *De Luxemburg* with all the Troops the *French* King could ſend out of his Army, leaving only enough to continue the Siege before the Cittadel of *Cambray*. Theſe Armies met, and fought with great Bravery at *Mont-Caſſel*, where, after a ſharp Diſpute, the firſt Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fell into Diſorder: The Prince went immediately to that Part where the Shake began, rally'd them ſeveral times, and renew'd the Charge; but at laſt was born down by the plain Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to reſiſt like Enemies, and fall in among them with his Sword in his Hand; and cutting the firſt croſs the Face, cry'd out aloud, *Coquin je te marqueray au moins, afin de te faire pendre* [*Raſcal, I'll ſet a Mark on thee at leaſt, that I may hang thee afterwards.*] Voice nor Actions, Threats nor Examples, could give Courage to Men that had already loſt it; and ſo the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Stream that carried him back to the reſt of his Troops, which yet ſtood firm; with whom, and what he could gather of thoſe that had been routed, he made a Retreat that wanted little of the Honour of a Victory; and will, by the Confeſſion of his Enemies, make a Part of that great Character they ſo juſtly allow him. The Safety of the *Dutch* Army, upon this Misfortune, was by them wholly own'd to his Highneſs's Conduct as well as Bravery in the Courſe of this Action; after which, both St. *Omer* and the Cittadel of *Cambray* were ſurrender'd to the *French* about the twentieth of *April*, with which the *Spaniards* loſt the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that ſide (as they had done that on the other ſide by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former War) and all the Hopes of raiſing any Contributions in *France*, which was a great Part of the Subſiſtence of the *Spaniſh* Troops; ſo as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier conſiderable, beſides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, *Oſtend* and *Newport* to the Sea; and the reſt of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* conſiſted only of great Towns, by which no Reſiſtance could be hop'd for, whenever the *French* ſhould think fit to attack them, and could ſpare Men enough to garriſon them when they ſhould be taken. For the Greatneſs of thoſe Towns, and Multitude of Inhabitants, and their inveterate Hatred to the *French* Government, was ſuch, as without very great Garriſons they could not be held; unleſs upon one ſudden Conqueſt and great Revolution, the whole *Spaniſh Netherlands* ſhould become *French*, and thereby be made a new Frontier towards the *Dutch* and *Germans*, and, like a new Conqueſt, the Seat of their Armies.

This the *Spaniards* thought would never be ſuffer'd, neither by *England* nor *Holland*; and ſo they ſeem'd to have abandoned the Fate of *Flanders* to their Care, with a Reſignation that became good Chriſtians, rather than good Reaſoners. For I have long obſerv'd, from all I have ſeen, or heard, or read in Story, that nothing is ſo fallacious, as to reaſon upon the Counſels or Conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the true Intereſt of their Countries: For there is in all Places an Intereſt of thoſe that govern, and another of thoſe that are govern'd: Nay, among theſe, there is an Intereſt of quiet Men, that deſire to keep only what they have; and another of unquiet Men, who deſire to acquire what they have not; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful means. Therefore I never could find a better Way of judging the Reſolutions of a State, than by the perſonal Temper and Underſtanding, or Paſſions and Humours, of the Princes, or Chief Miniſters, that were for the Time at the Head of Affairs. But the *Spaniards* reaſon'd only from what they thought the Intereſt of each Country. They knew *Holland* would ſave *Flanders* if they could, and *England* they were ſure could if they would, and believ'd would be brought to it at laſt by the Increaſe of the Danger, and Force of their own Intereſt, and the Humour of the People. In this Hope or Preſumption they were a great deal flatter'd by their

Miniſters

Miniſters then in *England*, *Don Bernard De Salinas* Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonſeca* Conſul there; who did indeed very induſtriouſly foment the Heats that began about this Time to appear in the Parliament, upon the Apprehenſions of the *French* Conqueſts both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*; which moved them, about the End of *March*, to make an Addreſs to the King, repreſenting the Progreſſes of *France*, and deſiring his Majeſty to put a Stop to them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours. *Don Bernard De Salinas* told ſome of the Commons, That the King was very angry at this Addreſs, and had ſaid upon it, That the Authors of it were a Company of Rogues; which made a great Noiſe in the Houſe of Commons. The King reſented it as a Piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at leaſt as a Deſign to inflame the Houſe; and thereupon order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days. Yet, about a Month after, the Parliament made another Addreſs, upon the ſame Occaſion; deſiring his Majeſty to make a League Offenſive and Defenſive with the States-General, for oppoſing the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts. This his Majeſty receiv'd as an Invaſion of his Prerogative, made them an angry Anſwer, and prorogued the Parliament till the Winter following.

However, *France* had ſo much Regard to the Jealouſies rais'd both in *England* and *Holland*, of their deſigning an entire Conqueſt of *Flanders*, that, after having gain'd thoſe three important Frontier-Towns ſo early in the Spring, and diſpers'd his Army after that Expedition, that King return'd home; writ to his Majeſty, That to ſhew he had no Intention to conquer *Flanders*, but only to make a General Peace, he was contented, notwithſtanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at preſent, to make a General Truce, in caſe his Allies the *Swedes* would agree to it; which he deſir'd his Majeſty to inform himſelf of, ſince he had not Convenience of doing it, for Want of Liberty of Couriers into *Sweden*.

The Contents of this Letter were proned by the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* among the ſeveral Miniſters there, till they found it had an Effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too groſs an Artifice. It paſs'd very ill with Monſieur *Van Beverning* himſelf, who, of all others there, was the moſt paſſionately bent upon the Peace. But he ſaid openly upon this, That the *French* were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of Importance, nor ſo much as of Amuſement: That *France* had given their Blow, and would now hinder the Allies from giving theirs: That the Reſerve of *Sweden*'s Conſent, was an eaſy Way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies ſhould accept it: That this it ſelf could not be done, becauſe *Flanders* would be left ſo open, as to be eaſily ſwallow'd up by the next Invaſion, having no Frontier on either Side. That the Towns now poſſeſs'd by *France*, would in the Time of a Truce grow abſolutely *French*, and ſo the harder to be reſtor'd by a Peace or a War. That for his part, he deſir'd the Peace; contrary to the Politicks of Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, and the other Miniſters of the Allies in *England*; affirming always, That notwithſtanding all their Intrigues and Intelligencies there, He, Monſieur *Van Beverning*, was aſſur'd, That his Majeſty would not enter into the War, to ſave the laſt Town in *Flanders*. This Confidence made him purſue all the Ways towards a Peace, and by Paces which ſome thought forwarder than his Commiſſion, and very ill concerted with thoſe of his Allies. About the middle of *April*, he brought us the Project of a Treaty of Commerce both for *France* and *Sweden*, and deſir'd we would make the Communication of them; which we did for form, though we knew that thoſe Miniſters had been before poſſeſs'd of them from the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors themſelves. And ſome few Days after, they enter'd into Conferences upon this Project at the *French* Ambaſſadors Houſes, whom they found very eaſy in the Terms the *Dutch* inſiſted on for their Commerce, which was all that could make any Difficulty between them.

1677. About the End of *April*, the Miniſters of the Allies came, and preſented us their ſeveral Anſwers in Writing to the *French* Propoſitions; which they

they offer'd to leave with us, whenever we ſhould aſſure them that the *French* and *Swedes* were ready with theirs. Upon this Communication given to the *French*, they were poſitive to give no Anſwer in Writing, nor to receive any, alledging both Reaſon and Example for their Opinion; *this* from the Practice of the *Munſter*-Treaty, *that* from the Danger of the invective Stile or Language that are apt to enter into the Writings of each Party upon ſuch Occaſions. The Allies were for ſome time as peremptory in their Reſolution of delivering their Anſwers in Writing; but both at laſt agreed upon the Expedient we propoſed, of dictating to us what they intended ſhould be ſaid to the other Party, of our ſetting the Subſtance down in Writing, and reading it over to them firſt who dictated to us, ſo as they might be Judges whether we had rightly apprehended and expreſſed their Meaning; and yet the Thing might go on in our Stile, and not in theirs; by which all Sharpneſs and Provocation would be avoided.

About the middle of *May*, arriv'd Preſident *Canon*, Envoy from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and put his Maſter's Pretenſions into our Hands; upon which the Allies expected a Return of thoſe from *France* upon that Duke, no room being now left for delaying them from the Want of a Miniſter upon the Place: But the *French* ſaid very plainly, It was a Matter they were not inſtructed in; which the Allies receiv'd with great Stomach, and perpetual Complaints to us the Mediators; all profeſſing, they were reſolv'd not to proceed in the Treaty without carrying on the Intereſts of that Duke, an equal Pace with their own.

About the End of *May* arriv'd the Pope's *Nuncio*; whereupon the *Swediſh* and *Daniſh* Ambaſſadors reſorted immediately to us, deſiring to know how we intended to carry our ſelves in what regarded that Miniſter; profeſſing themſelves to be much in pain, being on one ſide very much preſs'd, the *Swedes* by the *French*, and the *Danes* by the *Imperialiſts* and *Spaniards*, to the Interchange at leaſt of common Ceremonies and Civilities, with a Miniſter for whom they all with Emulation profeſs'd ſo great Reſpect and Deference: On t'other ſide, the *Swedes* and *Danes* pretended neither to have Inſtruction nor Example from their reſpective Courts, to determine them in this Matter; but ſaid they were reſolv'd to obſerve and conſider the Steps that ſhould be made by us. We cut the Buſineſs very ſhort, and declar'd to them our Reſolution to have no ſort of Commerce with the Pope's Nuncio, either in the Affairs of our Function, or in Matters of Ceremony; and told them, our Orders from Court were ſo preciſe in this Point, that they would admit of no Debate. The next Day, Monſieur *Colbert* and Monſieur *D'Avaux* came formally to give us part of the Nuncio's Arrival, and of his Deſire to make us his firſt Compliments, if he might know they would be receiv'd: Our Anſwer to them was the ſame we had made to the *Swedes* and *Danes*; and ſoon after, all the Miniſters of Proteſtant Princes at *Nimeguen* reſolv'd to follow our Example, and to have no Commerce at all with the Nuncio.

About the ſame time, after many Meſſages carried by us between the Parties, they were perſuaded at laſt into the Agreement of delivering and exchanging by our Hands, their Anſwers to each others Propoſitions in Writing, tho' without pretending to purſue that Method in the ſucceeding Paces of the Negotiation. Nor was there need of that Caution, for this I take to have been the laſt Pace of any free and general Negotiation between the Parties engag'd in the War and in the Treaty; nor were the Anſwers any thing nearer agreeing, than the firſt Propoſitions.

The laſt Day of *May* arriv'd the Marqueſs *De Balbaces*, Firſt Ambaſſador from *Spain*; and about the ſame time, my Lord *Berkley* return'd into *England*, where he languiſh'd out the reſt of the Summer, and died.

About the Seventeenth of *June*, the *Dutch* Ambaſſador brought us the Project of a Treaty between them and *France*, digeſted and extended in all its Forms and Articles; and told us ſoon after, They had in a Conference upon it with the *French* Ambaſſadors, agreed, in a manner, all the Points of it; at leaſt that there remain'd but Two, which concern'd Commerce only, undetermin'd

determin'd between them, which they doubted not would be agreed likewiſe upon Return of the *French* Diſpatches from Court: That after their Buſineſs was ended, they would perform the beſt Offices they could between their Allies and the *French*. And indeed, by the Beginning of *July*, all Points were accordingly agreed between the *French* and *Dutch*, and Monſieur *Van Beverning* began to play the Part of ſomething more than a Mediator; preſſing on his Allies towards a Peace with Paces very earneſt and ſomething rough, and, as ſome believ'd, more than he had Order for from his Maſters, who yet pretended to hold Hands with their Allies. But Monſieur *Van Beverning* profeſs'd to believe, that their Friends at the *Hague* were impos'd upon by *Van Beuninghen* and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters at *London*, who ſtill animated them with Hopes of the King's entering into the War, or at leaſt preſcribing a Plan of the Peace to be receiv'd by all Parties; which *Van Beverning* believ'd neither one part nor t'other of, and pretended to be morally aſſur'd of his Opinion, and thereupon grounded the abſolute Neceſſity of a Peace.

In this Month, the Duke of *Zell* began to make a Difficulty of ſending the five thouſand Men he had promis'd to the Allies, without ſome new Stipulations: And the *French* offer'd a Guaranty to the Houſe of *Lunenburg* of all their Conqueſts on the *Swede* in *Bremen*, upon a Neutrality to be declared by thoſe Dukes; which began to give great Umbrages to the Allies, as well as the *Swedes*, of ſome ſeparate Meaſures like to be concluded between *France* and the whole Houſe of *Brunſwick*. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors were likewiſe in Pain, upon new Intelligence, both from *Vienna* and *Madrid*, about a Separate Peace being treated between *Don John* and the *French*; with an Exchange of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* for what ſhould be reſtor'd them in *Rouſſillon* and *Sicily*. The Miniſters of the Confederates made great Inſtances in *England*, That his Majeſty would recall his Troops that were in the *French* Service, attributing moſt of their Succeſſes in *Germany* to the Bravery of thoſe *Engliſh* Regiments. But his Majeſty excus'd it upon the Equality of a Mediator, ſince there were *Engliſh* Troops of greater Number in the Service of the Allies: Who took this Anſwer however for an ill Sign of that Proſecution which they hop'd from his Majeſty for the Relief of their languiſhing Affairs. The Hopes of thoſe great Actions promis'd by the *Imperialiſts* this Summer on the *Rhine* began to flat, their Troops finding no Subſiſtence in thoſe Countries, which had been wholly deſolated by the *French* in the Beginning of the Year, to prevent their March. The Prince of *Orange* obſerving all theſe Circumſtances, and foreſeeing no Reſource for the Intereſt of the Allies, unleſs from his Majeſty; and that it was likely to prove an unactive Summer in *Flanders*, the *French* reſolving not to come to a Battle, and he not able to form a Siege, and oppoſe a *French* Army that ſhould come to relieve it; he ſent Monſieur *Bentinck* over into *England* about the Beginning of *June*, to deſire his Majeſty's Leave that he might make a Journey thither ſo ſoon as the Campaign ended. He receiv'd a civil Anſwer; but with Wiſhes from the King, That he would firſt think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of *June*, my Son came over to me at *Nimeguen*, and brought me Letters from my Lord Treaſurer, to ſignify his Majeſty's Pleaſure that I ſhould come over, and enter upon the Secretary of State's Office, which Mr. *Coventry* had offer'd his Majeſty to lay down upon the Payment of Ten thouſand Pounds; That the King would pay half the Money, and I muſt lay down the reſt at preſent; tho' his Lordſhip did not doubt but the King would find the Way of eaſing me in time of that too. I writ immediately to my Lord Treaſurer to make my Acknowledgment to his Majeſty; but at the ſame time my Excuſes, That I was not in a Condition to lay down ſuch a Sum, my Father being ſtill alive, and keeping the Eſtate of the Family; and deſiring that the King's Intention might at leaſt be reſpited, till he ſaw how the preſent Treaty was like to determine. In Return of my Letters, on the Second of *July*, Mr. *Smith*, one of the King's Meſſengers, being ſent Expreſs, and making great Diligence, arriv'd at *Nimiguen*,

megnen, and brought me his Majesty's Commands to repair immediately over in a Yacht which he had sent on purpose for me: In Obedience to this Command I left *Nimeguen*, but without any Ceremony, pretending only a sudden Journey into *England*, but saying nothing of the Occasion, further than to my nearest Friends.

At my Arrival, the King ask'd me many Questions about my Journey, about the Congress, *dropping* us for spending him so much Money, and doing nothing; and about Sir *Lionel*, asking me how I had bred him, and how he pass'd among the Ambadadors there; and other Pleasantries upon that Subject. After a good deal of this kind of Conversation, he told me, I knew for what he had sent for me over, and that 'twas what he had long intended; and I was not to thank him, because he did not know any body else to bring into that Place. I told his Majesty, That 'twas too great a Compliment for me, but was a very ill one to my Country, and which I thought it did not deserve: That I believ'd there were a great many in as fit for That, or any other Place he had to give; and I could name two in a Breath that I wou'd undertake shou'd make better Secretaries of State than I. The King said, Go, get you gone to *Sheen*; we shall have no Good of you till you have been there; and when you have rested your self, come up again. I never saw him in better Humour, nor never knew a more agreeable Conversation when he was so; and where he was pleas'd to be familiar, great Quickness of Conception, great Pleasure of Wit, with great Variety of Knowledge, more Observation and truer Judgment of Men, than one wou'd have imagin'd, by so careless and easy a Manner as was natural to him in all he said or did. From his own Temper, he desir'd nothing but to be easy himself, and that every body else shou'd be so; and wou'd have been glad to see the least of his Subjects pleas'd, and to refuse no Man what he ask'd. But this Softness of Temper made him apt to fall into the Persuasions of whoever had his Kindness and Confidence for the Time, how different soever from the Opinions he was of before; and he was very easy to change Hands, when those he employ'd seem'd to have engag'd him in any Difficulties: So as nothing look'd steady in the Conduct of his Affairs, nor aim'd at any certain End. Yet sure no Prince has more Qualities to make him lov'd, with a great many to make him esteemed, and all without a Grain of Pride or Vanity in his whole Constitution: Nor can he suffer Flattery in any kind, growing uneasy upon the first Approaches of it, and turning it off to something else. But this Humour has made him lose many great Occasions of Glory to himself, and Greatness to his Crown, which the Conjunctures of his Reign conspired to put in his Hand; and have made Way for the aspiring Thoughts and Designs of a Neighbour Prince, which wou'd not have appeared, or could not have succeeded in the World, without the Applications and Arts employed to manage this easy and inglorious Humour of the King.

I staid two Days at *Sheen*, in which Time some of Secretary *Coventry*'s Friends had prevailed with him not to part with his Place, if he could help it, unless the King would let him recommend the Person to succeed him, who should pay all the Money he expected, and which the King had charg'd himself with. When I came to Town, the King told me in his Closet all that had passed between him and Mr. *Coventry* the Day before upon this Occasion: That he did not understand what he meant, nor what was at the bottom; for he had first spoke to his Majesty about parting with his Place, said his Health would not go thro' with it, made the Price he expected for it, and concluded all before he had sent for me over: That now he pretended he did not mean to quit it, unless he might present one to succeed him; and he hoped he had not deserved as his Majesty should turn him out. But the King said upon it, That, under Favour he was resolved to take him at his Word; and so he had told him, and left him to digest it as he could. Upon this I represented to the King, how old and true a Servant Mr. *Coventry* had been of his Father and Him; how well he had served him in his Place;

how well he was able to do it ſtill by the great Credit he had in the Houſe, of Commons, where the King's great Buſineſs lay in the ill State of his Revenue; how ill ſuch a Treatment would agree with his Majeſty's Nature and Cuſtoms: And for my own part, That it would be a great Favour to me to reſpite this Change, till he ſaw what was like to become of the Treaty, or the War; and therefore I begg'd of him that he would not force a good Secretary out, and perhaps an ill one in, againſt both their Wills; but let Mr. *Coventry* keep it, at leaſt till he ſeemed more willing to part with it. The King ſaid, Well then, he would let it alone for the preſent, but did not doubt, in a little time, one or other of us would change our Mind.

In the mean time, the Deſign of my Journey was known, my Lord *Arlington* and others ſtill asking me when they ſhould give me Joy of it, and many making Applications to me for Places in the Office; which made the Court uneaſier to me, and increaſed my known Humour of loving my Country, and being as much in it as I could. However, when I came to Court, the King fell often into Converſation with me, and often in his Cloſet alone, or with none other preſent beſides the Duke or my Lord Treaſurer, and often both. The Subject of theſe Converſations was uſually the Peace, and the Prince of *Orange*'s Journey into *England*. The King always expreſſed a great Deſire for the Firſt, but not at all for the Other, till that was concluded. He ſaid, his Parliament would never be quiet nor eaſy to him while the War laſted abroad: They had got it into their Heads to draw him into it, whether he would or no: That they pretended publick Ends, and Dangers from *France*; and there might be both meant by a great many honeſt Men among them; but the Heats and Diſtempers of late had been raiſed by ſome factious Leaders, who thought more of themſelves than of any thing elſe, had a Mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unleſs they might have their Terms in removing and filling of Places; and he was very loth to be ſo much at their Mercy, as he ſhould be if he were once engaged in the War: That beſides, he ſaw the longer it continued, the worſe it would be for the Confederates; more of *Flanders* would be loſt every Day: the Conduct of *Spain* muſt certainly ruin all in Time; and therefore he would fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they would not do it for themſelves: That if he and the Prince could fall into the Terms of it, he was ſure it might be done. And, after ſeveral Diſcourſes upon this Subject for near a Month, his Majeſty at laſt told me, he had a great Mind, I ſhould make a ſhort Turn to the Prince, and try if I could perſuade him to it; and aſſure him, That after it was agreed, he ſhould be the gladdeſt in the World to ſee him in *England*. The Duke and my Lord Treaſurer both preſs'd me upon the ſame Point; but I told them, at a long Conference upon it, how often I had been employed upon this Errant to the Prince, how unmoveable I had found him, and how ſure I was to find him ſo ſtill, unleſs the King would conſider of another Scheme for the Peace than had been yet propos'd to him, and wherein he might reckon upon more Safety to *Flanders*, as well as to his own Honour: That I had ſpent all my Shot, and was capable of ſaying no more to him than I had done, in Obedience to all the Inſtructions I had received: That his Anſwers had been poſitive; ſo that ſome of my good Friends at Court pretended they had been my own Thoughts rather than the Prince's: That his Majeſty would do well to try another Hand, and he would the better know the Prince's Mind, if his Anſwers were the ſame to both; if not, he would at leaſt know how ill I had ſerved him. The King ſaid, it was a Thing of Confidence between him and the Prince, and muſt be ſo treated, and he knew no body he had beſides to ſend. I told him, if he pleas'd I would name one: He bid me; and I ſaid, Mr. *Hide* was idle ever ſince his Return from *Nimeguen*, had been enter'd into the Commiſſion of the Mediators there, ſtaid with us a Fortnight or three Weeks, might pretend to return thither to exerciſe the ſame Function in my Abſence, ſince the Commiſſion run to any two of the Number, and might take the Prince of *Orange*'s Camp in his Way to *Nimeguen*, perform the King's Commands

mands to his Highneſs, inform himſelf of his laſt Reſolution upon the Subject of the Peace, go on to *Nimeguen*, without giving any Jealouſy to the Allies, or without the Noiſe that my going wou'd make, ſince Sir *Lionel* had writ to Court and to me, That Monſieur *Van Beverning* had deſir'd all Paces ſhou'd ſtop there till my Return, which he had heard would be ſudden, and that the King wou'd ſend by me his own Plan of the Peace. The Duke fell in firſt to the Propoſal of Mr. *Hide*'s going; and, after ſome Debate, the King, and my Lord Treaſurer, and that it ſhou'd be as ſoon as poſſible. He was ſent for accordingly, and diſpatch'd away in all Points as I had propos'd. He found the Prince at the Camp, but unmoveable in the Buſineſs of the Peace upon the Terms his Majeſty had Thoughts of proceeding; gave Account of all that paſs'd in that Conference to the King, and went ſtraight away to *Nimeguen*, and writ me Word of his Converſation with the Prince, and that he never ſaw ſuch a Firmneſs in any Man.

I knew Mr. *Hide*'s going to reſide at *Nimguen* wou'd be of great Comfort and Support to Sir *Lionel*, who was in perpetual Agonies (as his Word was) after he was left alone in that Station; having ever ſo much Diſtruſt of his own Judgment, that tho' he had the greateſt Deſire that cou'd be to do well, yet he many times cou'd not reſolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplex'd about the little Punctilioes of Viſit and Ceremony that were left to buſy that Ambaſſy, as if greater Affairs had ſtill attended it. Beſides, he lay under the Laſh of Secretary *Williamſon*, who, upon old Grudges between them at *Cologne*, never fail'd to lay hold of any Occaſion he cou'd to cenſure his Conduct, and expoſe it at the Foreign Committee, where his Letters were read to his Majeſty. It happened about this Time, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador firſt appearing in publick upon a new Commiſſion to all Three, gave immediate Notice of it to the Imperialiſts, who made their Viſits upon it, and were within two Hours reviſited by the *Spaniards*. After which, they ſent their formal Notifications to all the other Ambaſſadors, and to the Mediators in the firſt Place. Sir *Lionel* was in Pain, having Orders to pretend the firſt Rank of Reſpects before the Imperialiſts, as well as other Ambaſſadors there; and not to yield, if it came in Competition. He had likewiſe another Order, which was, that upon Matters in Ceremony, doubtful, and not admitting the Delay of new Orders, he ſhou'd conſult with the other Ambaſſadors, eſpecially *French* and *Swediſh*, who us'd to carry thoſe Points the higheſt, and govern himſelf as well as he cou'd by Precedents and Examples. He conſulted both theſe Ambaſſadors, whether he ſhou'd viſit the *Spaniards*, after their having given the firſt Notice to the Imperialiſts? And they concluded, That he ſhou'd firſt know of them, whether it was done in Form, as to Ambaſſadors in general; or whether it was upon the Account of the near Alliance in Blood between thoſe Two Houſes of *Auſtria*? That if it were the Firſt, he ought not to viſit them, as having but a Diſreſpect upon the Mediation, and diſtinguiſh'd the Emperor from all the other Crown'd Heads, who had yielded the Precedence wholly to them; which they wou'd not have done, if the Emperor had refus'd it. But if the *Spaniards* affirm'd it was only upon the Nearneſs of Blood between them, none of the other Ambaſſadors need take any Notice of it, ſince the ſame had been done between thoſe two Crowns at *Munſter* upon the ſame Score; which being there declar'd, it gave no Offence to the Mediators, tho' they were the Pope's Nuncioes, with whom there was otherwiſe no Competition. Sir *Lionel* was ſatisfied by the *Spaniards* (who gave it him in Writing) that the Viſits were made only upon the Score of Kindred, as at *Munſter*; and thereupon made them his Viſit, and received theirs: For which he was ſharply reprov'd by Secretary *Williamſon*'s Letter upon it, who had repreſented it to the King as a Diſobedience to a poſitive Order, and giving up the Point to the Imperialiſts. But being at Court ſoon after theſe Diſpatches, I endeavoured to juſtify my Colleague's Intentions and his Proceedings, by ſhewing that he had conform'd to his other Orders of conſulting the other Ambaſſadors, and proceeding according to the beſt Precedent, which was that at

Munſter; and that if he had broken with the *Spaniards* upon this Point, he would have provok'd the Imperialiſts to declare their Reſolution of not yielding to the Mediators, upon which the other Ambaſſadors would recall the Conceſſion which they had already made in this Point, and ſo hazard, if not loſe, the Poſſeſſion his Majeſty was in, of the firſt Reſpect given to his Mediation. I had the good Fortune to ſatisfy his Majeſty and his Miniſters, and to obtain Orders for his gracious Pardon to be ſent Sir *Lionel* (for they would ſuffer it to run in no other Terms) for which however the poor Gentleman made as great Acknowledgments, as if his Fault had been much greater and worſe meant.

The reſt of this Summer paſs'd without any further Paces made in the Congreſs at *Nimeguen*; where the Meſſages carried and return'd about the Buſineſs of *Lorrain*, ſerv'd to keep the Mediators in Countenance, and no more. The whole Body of the Allies preſs'd for an Anſwer from the *French*, to that Duke's Pretenſions, deliver'd in by Preſident *Canon*. The *French*, after their former Exception of his wanting a Miniſter there, rais'd another to ſtave off theſe Inſtances of the Allies, and declar'd they cou'd give no Anſwer, about *Lorrain*, till the Biſhop of *Strasburg*'s Agents were receiv'd by the Allies, upon which the Emperor made an invincible Difficulty, declaring he would never treat with a Vaſſal of his own: And in theſe Conferences about *Lorrain*, the *French* Ambaſſadors began to inſinuate to the Mediators, That their Maſter never intended That to be treated as a Principal, but only as an Acceſſary to the Treaty,

In *Auguſt*, arriv'd at *Nimeguen* the Biſhop of *Gurck*, chief of the Imperial Ambaſſy; and Count *Antoine*, of that from *Denmark*: The firſt was immediately viſited by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, and return'd it; after which he ſent his Notifications to the Mediators, and from them to the other Ambaſſadors; upon which no Difficulty was made by them, ſince the Biſhop made the ſame Declaration the *Spaniards* had done before upon the like Occaſion, that the firſt Viſits paſſing between the two Miniſters of the two Houſes of *Auſtria*, were Viſits of Kindneſs and Conſanguinity, and not of Ceremony. But Count *Antoine* fell into endleſs Difficulties upon his firſt Arrival. He intended to have ſent his firſt Notification to the Mediators, as others had done; but the *Imperialiſts* having Notice of this Intention, ſent him direct Word, they expected the firſt Reſpect ſhould be given to the Emperor; and this was the firſt time they own'd that Pretenſion, in Prejudice of the Honour hitherto done to the King's Mediation. Count *Antoine* ſent Monſieur *Heug*, his Colleague, to acquaint the Mediators with this Incident, and deſire them to find out ſome Expedient: They excuſed themſelves, alledging their poſitive Orders to expect the firſt Notification. The *Danes* were as unwilling to diſoblige his Majeſty, as the Emperor; and found no Temper in this Matter, after many offer'd both by *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors; ſo that Count *Antoine* reſolv'd to leave it undecided, and to give no Notifications, or receive or make any Viſits; but however aſſiſted at the Conferences among the Allies, and made a part of all the Evening Entertainments, at Play and in Converſation, in the Apartments of the ſeveral Ambaſſadrices; and this Courſe he obſerv'd, during his Stay at *Nimeguen*, which was ſeven or eight Months: For the reſt, a Perſon very much eſteem'd for his generous Qualities, and Gentlemanly Humour and Converſation, and yielding to none upon the Place in the Greatneſs and Splendor of his Equipage; wherein the Marqueſs *De Balbaces*, and Count *Antoine* ſeem'd to diſtinguiſh themſelves from all the reſt.

About the End of *July*, the Prince of *Orange* made an Attempt upon *Charleroy*, rather than a Siege. This had been before concerted with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who made a mien of entering into *Champagne*, on purpoſe to draw off the *French* Forces from attending the Prince's Motions and Deſign upon *Charleroy*. The Prince had Hopes to take it by Surpriſe; but found thoſe of the Garriſon upon their Guard, and very ſtrong, as well as the Place, which had been fortified with all the Force of Art and Expence, that could be employ'd upon a Place of that Compaſs. He ſat down before it, and would have

have beſieg'd it in Form, if the Duke of *Lorrain* could have diverted the *French* Army from relieving it; but Monſieur *De Louvois*, with great Diligence, leaving the Marſhal *De Crequi* with Force enough to face that Duke, aſſembled a very great Army for the Relief of *Charleroy*; upon Approach whereof, the Prince call'd a Council of War, to reſolve whether to march and fight the *French* Army, or raiſe the Siege. The laſt was reſolv'd upon Debate at the Council, and accordingly executed, and therewith ended this Campaign in *Flanders*. But this March and Retreat of the Prince paſs'd not without many Reflections, not only among the Allies, but in *Holland* too, as if he had given over the Deſign upon ſome Intelligences and Expreſſes between him and the King about this Time. Monſieur *Bentinck* had gone over and return'd, without any body's knowing his Buſineſs: My Lord *Oſſory* happen'd to arrive in the Camp, the Day before the Council of War, upon which the Siege was rais'd; which made many think, ſomething his Lordſhip brought from *England* was the Occaſion of it. But I could never find there was any thing more in his Journey than the Hopes of ſeeing a Battle (which was ever a particular Inclination of my Lord *Oſſory*) and a Caſt of my Lord *Arlington* to preſerve himſelf in the Prince's Favour and Confidence as much as he could, by my Lord *Oſſory*'s keeping cloſe to him, at a Time when he ſaw the Buſineſs of *Chriſtendom* roll ſo much upon the Perſon of the Prince.

About this Time, the Aſſembly at *Nimeguen* ſeem'd in danger of being broken by a paſſionate Motion the *Swedes* made in it. There had been a long Conteſt ſince it firſt began, between the *Swedes* and *Danes*, about Freedom of Paſſage for the *Swediſh* Couriers through the *Daniſh* Territories, for managing the Correſpondencies neceſſary with their Court. The *Danes* pretended the Example of *France*, who refus'd the ſame Liberty to the *Spaniards*. This Diſpute had been manag'd by many Meſſages, wherewith the Mediators had been charg'd between the Parties, wherein the Allies of both Sides took equal part. Sometimes the Matter had been treated with many preſſing Inſtances, and ſometimes with fainter; ſometimes almoſt let fall, and then again reſum'd; and thus above a Year paſs'd: But about this time, the *Swedes* come to the Mediators, deſire their Offices once more to the *Danes* upon this Subject, and declare, that without this Liberty inſiſted upon ſo long for their Couriers, they find themſelves incapable of giving Advices neceſſary to their Court, or receiving Orders neceſſary from it; and that without it, they muſt be forc'd to leave the Aſſembly. This Reſolution of the *Swedes* continued for ſome time ſo peremptory, that it was expected to come to that Iſſue; but after ſome *Fougue* ſpent for about a Fortnight or three Weeks upon this Occaſion, and ſome Temperament found out by the *Dutch* for the ſecure and ſpeedy Paſſage of all the *Swediſh* Diſpatches by *Amſterdam*, thoſe Ambaſſadors began to grow ſoft and calm again, and to go on their uſual Paces. Soon after, the *French* Ambaſſadors, who had treated the *Swediſh* Affairs and Miniſters with great Indifferency, and Neglect in this Treaty (declaring to Monſieur *Van Beverning*, their Maſter would not part with one Town in *Flanders*, to reſtore the *Swedes* to all they had loſt) began wholly to change their Language, and ſay upon all Occaſions, That *France* could not make a Peace without the full Satisfaction and Reſtitution of the *Swedes*; and it was diſcours'd, that the *French* and *Swedes* had enter'd into a new Alliance at *Paris* to this Purpoſe: And ſome believ'd, it was by Concert between them, that this *Atteinte* was given by the *Swedes* to the Congreſs; that the *French* had at that time a mind to break it, and to enter into a Treaty with *Spain* under the Pope's Direction, and at *Rome*, not knowing to what Meaſures his Majeſty might be induc'd upon the Progreſs of the *French* Conqueſts, and the Diſtempers raiſed in his Parliament upon that Occaſion. But this Guſt blown over, all was becalm'd at *Nimeguen*; ſo that Monſieur *Olivecrans* left that Place about the End of *Auguſt*, upon a Journey to *Sweden*.

Till this Time the Motions of Buſineſs had been reſpited in the Aſſembly, upon a general Expectation that the King was ſending me over ſuddenly with the Plan of a Peace that he reſolv'd ſhould be made, and to which it was not

not doubted but all Parties would yield, whatever it was; ſo great a Regard was held on all ſides, of his Majeſty's Will and Power. But a greater Stop was yet given to all further Paces there, by the Prince of *Orange*'s Journey into *England*, about the End of *September* 1677, which wholly chang'd the Scene of this Treaty, and for the preſent carried it over to *London*, and left all other Places at a Gaze only, and in Expectation of what ſhould be there agitated and concluded.

CHAP. III.

THE Prince, like a haſty Lover, came Poſt from *Harwich* to *New-market*, where the Court then was, as a Seaſon and Place of Country Sports. My Lord *Arlington* attended his Highneſs at his alighting, making his Pretence of the chief Confidence with him; and the Court expected it upon his Alliance and Journeys into *Holland*. My Lord Treaſurer and I went together to wait on him, but met him upon the middle of the Stairs, in a great Croud, coming down to the King. He whiſper'd to us both together, and ſaid to me, That he muſt deſire me to anſwer for him and my Lord Treaſurer one to another, ſo as they might from that time enter both into Buſineſs and Converſation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance; which was a wiſe Strain, conſidering his Lordſhip's Credit in Court at that Time, and was of great Uſe to the Prince in the Courſe of his Affairs then in *England*; and tho' it much ſhock'd my Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it could not be wonder'd at by ſuch as knew what had paſs'd of late between the Prince and him, with whom he only liv'd in common Forms during his Stay. He was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke, who both invited him often into Diſcourſes of Buſineſs, which they wonder'd to ſee him avoid or divert induſtriouſly, ſo as the King bid me find out the Reaſon of it. The Prince told me, he was reſolv'd to ſee the young Princeſs before he enter'd into Affair; and to proceed in that, before the other of the Peace. The King laugh'd at this Piece of Nicety, when I told it him; but however, to humour him in it, ſaid he would go ſome Days ſooner than he had intended from *New-market*; which was accordingly done.

The Prince upon his Arrival in Town, and Sight of the Princeſs, was ſo pleas'd with her Perſon, and all thoſe Signs of ſuch a Humour as had been deſcrib'd to him upon former Inquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke; which was very well receiv'd and aſſented to, but with this Condition, That the Terms of a Peace abroad might be firſt agreed on between them. The Prince excuſed himſelf, and ſaid he muſt end his firſt Buſineſs before he began the other. The King and Duke were both poſitive in their Opinion; and the Prince reſolute in his; and ſaid at laſt, That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace as Things then ſtood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their Coſt, and for his part he would never ſell his Honour for a Wife. This prevail'd not, but the King continu'd ſo poſitive for three or four Days, that my Lord Treaſurer and I began to doubt the whole Buſineſs would break upon this Punctilio. About that Time I chanc'd to go to the Prince after Supper, and found him in the worſt Humour that I ever ſaw him; he told me, he repented he had ever come into *England*, and reſolv'd he would ſtay but two Days longer, and then be gone, if the King continued in his Mind of treating upon the Peace before he was married; but that before he went, the King muſt chuſe how they ſhould live hereafter, for he was ſure it muſt be either like the greateſt Friends, or the greateſt Enemies; and deſir'd me to let his Majeſty know ſo next Morning, and give him Account of what he ſhould ſay upon it. I did ſo, early in the Morning, told the King all the Prince had

ſaid

ſaid to me the Night before, and the ill Conſequences of a Breach between them, conſidering the ill Humour of ſo many of his Subjects, upon our late Meaſures with *France*, and the Invitations made the Prince by ſeveral of them, during the late War. The King heard me with great Attention; and when I had done, ſaid, well, I never yet was deceiv'd in judging of a Man's Honeſty by his Looks (of which he gave me ſome Examples) and, if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honeſteſt Man in the World, and I will truſt him, and he ſhall have his Wife, and you ſhall go immediately and tell my Brother ſo, and that 'tis a Thing I am reſolv'd on. I did ſo, and the Duke at firſt ſeem'd a little ſurpriz'd; but when I had done, he ſaid, The King ſhall be obey'd, and I would be glad all his Subjects would learn of me to obey him: I do tell him my Opinion very freely upon any thing; but when that is is done, and I know his Pleaſure upon it, I obey him. From the Duke I went to the Prince, and told him my Story; which he could at firſt hardly believe, but embrac'd me, and ſaid I had made him a very happy Man, and very unexpectedly: And ſo I left him to give the King an Account of what had paſs'd, and in the Prince's Anti-chamber met my Lord Treaſurer, and told him the Story, who undertook to adjuſt all the reſt between the King and the Prince; which he did ſo well, that the Match was declar'd that Evening at the Committee, before any other in Court knew any thing of it; and next Day it was declar'd in Council, and receiv'd there and every where elſe in the Kingdom, with the moſt univerſal Joy that I ever ſaw any thing in the King's Reign. The *French* Ambaſſador, and my Lord *Arlington* appear'd the only two Perſons unſatisfied upon it at Court; the firſt not knowing how he ſhould anſwer it to his Maſter, That an Affair of that Importance ſhould paſs without his Communication, much leſs Advice, in a Court where nothing before had been done ſo for many Years; and my Lord *Arlington*, That it ſhould paſs without his Knowledge, who ſtill endeavour'd to keep up the Court-Opinion of his Confidence with the Prince; who told me the Compliment his Lordſhip had made him upon it, That ſome Things good in themſelves were ſpoil'd by the manner of doing them, as ſome Things bad were mended by it; but he would confeſs this was a Thing ſo good in it ſelf, that the manner of doing it could not ſpoil it.

Within two or three Days the Marriage was conſummated, and immediately after they fell into the Debates upon the Terms of the Peace; to which, as to that of the Match, none but my Lord Treaſurer and I were admitted. The Prince inſiſted hard upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier on both Sides of *Flanders*; without which, *France*, he ſaid, would end this War with the View of beginning another, and carrying *Flanders* in one Campaign. The King was content to leave that Buſineſs a little looſer; upon the Confidence that *France* was ſo weary of this War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign; That the King grew paſt his Youth, and lazy, and would turn to the Pleaſures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in Quiet. The Prince thought *France* would not make a Peace now, but to break the preſent Confederacy, and to begin another War with more Advantage and Surprize; That their Ambition would never end, till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany* to the *Rhine*, and thereby *Holland* in an abſolute Dependence upon them; which would leave them in an ill Condition, and us in no good one: And that *Chriſtendom* could not be left ſafe by the Peace, without ſuch a Frontier as he propos'd for *Flanders*, and the Reſtitution of *Lorrain*, as well as what the Emperor had loſt in *Alſace*. Upon this I told the King, That in the Courſe of my Life, I had never obſerv'd Men's Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes; but that a good Boy made a good Man; and a young Coxcomb, an old Fool; and a young *Fripon*, an old Knave; and that quiet Spirits were ſo, young as well as old; and unquiet ones would be ſo, old as well as young; That I believ'd the King of *France* would always have ſome Bent or other, ſometimes War, ſometimes Love, ſometimes Building; but that I was of the Prince's Opinion, That he would ever make Peace with a Deſign of a new War;

War, after he had fix'd his Conqueſt by the laſt: And the King approv'd what I ſaid. The Points of *Lorrain* and *Alſace* were eaſily agreed to by the King and Duke; but they would not hear of the County of *Burgundy*, as what *France* could never be brought to, tho' the Prince inſiſted much upon it; ſo as the King imagin'd he was touch'd by the Intereſt of his own Lands in that Country (which are greater and more *Seigneurial* than thoſe of the Crown of *Spain* there) and thereupon told him, That for his Lands he would charge himſelf with either his enjoying them as ſafely under *France* as *Spain*; or if he ſhould rather chuſe to part with them than have that Dependence, he would undertake to get him what Price he ſhould himſelf value them at. But the Prince anſwer'd briskly and generouſly, That he ſhould not trouble himſelf nor the Peace about that Matter; and that he would be content to loſe all his Lands there, to get one good Town more for the *Spaniards* upon the Frontier of *Flanders*; ſo all Difficulties began to terminate upon what was eſteem'd neceſſary there. This admitted great Debates between the King and Prince; one pretending *France* would never be brought to one Scheme; and t'other, that *Spain* would never conſent to the other. But at the laſt it was agreed, That the Peace ſhould be made upon theſe Terms, all to be reſtor'd by *France* to the Empire and Emperor that had been taken in the War; the Durchy of *Lorrain* to that Duke; and all on both Sides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, St. *Ghiſlain*, and *Binch*. That the Prince ſhould endeavour to procure the Conſent of *Spain*, and his Majeſty that of *France*; for which purpoſe he ſhould ſend ſome Perſon immediately over with the Propoſition, who ſhould be inſtructed to enter into no Reaſonings upon it, but demand a poſitive Anſwer in two Days, and after that Term immediately return. The Queſtion was, who ſhould go? and my Lord Treaſurer ſaid, it muſt be he or I, for none elſe had been acquainted with the Debate of this Buſineſs. The Prince ſaid, It muſt be I, for my Lord Treaſurer could not be ſpar'd; and it muſt be ſome Perſon upon whoſe Judgment and Truth he could rely, as to the Intentions of that Court. The King order'd me to be ready in two Days, which I was; and the Evening before I was to go, meeting his Majeſty in the Park, he call'd me to him, and, a little out of Countenance, told me, He had been thinking of my Journey and Errand, and how unwelcome I ſhould be in *France* as well as my Meſſage; and having a mind to gain the Peace, he was unwilling to anger them more than needs. Beſides, the Thing being not to be reaſon'd or debated, any body elſe would ſerve the Turn as well as I, whom he had other Uſe of; and therefore he had been thinking to ſend ſome other Perſon. I ſaw he doubted I would take it ill; but told him, and very truly, he would do me the greateſt Pleaſure in the World; for I never had leſs mind to any Journey in my Life, and ſhould not have accepted it, but in perfect Obedience. The King, that was the gentleſt Prince in the World of his own Nature, fell into good Humour upon ſeeing I took it not ill, pretended to think whom he ſhould ſend, and at laſt ask'd me what I thought of my Lord *Duras*? I ſaid, very well; upon which he ſeem'd to reſolve it. But the Thing had been agreed in the Morning, as I was told, upon the Duke's Deſire, who thought *France* would accept the Terms, and that the Peace would be made, and had a mind to have the Honour of it, by ſending a Servant of his own. Whether there were any other Motive, I know not; but my Lord *Duras* went immediately with the Orders before-mention'd; and ſome few Days after, the Prince and Princeſs embarqu'd for *Holland*, where Affairs preſſed his Return beyond the Hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*; the King aſſuring him, He would never part from the leaſt Point of the Scheme ſent over, and would enter into the War againſt *France*, if they refus'd it. However, he went not away without a great Mortification, to ſee the Parliament prorogued to next Spring; which the *French* Ambaſſador had gain'd of the King, to make up ſome good Mien with *France* after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Diſpatch of the Terms of a Peace to that Court.

Upon

Upon my Lord *Duras*'s Arrival at *Paris*, the Court there were ſurpriz'd, both at the Thing, and more at the Manner; but made good Mien upon it, took it gently, ſaid, The King knew very well he might always be Maſter of the Peace; but ſome of the Towns in *Flanders* ſeem'd very hard, eſpecially *Tournay*, upon whoſe Fortifications ſuch vaſt Treaſures had been expended; and, that they would take ſome ſhort Time to conſider of the Anſwer. My Lord *Duras* told them, he was ty'd to Two Days Stay; but when that was out, he was prevail'd with to ſtay ſome few Days longer, and to come away without a poſitive Anſwer. What he brought, was what they had ſaid to him before, That the Moſt Chriſtian King hoped his Brother would not break with him upon one or two Towns; but even upon them too, he would ſend Orders to his Ambaſſador at *London* to treat with his Majeſty himſelf. By this Gain of Time, and artificial drawing it into Treaty without any poſitive Refuſal, this Blow came to be eluded, which could not eaſily have been ſo any other Way. The King was ſoften'd by the Softneſs of *France*: The Ambaſſador ſaid at laſt, He had leave to yield all but *Tournay*, and to treat even for ſome Equivalent for that too, if the King inſiſted abſolutely upon it. The Prince was gone, who had ſpirited the Vigour of the whole Reſolution; and the Treaty of it began to draw out into Meſſages and Returns from *France*.

However, the ill Humour of People growing higher, upon the Noiſe of a Peace, and negotiated in *France*, and the late Prorogation of Parliament, this was by Proclamation anticipated ſoon after my Lord *Duras*'s Return, tho' a Thing ſomething unuſual, and a Countenance made as if the King reſolv'd to enter into the War: For which the Parliament ſeem'd impatient, whenever the King ſeem'd averſe to it; but grew jealous of ſome Tricks, whenever the Court ſeem'd inclin'd to it. About the End of *December* 1677, the King ſent for me to the Foreign Committee, and told me, he could get no poſitive Anſwer from *France*, and therefore reſolv'd to ſend me into *Holland*, to make a League there with the States, for forcing both *France* and *Spain*, if either refus'd, to make the Peace upon the Terms he had propos'd. I told the King, What he had agreed, was to enter into the War with all the Confederates, in caſe of no direct and immediate Anſwer from *France*: That this, perhaps, would ſatisfie both the Prince and Confederates abroad, and the People at home: But to make ſuch a League with *Holland* only, would ſatisfie none of them, and diſoblige both *France* and *Spain*. Beſides, it would not have an Effect or Force, as the Triple-Alliance had; that being a great Original, of which this ſeem'd but an ill Copy; and therefore excus'd my ſelf from going. The King was ſet upon it, tho' I pretended domeſtick Affairs of great importance upon the Death of my Father; and pleaded ſo hard, that the Duke at laſt deſir'd the King not to preſs me upon a Thing I was ſo averſe from, and would be ſo inconvenient to me; and deſir'd I might propoſe who ſhould be ſent with the Treaty. I made my Acknowledgments to the Duke for his Favour, and propos'd, that Mr. *Thynn* ſhould be ſent from the Office with a Draught of the Treaty to Mr. *Hide*, who was then come from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague* upon a Viſit to the Princeſs. This was done, and the Treaty ſign'd there, on the ſixteenth of *January*, though not without great Difficulties and Diſſatisfaction of the Prince; who was yet cover'd in it by the private Conſent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter there, in behalf of his Maſter; ſo as the War could not break but upon *France*, in caſe of their Refuſal.

In the mean time, *France* draws out the Treaty upon the Terms at *London* into Length, never raiſing more than one Difficulty at a time, and expoſtulating the Unkindneſs of breaking for the ſingle Town of *Tournay*, tho' that was indeed more important than any Three of the others, being the only ſtrong one to guard that Side of the Frontier, and giving Way for any ſudden Invaſion upon *Ghent* and *Antwerp*, and the very Heart of the Country. But while this Game was playing in *England*, they had another on foot in *Holland*, eſpecially at *Amſterdam*, by raiſing Jealouſies of the Meaſures taken

between the King and Prince upon the Marriage, as dangerous to the Liberties of *Holland*; and making it there believ'd, that by the Match the King and Duke had drawn over the Prince wholly into their Intereſts or Sentiments; whereas the Prince went away poſſeſs'd to have by it drawn *them* indeed into *his*. They propos'd to the *Dutch* other Terms of Peace, far ſhort of the King's, and leſs ſafe for *Flanders*; reſtoring only Six Towns to the *Spaniards*, and mentioning *Lorrain* but ambiguouſly; which wou'd not have gone down in *Holland*, but for the Suſpicions rais'd by the Prince's Marriage among the People there, who had an incurable Jealouſie of our Court, and thereupon not that Confidence of the Prince that he deſerv'd.

There were two ruling Burgomaſters of *Amſterdam* at this Time, who had the whole Sway of that Town (as this has a great one in *Holland*) *Hoeft* and *Valkenier*; the Firſt, a generous, honeſt Man, of great Patrimonial Riches, Learning, Wit, Humour, without Ambition, having always refus'd all Employments the State had offer'd him, and ſerving only in that of Burgomaſter of his Town in his Turn, and as little buſie in it as he cou'd; a true Genius, and that ſaid Two Things to me in Converſation I had not heard before; One, That a Man who were to die to-morrow in Torment, wou'd yet enjoy to-day, if he were *Sain* [*Sound*]; and, that it was ſome Diſeaſe, or Decay of Spirits, that hinder'd it. The other, That a Man was a *Coyon* [*a ſorry Wight*] who deſir'd to live after Threeſcore; and that, for his part, after that Age, which he was then approaching, he ſhou'd be glad of the firſt good Occaſion to die: And this he made good, dying with Neglect upon a Fit of the Gout, talking with his Friends till he was juſt ſpent, then ſending them away, that he might not die in their Sight; and when he found himſelf come a little again, ſending for them up, and telling them, *Qu'il y avoit encore pour une demy heure de Converſation* [*That he had Life ſtill for one Half-hour's Converſation*]. This was the Character of Monſieur *Hoeft*, who was a great Inclination of mine, tho' he paſs'd for a humorous Man; and told me, I was the only Ambaſſador he had ever viſited in his Life. He had all the Credit that cou'd be in his Town, without ſeeking, or minding, or uſing it; whereas *Valkenier* ſought and courted it all that cou'd be, without having half the other's, being a moroſe and formal Man, but of great Induſtry, much Thought, and, as we believ'd, Avarice, and making the Turns eaſily that were neceſſary in Government to carry his Ends. Theſe two had long been Enemies, and thought irreconcileable, till the *French* Inſtruments at this Time, with great Art and Induſtry, made up the Quarrel, and join'd them both in the Deſign of making the Peace upon the Terms offer'd by *France*.

The Parliament meets in *January* by the Anticipation of the Seſſion, which ſeem'd to import ſomething of great Conſequence. The King acquaints them with the League he had made in *Holland*, and asks them Money upon it, for putting himſelf in a Poſture to carry on the War if the Peace fail'd; which the Parliament gave him, upon the Hopes of the War, and not of the Peace. The Conſtitution of this Parliament, that had ſat Seventeen Years, was grown into two known Factions, which were call'd, That of Court and Country: The Court Party were grown numerous, by a Practice introduc'd by my Lord *Clifford*, of downright buying off one Man after another, as they cou'd make the Bargain. The Country Party was ſomething greater yet in number, and kept in more Credit upon the Corruption of others, and their own Pretence of Steadineſs to the true Intereſt of the Nation, eſpecially in the Points of *France* and Popery. Where theſe came in Queſtion, many of the Court Party voted with thoſe of the Country, who then carried all before them; but whenever the Court ſeem'd to fall in with the true Intereſts of the Nation, eſpecially in thoſe two Points, then many of the Country Party, meaning fairly, fell in with the Court, and carried the Votes; as they now did, upon the King's Pretence to grow bold with *France*, and to reſolve upon the War if the Peace were refus'd.

In

In *October*, *Friburg* had been taken by a Fein of the Duke of *Crequi*, before the Duke of *Lorrain* cou'd come to relieve it; and in the ſame Month *Stetin* had been taken by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, after a vigorous Reſiſtance: Which left the Scales as even as they were before between the two Leagues.

In *January*, upon the Delays of *France* to agree to the King's Conditions of a Peace, his Majeſty enter'd into a Negotiation with the Miniſters of the Confederates at *London*, in caſe *France* went on to refuſe them. But the Hopes of a Peace were on a ſudden daſh'd by the *French* Attempts upon *Ypres*, and Threats of *Oſtend*, whither the King immediately ſends Forces over, at the Deſire of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, for Security of that important Place. Nor did the *French* Ambaſſador ſeem to reſent at all this Pace of his Majeſty, but continu'd his Court and Treaty with all the Fairneſs that could be.

Towards the End of *February*, the King of *France* marching in the Head of his Army, and carrying the Queen and Ladies to *Mentz*, ſeem'd to threaten *Luxemburg*, or *Namur*, or *Mons*; but having drawn the *Spaniſh* Forces that Way, on a ſudden croſſes the Country, ſits down before *Ghent*, and by the End of the Month takes both that Town and *Ypres*, and thereby gives a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and ſtrengthens the Credit and Endeavours of thoſe he had already diſpos'd to his Terms of a Peace, as grown now abſolutely neceſſary; while *England* ſeem'd reſolv'd to go into the War, or at leaſt furniſh'd the Confederates with many ſuch Hopes. About the firſt of *April*, *France* made a publick Declaration of the Terms upon which they were reſolv'd to make the Peace; which though very different from thoſe agreed between his Majeſty and *Holland*, and more from the Pretenſions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been firſt privately agreed with ſome Leaders of the principal Towns, prov'd indeed the Plan of the Peace both for *Holland* and all the other Confederates engag'd in the War. And here the *French* began that imperious Way of treating, which they afterwards purſu'd in the whole Negotiation of the enſuing Peace; declaring ſuch and ſuch were the Conditions they would admit, and no other, and upon which their Enemies might chuſe either Peace or War as they pleas'd: and to which *France* pretended not to be ty'd longer than to the tenth of *May*, after which they would be at Liberty to change or reſtrain them as they ſhould think fit.

About this Time, I happen'd to be with Lord Treaſurer one Evening in his Cloſet, when a Packet came to him from Mr. *Montague* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, giving him an Account of a large Conference Monſieur *De Louvois* had with him, by the King his Maſter's Order: Wherein he repreſented the Meaſures they had already taken for a Peace in *Holland* upon the *French* Terms: That ſince they were agreed there, they hop'd his Majeſty would not be againſt it: That however *France* had order'd him to make his Majeſty the Offer of a great Sum of Money for his Conſent, tho' to a Thing already accepted by *Holland*, and wherein his Majeſty was conſequently not concern'd: That Monſieur *De Louvois* deſir'd the Ambaſſador to write this immediately to Lord Treaſurer, and to offer him a very conſiderable Sum for himſelf, that ſhould be ſent over in Money, Jewels, or by Bills, as he ſhould chuſe: And Mr. *Montague* added, That it was deſir'd this Affair ſhould be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. My Lord Treaſurer read the Letter to me, and I ſaid, Well, my Lord, What do you ſay to the Offer? He anſwer'd, That he thought 'twas the ſame Thing as if it ſhou'd be made to the King to have *Windſor* put into the *French* Hands, and ſo he ſhould treat it; and that we had nothing to do but to go on with our Treaty with the Confederates. This his Lordſhip and I were charg'd with, and had brought near a Concluſion, when his Letters came from Mr. *Hide*, with Repreſentations made him from the Penſioner at the *Hague*, of the Diſpoſitions in *Holland* running violently into a Peace, and the abſolute Neceſſity he thought there was of concluding it, upon the taking of *Ghent*, and Danger of *Antwerp*, which was then threaten'd, and the

Loſs whereof would be ſo fatal to the Trade of *Holland*, eſpecially *Amſterdam*. Hereupon Mr. *Godolphin* was diſpatch'd immediately into *Holland*, to bring the laſt and ſureſt Account he could get of the Reſolutions there upon this Affair, and return with the greateſt Speed he could. He did ſo, and brought the ſame Account of all Diſpoſitions which Mr. *Hide* had given; and in the Proceſs of our Treaty with the Confederates, Monſieur *Van Beuninghen*, when he came to the Point, was forc'd to confeſs, That he had no Powers to conclude, without firſt communicating to the States, which muſt draw into Length and Uncertainty.

About this Time the *French* Ambaſſador began to change his Language, who had ever before pretended, That his Majeſty ſhould be always Arbiter of the Peace: But now, aſſuring that his Maſter had agreed with *Holland*, he ſeem'd to wonder and expoſtulate why the King ſhould pretend to obtain better Terms for the *Spaniards*, than their Allies the *Dutch* were content with.

I was then preſs'd by the King and Lord Treaſurer to go into *Holland* to know their final Reſolutions, whether they wou'd yet go on with the War in caſe his Majeſty ſhould go into it? But I excus'd my ſelf, knowing the *Dutch* were too much preſs'd by ſo near Approaches of *France*, to declare themſelves upon a Reſerve of the King's; and ſaid, If his Majeſty reſolv'd to go that Way, he muſt firſt take his Meaſures with the Parliament for the War, and then ſend them Word in *Holland*, He was ready to declare it in caſe they would purſue it; And upon this Meſſage, I knew the *Dutch* ſo well as to believe they would do it, and keep cloſe to their late Alliance with his Majeſty. This the King was unwilling to do, but poſted Mr. *Godolphin* again into *Holland* about the middle of *April*, to know their final Reſolutions; and prorogu'd the Parliament for fourteen Days.

During theſe Negotiations, and ſince the Money given by the Parliament, and in ſix Week's Time, the King had rais'd an Army of about twenty thouſand Men, the compleateſt, and in all Appearance the braveſt Troops that could be any where ſeen; and might have rais'd many more, upon ſo great a Concurrence of the People's Humour with his Majeſty's ſeeming Deſign of entering into a War againſt *France*: And it was confeſs'd by all the foreign Miniſters, That no King in *Chriſtendom* could have made and compleated ſuch a Levy as this appear'd, in ſuch a Time.

My Lord Treaſurer, upon the twentieth, came to me, and aſſur'd me of the King's Reſolution being at length fix'd to go into the War; and deſir'd me to prepare what the King was to ſay to the Parliament upon this Occaſion, which I did. When I carry'd it to my Lord Treaſurer, I met there Letters from Mr. *Hide* and Mr. *Godolphin*, that *Holland* abſolutely deſir'd the Peace, even upon the Terms propos'd by *France*; and had reſolv'd to ſend Monſieur *Van Lewen* over hither, to diſpoſe the King to be contented with them. He arriv'd, and the King ſent me immediately to him to know his Errand. He was the Chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had join'd with *Amſterdam*, *Haerlem*, *Delft*, and ſome others, in promoting the Peace, even upon the *French* Conditions: But being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having done it upon the Suſpicion that *England* was ſtill at Bottom in with *France*, and that all the reſt was but Grimace; the Prince had procur'd him to be ſent over, on purpoſe to ſatisfy himſelf (and thereby his Complices for the Peace) that the King's Intentions were determin'd to enter into the War, which his Highneſs thought the only Means to prevent the Peace.

When I came to Monſieur *Van Lewen*, he told me freely, That it was the moſt againſt their Hearts in *Holland* that could be, to make a Peace upon Terms ſo low and unſafe for *Flanders*; and that if the King had gone into War, as was promis'd, upon *France* delaying or refuſing to accept his Scheme, they would certainly have continued it: But his Majeſty's Proceedings look'd ever ſince ſo uncertain or unreſolv'd, that it had rais'd Jealouſies in *Holland* of our Meaſures being at Bottom fix'd and cloſe with *France*; which made

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moſt of the Towns in *Holland* think they had nothing elſe left to do, but to go in with them too as faſt as they could, and the Approach of the *French* Army to *Antwerp* left them now no Time to deliberate: Yet he profeſs'd to me in private, That if the King would immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States would ſtill go on with it, in purſuit of their Alliance and the Terms therein contain'd.

I made this Report to the King, who ſeem'd poſitive to declare the War, in caſe the Parliament adviſ'd him, and promis'd to ſupport it; when an unlucky peeviſh Vote, mov'd by Sir *T*——*C*—— in ſpight to my Lord Treaſurer, paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, *That no Money ſhould be given, till Satisfaction was received in Matters of Religion.* This left all ſo looſe and ſo lame, that the King was in a Rage, reproach'd me with my popular Notions, as he term'd them; and ask'd me when, or how, I thought he could truſt the Houſe of Commons to carry him thro' the War, if he ſhould engage in it? And I had not much indeed to ſay, conſidering the Temper and Factions of the Houſe; nor could I well clear it to my ſelf, by my Obſervation, whether the King was firmly reſolv'd to enter into the War; or if he did, whether the Houſe of Commons would have ſupported him in it, or turn'd it only to ruin the Miniſters by the King's Neceſſities. 'Tis certain, no Vote could ever have paſs'd more unhappily, nor in ſuch a Counter-Seaſon, nor more croſs to the Humour of the Houſe, which ſeem'd generally bent upon engaging his Majeſty in the War; and the Perſon that mov'd it was, I believe, himſelf as much of that Mind as any of the reſt; but having, ſince the Loſs of his Employment at Court, ever acted a part of great Animoſity in oppoſition to the preſent Miniſtry, in whoſe Hands ſoever it was, this private ill Humour carry'd him contrary to his publick Intentions, as it did many more in the Houſe, who pretended to be very willing to ſupply the King upon Occaſion of the War, or even of his Debts, but that they wou'd not do it during my Lord Treaſurer's Miniſtry. In ſhort, there was ſuch a fatal and mutual Diſtruſt both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any ſound Meaſures between them. The King, at leaſt, now ſaw he had loſt his Time of entering into the War, if he had a Mind to it; and that he ought to have done it (upon my Lord *Duras*'s Return, and) with the whole Confederacy. And my Lord *Eſſex* told me, I had been a Prophet, in refuſing to go into *Holland* to make that Alliance, which had, as I ſaid, pleas'd none at home or abroad, and had now loſt all our Meaſures in *Holland*, and turn'd theirs upon *France*.

But the Turn that the King gave all this, was, That ſince the *Dutch* would have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and *France* offer'd Money for his Conſent to what he could not help, he did not know why he ſhould not get the Money; and thereupon order'd me to treat upon it with the *French* Ambaſſador, who had Orders to that Purpoſe. I would have excus'd my ſelf; but he ſaid, I could not help ſeeing him, for he would be with me at my Houſe by ſeven next Morning: He accordingly came, and I told him very truly, I had been ill in the Night, and could not enter into Buſineſs. The Ambaſſador was much diſappointed, and preſs'd me all he could, but I defended my ſelf upon my Illneſs, till at length he left me without entering upon any thing. When I got up, I went immediately to *Sheen*, writ to my Lord Treaſurer by my Wife, *May* the tenth 1678, how much I was unſatisfy'd with being put upon ſuch a Treaty with the *French* Ambaſſador, that belong'd not at all to my Poſt, and which they knew I thought diſhonourable to the King; and thereupon I offer'd to reſign to his Majeſty both my Ambaſſy at *Nimeguen*, and Promiſe of Secretary of State's Place, to be diſpos'd of by his Majeſty as he pleas'd. My Lord Treaſurer ſent me Word, The King forc'd no Man upon what he had no Mind to; but if I reſolv'd this ſhould be ſaid to him, I muſt do it my ſelf, or by ſome other, for he would not make my Court ſo ill as to ſay it for me; and ſo it reſted, and I continu'd at *Sheen*, without ſtirring till the King ſent for me.

In the mean time, from the Beginning of *May*, the ill Humour of the Houſe

Houſe of Commons began to break out, by ſeveral Diſcourſes and Votes, againſt the Miniſters and their Conduct; which increas'd the ill Opinion his Majeſty had conceiv'd of their Intentions in preſſing him to enter upon a War: Yet notwithſtanding all this, he had (as I was told by a good Hand) conceiv'd ſuch an Indignation at one Article of the private Treaty propos'd by Monſieur *Barillon*, that he ſaid he would never forget it while he liv'd; and though he ſaid nothing to me of his Reſentment, yet he ſeem'd at this time more reſolv'd to enter into the War, than I had ever before ſeen or thought him.

Monſieur *De Ruvigny* the Son, was diſpatch'd into *France*, to know the laſt Intentions of that Court upon the Terms of the Peace propoſed by his Majeſty, but brought no Anſwer clear or poſitive; ſo as his Majeſty went on to compleat his Levies, and to prepare for the War: But *May* the eleventh, the Houſe of Commons paſs'd another Negative upon the Debate of Money; which ſo offended the King, that he prorogued them for ten Days, believing in that Time his Intentions to enter into the War would appear ſo clear as to ſatisfie the Houſe, and put them in better Humour. Monſieur *Van Lewen*, diſtaſted with theſe Delays, and the Counter-paces between King and Parliament, begins to diſcourſe boldly of the Neceſſity his Maſters found to make the Peace as they could, ſince there was no relying upon any Meaſures with *England* for carrying on the War, and the Seaſon was too far advanc'd to admit any longer Delays. Upon theſe Diſcourſes from him, his Majeſty began to cool his Talk of a War, and to ſay, The Peace muſt be left to the Courſe which *Holland* had given it: And though upon *May* the twenty third the Parliament met, and ſeem'd in much better Temper than they parted, yet News coming about the ſame Time that Monſieur *Van Beverning* was ſent by the States to the *French* Court at *Ghent*, to propoſe a Ceſſation of Arms for ſix Weeks, in order to negotiate and agree the Terms of the Peace in that Time, the Affair began now to be look'd upon, both in Court and Parliament, as a Thing concluded, or at leaſt as like to receive no other Motion than what ſhould be given it by *Holland* and *France*. And indeed, the Diſpoſitions were ſo inclin'd to it on both Sides, that the Terms were ſoon adjuſted between them. Theſe Articles having been ſo publick, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to inſert them, but only ſay, they ſeem'd ſo hard, both to *Spain*, and to the *Northern* Princes who had made great Conqueſts upon the *Swedes*, that they all declar'd they would never accept them; and when the *French* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* deſired Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to carry them to the Confederates, he refus'd to do it, or to have part in a Treaty or Conditions of Peace, ſo different from what the King his Maſter had propoſed, and what both his Majeſty and *Holland* had oblig'd themſelves to purſue by their late Treaty at the *Hague*.

About this Time, *France*, by a Conduct very ſurprizing, having ſent Monſieur *De la Feuillade* to *Meſſina*, with a common Expectation of reinforcing the War in *Sicily*, ſhew'd the Intention was very different, and of a ſudden order'd all their Forces to abandon that Iſland, with whom many *Meſſineſe* return'd, fearing the Vengeance of the *Spaniards*, to whom they were now expos'd: And this was the only important Service done that Crown by all his Majeſty's Intentions or Preparations to aſſiſt them; for no Man doubted, that the abandoning of *Sicily* was wholly owing to the Apprehenſions in *France* of a War with *England*, which they thought would give them but too much Occaſion for imploying of their Forces. And indeed the Eyes and Hopes of all the Confederates were now turn'd ſo wholly upon *England* for any Reſource in their Affairs, after *Holland* had deſerted them (as they thought) by ſuch precipitate Terms of a Peace, that many of the chief Miniſters at *Nimeguen* left that Place, as of no more Uſe to the Treaty it was deſign'd for, and went into *England*, where they thought the whole Scene of that Affair then lay; among whom was Count *Antoine* the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador, and ſoon after, Monſieur *Olivecrans* the *Swediſh*, with the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s Envoy, and ſeveral others.

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However, the Negotiation continued there, between the *French* Ambaſſadors and Monſieur *Van Beverning*, till he was ſent to the *French* Camp; where he concluded the Terms of the Peace towards the End of *June*, and a Ceſſation from all Hoſtilities in *Flanders* for ſix Weeks, which was given to the *Dutch*, to endeavour the *Spaniards* entring into the Peace upon the Terms they had propoſed for them. And, in the whole Courſe of this Negotiation, *France* ſeem'd to have no Regards, but for *Holland*; and for them ſo much, that the Moſt Chriſtian King aſſur'd the States, That tho' *Spain* ſhould not agree, yet he had ſuch a Care of their Satisfaction, that he would always provide ſuch a Barrier in *Flanders* ſhould be left, as they thought neceſſary for their Safety; and, that after the Peace ſhould be made, and the ancient Amity reſtor'd, he would be ready to enter into ſuch Engagements and Meaſures with them, as ſhould for ever ſecure their Repoſe and their Liberty.

This was by all interpreted an invidious Word, put in on purpoſe to cajole the Enemies of the Prince, who ever pretended the Suſpicions of his affecting more Authority than they deſir'd; and thereby kept up a Popular Party in the State, the chief of whom had been the chief Promoters of the preſent Peace. And indeed the Prince was not at all reſerv'd in the Endeavours of oppoſing it, but uſed all that was poſſible and agreeable to the Forms of the State; yet all in vain, the Humour having ſpread ſo far, at firſt in *Holland*, and from thence into the other Provinces, that it was no longer to be oppos'd or diverted by the Prince.

In the mean time *England* was grown pretty indifferent in the Matter of the Peace, and *Spain* ſeem'd well inclin'd to accept their Part of it; but the Emperor, the King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburg*, fell into the higheſt Declarations and Reproaches againſt the States that could be well invented, reaping up all they had ventur'd and ſuffer'd in a War they had begun only for the Preſervation of *Holland*; how they were now abandon'd by them, in pretending to conclude Imperious and Arbitrary Terms of a Peace upon them without their Conſent; that they were willing to treat with *France*, and make a Peace upon any ſafe and reaſonable Conditions, but would never endure to have them impos'd, as from a Conqueror; and would venture all, rather than accept them, eſpecially thoſe for the Duke of *Lorrain*, whoſe Caſe was the worſt treated, tho' the moſt favour'd in Appearance, by all the Confederates, and the leaſt conteſted by *France*.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Storms from their Allies, the *Dutch* were little mov'd, and held on their Courſe, having ſmall Regard to the Satisfaction of any, beſides *Spain*, in what concern'd the Safety of *Flanders*; and the Neceſſities of that Crown made them eaſie, tho' as little contented as the reſt: So as the Peace was upon the point of ſigning by *French* and *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, when an unexpected Incident fell in, which had like to have overturn'd this whole Fabrick, and to have renew'd the War with greater Heats, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* to a Share of it in favour of the Confederates, which they had been long practiſing without Succeſs, and now without Hopes.

In the Conditions which *Holland* had made for the *French* reſtoring the Six Towns in *Flanders* to *Spain*, there was no particular Mention made of the Time of that Reſtitution; the *Dutch* underſtanding, as well as the *Spaniards*, that it was to be upon the Ratifications of the Peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any of the other Allies on each Side were included, or not. But when the *Dutch* Treaty was near ſigning, the Marqueſs *de Balbaces* either found or made ſome Occaſion of enquiring more particularly of the *French* Intentions upon this Point. The *French* Ambaſſadors made no Difficulty of declaring, That the King, their Maſter, being oblig'd to ſee an entire Reſtitution made to the *Swedes* of all they had loſt in the War, could not evacuate the Towns in *Flanders* till thoſe to the *Swedes* were likewiſe reſtor'd; and, that this Detention of Places was the only Means to induce the Princes of the *North* to accept of the Peace.

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Monſieur *Van Beverning* gave Account to his Maſters of this new Pretence, and the States order'd him to let the *French* Ambaſſadors know, he could not ſign the Peace without the Reſtitution of the Places in *Flanders* upon the Ratification of the Treaty. The *French* Ambaſſadors were firm on t'other Side, and ſaid, Their Orders were poſitive to inſiſt upon the Reſtitution of *Sweden*. The States hereupon ſent to Monſieur *Van Lewen*, to acquaint his Majeſty with this unexpected Incident, and to know his Opinion and Reſolution upon a Point of ſo great moment to the Peace of *Chriſtendom* on the one ſide, and to the Safety of *Flanders* on the other. The King was difficult at firſt to believe it; but ſending to the *French* Ambaſſador at *London*, to know the Truth of it, and finding him own his Maſter's Intention not to evacuate the Towns till the General Peace was concluded, and *Sweden* ſatisfied, he was both ſurpriz'd and angry at this Proceeding of *France*; and next Morning ſent for me to the Foreign Committee, and there declar'd his Reſolution of ſending me immediately into *Holland*, with Commiſſion to ſign a Treaty with the States, by which they ſhould be oblig'd to carry on the War, and his Majeſty to enter into it, in caſe *France* ſhould not conſent, within a certain Time limited, to evacuate the Towns. The Duke fell into this Counſel with great Warmth, and ſaid at the Committee, That it was plain by this Pace, that *France* was not ſincere in the Buſineſs of the Peace; that they aim'd at the Univerſal Monarchy; and, that none but his Majeſty could hinder them from it, in the poſture that *Chriſtendom* ſtood. All the Lords of the Committee agreed with ſo general a Concurrence, that it was hard to imagine this ſhould not prove a ſteady Reſolution, how little ſoever we had been given to any ſuch. His Majeſty took the Pains to preſs *Van Lewen* to go over with me, to perſuade the States of the Sincerity and Conſtancy of his Reſolution to purſue this Meaſure with the utmoſt of his Power; and took upon himſelf to excuſe to the States his Maſters, the making this Journey without their Conſent.

Upon this Diſpatch, Mr. *Godolphin*, who had been lately in *Holland*, told me, that if I brought the States to the Treaty his Majeſty propos'd upon this Occaſion, he would move the Parliament to have my Statue ſet up; the Succeſs whereof may deſerve a further Remark in its due Place.

Monſieur *Van Lewen* and I went over in *July* 1678, in two ſeveral Yachts, but met ſoon at the *Hague*, where, upon my firſt Conference with the Commiſſioners of Secret Affairs, one of them made me the handſom'ſt *Dutch* Compliment I had met with, *That they eſteem'd my coming into* Holland *like that of the Swallow, which brought fair Weather always with it.*

The Prince receiv'd me with the greateſt Joy in the World; hoping by my Errand, and the Succeſs of it, either to continue the War, or recover ſuch Conditions of Peace for his Allies, as had been wreſted out of his Hands by Force of a Faction begun at *Amſterdam*, and ſpread ſince into the reſt of the Provinces.

To make way for this Negotiation, I concerted with Monſieur *Van Lewen* to dine at his Country Houſe. with Monſieur *Hoeft* of *Amſterdam*, *Van Tielt* of *Haerlem*, *Patz* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three more of the chief Burgomaſters, who had promoted the Peace, or rather precipitated it, upon the *French* Conditions. After Dinner, we enter'd into long Conferences, in which Monſieur *Van Lewen* aſſur'd them with great Confidence of the King's Sincerity in the Reſolutions he had taken, and ſeconded very effectually all I had to ſay upon that Subject; which had the more Credit from one who had gone as far as any of them in the Purſuit and Acceptance of the Peace.

The Prince was impatient to know what had paſs'd in this Meeting, which made me go to him that Evening; and I told him, what I was very confident to have found, That Monſieur *Patz* was incurable, and not otherwiſe to be dealt with; but, that all the reſt were good and well-meaning Perſons to their Country, abuſed firſt by Jealouſies of his Highneſs's Match in *England*, by Apprehenſions of our Court being wholly in the Meaſures of *France*, and by the plauſible Offers of *France* towards ſuch a Peace as they could deſire

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ſire for themſelves: That they were ſomething enlightned by the late Refuſal of delivering up the *Spaniſh* Towns till the Satisfaction of *Sweden*; and would, I doubted not, awaken their ſeveral Towns, ſo as to make them receive favourably his Majeſty's Propoſition upon this Conjuncture. It happen'd accordingly; for Monſieur *Hoeft* propoſing at *Amſterdam* to make a trial and judgment of the Sincerity of *France* upon the whole Proceeding of the Peace, by their evacuating the *Spaniſh* Towns, and without it to continue the War, he carried his Point there, in ſpite of *Valkenier*; and the ſame follow'd in all the reſt of the Towns: So that when I fell into this Negotiation, I concluded the Treaty in ſix Days; by which *France* was oblig'd to declare within fourteen after the Date hereof, That they would evacuate the *Spaniſh* Towns; or, in caſe of their Refuſal, *Holland* was engag'd to go on with the War, and *England* immediately to declare it againſt *France*, in conjunction with *Holland* and the reſt of the Confederates.

It is hardly to be imagin'd what a new Life this gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the Prince of *Orange*, who was now own'd by the States to have made a truer Judgment than they had done, of the Meaſures they were to expect both from *France* and *England*; the laſt having proceeded ſo reſoſutely to the Offers of entering into the War (which was never believ'd in *Holland*) and *France*, after raiſing ſo important a Difficulty in the Peace, having proceeded in the War ſo far as to block up *Mons*, one of the beſt Frontiers remaining to *Flanders*; which was expected to fall into their hands before the Term fix'd for the Concluſion or Rupture of the Peace ſhould expire.

Preparations were made with the greateſt Vigour imaginable for his Highneſs's Expedition to relieve *Mons*; and about Ten thouſand *Engliſh*, already arriv'd in *Flanders*, were order'd to march that Way and join the Prince. He went into the Field, with a firm Belief that the War would certainly go on, ſince *France* ſeem'd too far engag'd in Honour to yield the Evacuation of the Towns; and tho' they ſhould, yet *Spain* could not be ready to Agree and Sign the Peace within the Term limited: And he thought that he left the States reſolv'd not to conclude otherwiſe than in conjunction with that Crown. And beſides, he hoped to engage the *French* Army before the Term for Signing the Peace ſhould expire; and reſolv'd to relieve *Mons*, or die in the Attempt, whether the Peace ſucceeded or not; ſo as the Continuance of the War ſeem'd inevitable. But no Man, ſince *Solomon*, ever enough conſider'd how ſubject all Things are to Time and Chance, nor how poor Diviners the wiſeſt Men are of future Events, how plainly ſoever all things may ſeem laid towards the producing them; nor upon how ſmall Accidents the greateſt Counſels and Revolutions turn; which was never more prov'd than by the Courſe and Event of this Affair.

After the Treaty concluded and ſignified to *France*, all the Arts that could be, were on that ſide employ'd to elude it, by drawing this Matter into Treaty, or into greater length, which had ſucceeded ſo well in *England*. They offer'd to treat upon it at St. *Quintin*, then at *Ghent*, where the King himſelf would meet ſuch Ambaſſadors as the *Dutch* ſhould ſend to either of thoſe Towns. But the States were firm not to recede from their late Treaty concluded with his Majeſty, and ſo continued till about Five Days before the Term was to expire. Then arriv'd from *England* one *De Croſs*, formerly a *French* Monk, who ſome time ſince had left his Frock for a Petticoat, and inſinuated himſelf ſo far in the *Swediſh* Court, as to procure a Commiſſion (or Credence at leaſt) for a certain petty Agency in *England*. At *London* he had devoted himſelf wholly to Monſieur *Barillon* the *French* Ambaſſador, tho' pretending to purſue the Intereſts of *Sweden*. About a Week after I had ſent a Secretary into *England* with the Treaty ſign'd, this Man brought me a Pacquet from Court, commanding me to go immediately away to *Nimeguen*; and there endeavour all I could (and from his Majeſty) to perſuade the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors to let the *French* there know, That they would, for the Good of *Chriſtendom*, conſent, and even deſire the King of *France*, no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns, and conſequently the Peace, upon the

ſole Regard and Intereſt of the Crown of *Sweden*. I was likewiſe commanded to aſſure the ſaid Ambaſſadors, that after this Peace his Majeſty would uſe all the moſt effectual Endeavours he could, for Reſtitution of the Towns and Countries the *Swedes* had loſt in the War.

It was not eaſie for any Man to be more ſurpriz'd than I was by this Diſpatch; but the Penſioner *Fagel* was ſtunn'd, who came and told me the whole Contents of it, before I had mention'd it to any Man; and, that *De Croſs* had gone about moſt induſtriouſly to the Deputies of the ſeveral Towns, and acquainted them with it; and, that the Terms of Peace were abſolutely conſented, and agreed between the two Kings; that he had brought me Orders to go ſtrait to *Nimeguen*; and, that I ſhou'd, at my Arrival there, meet with Letters from my Lord *Sunderland*, the King's Ambaſſador at *Paris*, with all the Particulars concluded between them.

How this Diſpatch by *De Croſs* was gain'd, or by whom, I will not pretend to determine: But, upon my next Return for *England*, the Duke told me, That he knew nothing of it till 'twas gone, having been a hunting that Morning. My Lord Treaſurer ſaid all that could be to excuſe himſelf of it; and I never talk'd of it to Secretary *Williamſon*; but the King indeed told me pleaſantly, *That the Rogue* De Croſs *had outwitted them all.* The Account I met with at Court was, That theſe Orders were agreed and diſpatch'd one Morning in an Hour's time, and in the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*'s Chamber, by the Intervention and Purſuit of Monſieur *Barillon*. However it was, and what Endeavours ſoever were made immediately after, at our Court, to retrieve this Game, it never could be done; and this one Incident chang'd the whole Fate of *Chriſtendom*; and with ſo little ſeeming Ground for any ſuch Counſel, that before *De Croſs*'s Arrival at the *Hague*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* had made the very ſame Declaration and Inſtances to the *French* Ambaſſadors there, that I was poſted away from the *Hague* upon the Pretence of perſuading them to reſolve on.

When I arriv'd at *Nimeguen*, there remain'd but three Days of the Term fix'd by the late Treaty between his Majeſty and the States, at the *Hague*, either for the *French* Aſſent to the Evacuation of the Towns, or for the carrying on of the War in conjunction of *England* with *Holland*, and conſequently the reſt of the Confederates. I found all Men there perſuaded, that the Peace would not ſucceed; and indeed all Appearances were againſt it. The *French* Ambaſſadors had given many Reaſons, in a formal ſort of *Manifeſto*, to the *Dutch*, why the King, their Maſter, could not conſent to it, without the previous Satisfaction of *Sweden*, whoſe Intereſts he eſteem'd the ſame with his own; but yet declaring he was unwilling to receive any Expedients the States ſhould offer in this Matter, either by their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, or ſuch as they ſhould ſend to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at St. *Quintin*, or *Ghent*. The *Dutch* gave them an Anſwer in Writing, declaring, It was a Matter no longer entire, ſince upon the Difficulty rais'd about the Evacuation of the Towns, the States, their Maſters, had been induced to ſign a Treaty with *England*, from which they could not recede, nor from the Day therein fix'd for determining the Fate of either Peace or War; and as there was no Time, ſo there could be no Uſe of any Deputation to St. *Quintin*, or *Ghent*, nor any other Expedient, beſides the Aſſent of *France* to evacuate the Towns. After this, the *French* Ambaſſador had declar'd to the *Dutch*, That they had found the King their Maſter was reſolv'd, at the Deſire of the *Swedes*, to retard the Peace no longer upon their Conſideration; and would conſent to evacuate the Towns, upon condition the States would ſend their Deputies to treat upon the Ways of ſecuring the future Satisfaction to *Sweden*, which was by both intended. But the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors continued peremptory, that there could be no Deputation made by their Maſters; and, that if the Term fix'd by the late Treaty with *England* ſhould elapſe, there was no Remedy but the War muſt go on. To this the *French* Ambaſſadors replying, That their Hands were bound up from proceeding further without ſuch a Deputation, the Peace was thereupon eſteem'd deſperate; and the more ſo, becauſe, at the

the ſame Time, the Duke of *Luxemburg* preſs'd *Mons*, and the Marſhal *De Schomberg* ſeem'd to threaten *Cologne*, demanding of them immediate Satisfaction of the Money that had been ſeiz'd during the Aſſembly there; and *Bruſſels* it ſelf grew unquiet, upon their finding themſelves almoſt ſurrounded by *French* Troops: So as the Confederate Miniſters thought themſelves ſecure of what they had ſo much and ſo long deſir'd and aim'd at, which was a long War in Conjunction with *England*: For they neither believ'd *France* would yield a Point they had ſo long and ſo publickly conteſted; nor (if they did) that the *Dutch* would ſuffer their Ambaſſadors to ſign the Peace without *Spain*; and the Time was now too near expiring for agreeing the Terms and Draught of a Treaty between the two Crowns, which had not yet been in any kind digeſted.

In the midſt of theſe Appearances and Diſpoſitions at *Nimeguen*, came the fatal Day, agreed by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, for determining whether a ſudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckon'd upon in *Chriſtendam*; when, in the Morning early, Monſieur *Boreel*, who had been ſent from *Amſterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, went to the *French* Ambaſſadors, and after ſome Conference with them, theſe three Ambaſſadors went immediately to thoſe of *Holland*, and declar'd to them, they had receiv'd Orders to conſent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to ſign the Peace, but that it muſt be done that very Morning. Whether the *Dutch* were ſurpriz'd or not, they ſeem'd to be ſo; and entering into Debate upon ſeveral of the Articles, as well as upon the Intereſts of *Spain*, this Conference laſted near five Hours; but ended in Agreement upon all the Points, both of Peace and Commerce, between *France* and *Holland*, and Orders for writing all fair with the greateſt Haſte that was poſſible, ſo as the Treaty might be ſign'd that Night.

About four in the Afternoon, the *French* Ambaſſadors, having demanded an Hour of me and Sir *Lionel*, came to us at my Houſe, gave us an Account of their Agreement with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors upon all Points in difference between them, and of the Treaty's being ſo order'd, as that it ſhould be ſign'd that Evening; and made us the Offer that they would all come and ſign it at my Houſe, that ſo we might have the Part in it that was due to the Mediators.

We anſwer'd them, That having been ſent by his Majeſty with Inſtructions only to mediate a General Peace, we could not by our Orders aſſiſt at the ſigning of a Particular One; and therefore deſir'd them to excuſe us from having any Part in this Concluſion between them and the *Dutch*, either by the ſigning it at our Houſes, or by uſing our Names as Mediators in the Treaty.

The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors came to us likewiſe with the ſame Communication and Offer, and receiv'd the ſame Anſwer; and I obſerv'd their Converſation upon the mighty and ſudden Turn to be a good deal embarraſs'd, and ſomething irreſolute, and not very well agreed between the two Ambaſſadors themſelves. Monſieur *Van Beverning* complain'd of the Uncertainty of our Conduct in *England*, and the incurable Jealouſies that *De Croſs*'s Journey had rais'd in *Holland*: That ſince the King ſtill deſir'd the Peace, his Maſters had nothing to do but to conclude it; and that they, the Ambaſſadors, took themſelves to be ſo inſtructed, as that they muſt ſign the Peace upon the Offers made by the *French* to evacuate the Towns. Monſieur *Van Haren* did not ſeem to me ſo clear in Point of their Orders; and I never could learn whether upon *De Croſs*'s Arrival and Diſcourſes at the *Hague*, the States-Deputies there had ſent Orders to their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* to ſign the Peace (even without the *Spaniards*) in caſe of the *French* aſſenting to the Evacution of the Towns before the Day appointed for that Purpoſe ſhould expire; or whether only the Town of *Amſterdam* had by *Boreel* ſent that Advice to Monſieur *Van Beverning*, with Aſſurances to bear him out in what he did, where his Orders might receive a doubtful Senſe or Interpretation. However it were, Monſieur *Van Beverning* was bent upon giving this ſudden End of a War, and ſuch a quick Diſpatch to the Draught of the Treaty, that it was agreed in

all Articles, and written out fair, ſo as to be ſign'd between eleven and twelve at Night. And thus were eluded all the Effects of the late Treaty concluded at the *Hague*, and the Hopes conceived by the Confederates of the War's going on; which ſo provok'd ſeveral of their Miniſters, as to engage them in ſharp and violent Proteſtations againſt the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, by which they hop'd to deter them from ſigning the Peace without new Orders from their Maſters. But all was to no Purpoſe, *Van Beverning* was unmov'd, and the Thing was done.

The Day after the Peace was ſign'd, came an Expreſs to me from Court, with the Ratifications of the late Treaty between his Majeſty and the States, and Orders to me immediately to proceed to the Exchange of them: Which was ſuch a Counterpace to the Diſpatch I had receiv'd by *De Croſs*, and to the Conſequences of it, which had ended in the Concluſion of the Peace, and thereby render'd the late Treaty of no further Uſe, that the Ratification ſeem'd now as unneceſſary, as it had been at firſt unreſolv'd at our Court, and unexpected from us by the *Dutch*. However, I went away immediately upon this Expreſs, and next Day after my Arrival at the *Hague*, made an Exchange of the Ratifications according to the Orders I receiv'd.

I found the Penſioner and ſeveral other of the Deputies very much unſatisfy'd with the Peace, and more with the Precipitation of Monſieur *Van Beverning* to ſign it upon the ſudden Offer of the *French* Ambaſſadors to evacuate the Towns, and before he had acquainted the States with it, and receiv'd new Orders upon it. They ſaid his Inſtructions could not warrant him; they talked of calling him in Queſtion for it, and of diſavowing what he had done, and thereupon of having Recourſe to the Treaty with his Majeſty (which they now ſaw ratify'd) and of continuing the War in Conjunction with *England*; and the rather becauſe they ſaw *France* had no mind to venture it, but had choſen to ſtoop from theſe high Flights they had ſo long made in all Tranſactions with their Neighbours, either of War or Peace. But others of the Deputies, eſpecially thoſe of *Amſterdam*, declar'd their Satisfaction in this Concluſion at *Nimeguen*, argu'd, That the Weakneſs of their Confederates, eſpecially *Spain*, and the Unſteadineſs or Irreſolution of *England*, had made the Peace of abſolute Neceſſity to *Holland*; and excus'd any Precipitation of their Ambaſſadors in ſigning that Day, or without clear and poſitive Orders, upon the Emergency being ſo ſudden and ſurprizing, and the Time ſo critical, that the Delay of ſending to the *Hague* muſt of Neceſſity have engag'd the States in their Obligations of the late Treaty with *England*, and thereby in a Neceſſity of continuing the War.

The Truth is, I never obſerv'd, either in what I had ſeen or read, any Negotiation manag'd with greater Addreſs and Skill, than this had been by the *French* in the whole Courſe of the Affair; eſpecially ſince the Prince of *Orange*'s March, which was thought to have given them ſo great a Blow, and by Force of Conduct was turn'd ſo much to their Advantage. 'Tis certain and plain, they never intended to continue the War, if *England* ſhould fall with ſuch Weight into the Scale of the Confederates, as the Force of that Kingdom, and Humour of the People would have given to ſuch a Conjunction; and conſequently, that his Majeſty might have preſcrib'd what Terms he pleas'd of the Peace, during the whole Courſe of his Mediation: For beſides the Reſpect which the *French* have for our Troops both Horſe and Foot, more than any others, eſpecially ſince the Services and Advantages they receiv'd from them in all their Actions againſt the *Germans*; beſides the Terror of a Conjunction between our Naval Forces and the *Dutch*, and of Deſcents upon their Coaſts, with the dangerous Influences that might make upon the Diſcontents of their People; they wiſely foreſaw another Conſequence of our falling into this Confederacy, which muſt unavoidably have prov'd more mortal to them than all the reſt, in two Year's time. For whereas the Wealth of *France*, which makes their Greatneſs, ariſes from the infinite Conſumption made by ſo many neighbouring Countries, of ſo many and rich Commodities as the native Soil and Climate, or Ingenuity of the People produce in *France*; in caſe this War had gone on, with *England* engag'd in it, all theſe Veins of

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ſuch infinite Treaſure had been ſtop'd at once, or at leaſt left open only to ſome Parts of *Italy*, which neither takes off their Wines, their Salts, nor their Modes in Habit or Equipage, that draw ſo vaſt Expences upon all the Provinces almoſt of *Europe* which lie Northward of *France*, and drain ſuch vaſt Sums of Money from all their Neighbours, into that fruitful and noble Kingdom, more favour'd by Nature, in my Opinion, than any other in the World: But the Loſs of this Advantage, upon the Neceſſity, Folly or Luxury of others, muſt, in two or three Year's Time, reduce them to ſuch Weakneſs in thoſe Sinews of War, by ſo general a Poverty and Miſery among their People, that there wou'd need no other Effect of ſuch a general Confederacy, to conſume the Strength and Force of that Nation. This they very prudently foreſaw, and never intended to venture; but having Reaſon to apprehend it from the Prince of *Orange*'s Match in *England*, they took it without Reſentment; nay, improv'd it rather into new Kindneſs than Quarrel, making uſe of the King's good Nature to engage him in a Prorogation of the Parliament immediately after; which made it appear, both at home and abroad, that they had ſtill the Aſcendant upon our Court. They eluded the Effects of the Meſſage ſent them by my Lord *Duras*, with his Majeſty's Scheme of the Peace; by drawing it out into Expoſtulations of Kindneſs, and ſo into Treaty. During this Amuſement of our Court, they ply'd their Buſineſs in *Holland*; yet, with greater Art and Induſtry, poiſon'd the People there with Jealouſies of the Prince's Match in *England*, and of Deſigns from both upon their Liberties, by a long and unneceſſary Continuance of the War. They united the Factions in *Amſterdam* upon the Scent of a Peace, and upon their own Conditions, to avoid thoſe that had been propos'd by his Majeſty. When they had gain'd their Point with the ſeveral Deputies in *Holland*, they acquainted the King with their being ſure of the Peace on that Side; and by his Ambaſſador at *Paris*, made Offers of mighty Sums, both to himſelf and his chief Miniſter, only for their Conſent to ſuch a Peace as *Holland* it ſelf was content with. When the States had abſolutely reſolv'd on the Peace, by the particular Faction of *Amſterdam*, and general Terror upon the *French* taking of *Ghent* and threatening *Antwerp*, they eſteem'd the Humour in *Holland* ſo violent towards the Peace, and ſo unſatisfy'd with the Fluctuation of our Counſels in *England*, that they thought they might be bold with them upon the Intereſts of *Spain*, and ſo rais'd the Pretence of not evacuating the Towns before the Satisfaction of *Sweden*. And tho' I know this was by the Politicians eſteem'd a wrong Pace of *France*; yet I did not think it ſo, but that all Appearances were for their ſucceeding in it. Nor had they Reaſon to believe either our Court or *Holland* would have reſented it to that degree they did; or that they cou'd have fallen into ſuch cloſe and ſudden Meaſures, and with ſuch Confidence, as they happen'd to do upon this Occaſion by the Treaty of *July* at the *Hague*. When this was concluded, they made all the Offers that could be at breaking the Force of it; by drawing it into Negotiation, and by Condeſcenſions to the States unuſual with that Crown even to the greateſt Kings. They poiſon'd it by the Diſpatch of *De Croſs*, and by his Inſtructions, as well as Artifice and Induſtry, to make the Contents of it publick at the *Hague*, which were pretended at Court to be ſent over to me with the greateſt Secrecy that could be. At the ſame time they made all the Declarations of not receding from the Difficulties they had rais'd, otherwiſe than by Treaty; and thereby laid aſleep all Jealouſies of the Confederates, as well as Endeavours to prevent a Blow they did not believe could arrive where the Honour of *France* ſeem'd ſo far engag'd: And thus they continu'd till the very Day limited for their firſt Declaration. The Secret was ſo well kept, that none had the leaſt Umbrage of it that very Morning. When they declar'd it, they left not the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors time enough to ſend to their Maſters; fearing, if they had, the States would have refus'd to ſign without *Spain*, which could not be ready before the Time muſt have elaps'd for incurring the Effects of the late Treaty.

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Thus the Peace was gain'd with *Holland*. His Majeſty was excluded from any fair Pretence of entering into the War, after the vaſt Expence of raiſing a great Army, and tranſporting them into *Flanders*, and after a great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, deluded. *Spain* was neceſſitated to accept the Terms that the *Dutch* had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the Mercy and Diſcretion of *France*, and the Reſtitution of *Lorrain* (which all had conſented in) wholly abandon'd and unprovided. So that I muſt again conclude the Conduct of *France* to have been admirable in the whole Courſe of this Affair, and the *Italian* Proverb to continue true, *Che gli Pazzi Franceſi ſono morti* [*The* French *Fools are dead.*] On the contrary, our Counſels and Conduct were like thoſe of a floating Iſland, driven one Way or t'other according to the Winds or Tides. The King's Diſpoſition inclin'd him to preſerve his Meaſures with *France*, and conſequently to promote a Peace which might break the preſent Confederacy: The Humour of his People and Parliament was violent towards engaging him in a War: The Miniſters were wavering between the Fears of making their Court ill, or of drawing upon them the Heats of a Houſe of Commons, whom the King's Expences made him always in need of. From theſe Humours aroſe thoſe Uncertainties in our Counſels, that no Man who was not behind the Curtain could tell what to make of, and which appear'd to others much more myſterious than indeed they were; till a new and formidable Engine beginning to appear upon the Stage, made the Court fall into an abſolute Reſolution of entering into the War juſt when it was too late; and to poſt away the Ratifications of the Treaty of *July*, ſo as to arrive the Day after the *French* and *Dutch* had ſign'd the Peace, and after the King had given the States occaſion to believe he did not intend to ratifie it, but that he had taken his Meaſures with *France*; for ſo all Men in *Holland* concluded from *De Croſs*'s Journey, and the Commands he brought me for mine to *Nimeguen*, at a Time when my Preſence at the *Hague* was thought the moſt neceſſary, both to ratify the Treaty, if it had been intended, and to keep the States firm to their Reſolutions upon it.

Thus ended in Smoke the whole Negotiation, which was near raiſing ſo great a Fire. *France* having made the Peace with *Holland*, treated all the reſt of it with Eaſe and Leiſure, as playing a ſure Game. *England*, to avoid a cruel Convulſion that threatened them at home, would fain have gone into the War, if *Holland* would have been prevail'd with; but they could not truſt us enough, to loſe the preſent Intereſt of Trade, for the uncertain Events of a War wherein they thought their Neighbours more concern'd than themſelves.

About two or three Days after my Return to the *Hague*, and exchanging the Ratifications, came the News of the Battle of *Mons*, between the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Command of the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who had poſted himſelf with the Strength and Flower of the *French* Forces, ſo as to prevent the Prince's Deſign of relieving *Mons*. And I remember, the Day the *Dutch* Peace was ſign'd at *Nimeguen*, I was ſaying to the Mareſchal *D'Eſtrades*, That for ought I knew, we might have a Peace ſign'd and a Battle fought, both in one Day. He reply'd, There was no Fear of it; for the Duke of *Luxemburg* had writ him word, he was ſo poſted, that if he had but ten thouſand Men, and the Prince forty, yet he was ſure he would not be forc'd; whereas he took his Army to be ſtronger than that of the Prince. I need not relate an Action ſo well known in the World, and ſo ſhall only ſay, that in ſpight of many Diſadvantages from an Army drawn ſo ſuddenly together, ſo haſty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Poſts taken with ſo much Skill, and fortify'd with ſo much Induſtry by the *French*, as was believ'd, the Prince upon the fourteenth of *Auguſt* attack'd them with a Reſolution and Vigour that at firſt ſurpriz'd them, and after an obſtinate and bloody Fight, ſo diſorder'd them, that tho' the Night prevented the End of the Action, yet it was generally concluded, That if he had been at liberty next Day to purſue it with ſeven or eight thouſand *Engliſh* that were ready to

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join his Army, he muſt in all appearance not only have reliev'd *Mons*, but made ſuch an impreſſion into *France* as had been often deſign'd, but never attempted ſince the War began; and upon which a *French* Officer preſent in it ſaid, *That he eſteem'd This the only Heroick Action that had been done in the whole Courſe or Progreſs of it.*

But, the Morning after the Battle, the Prince receiv'd from the States Advice of the Peace having been ſign'd at *Nimeguen*, and thereupon immediately ſent a Deputy with the News of it to Monſieur *De Luxemburg*. After Compliments paſs'd on both Sides, the Duke deſir'd to ſee the Prince; which was agreed to, and they met in the Field, at the head of their Chief Officers; where all paſs'd with the Civilities that became the Occaſion, and with great Curioſity of the *French* to ſee and crowd about a Young Prince, who had made ſo much Noiſe in the World, and had the Day before given Life and Vigour to ſuch a deſperate Action, as all Men eſteem'd this Battle of St. *Denis*. Yet many Reflections were made upon it by the Prince's Friends, as well as his Enemies: Some ſaid, That he knew the Peace was ſign'd before the Fight began; and, that it was too great a Venture both to himſelf and the States, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, ſince it could be to no other Advantage: Others laid it to the Marqueſs *De Grana*, who, they ſaid, had intercepted and conceal'd the States Pacquet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the Day before the Battle (but after it was reſolv'd on) and that he had Hopes by ſuch a Breach of the Peace, even after it was ſign'd, that the Progreſs of it would have been defeated. Whether this were true, or not, I could never certainly be inform'd; but ſo much is, that the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory; nor with greater Spight, to ſee ſuch a mighty Occaſion wreſted out of his Hand by the ſudden and unexpected ſigning of the Peace, which he had aſſur'd himſelf the States would not have conſented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the certain News of it, he drew back his Army, return'd to the *Hague*, and left the States to purſue their own Paces, in order to finiſhing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; wherein the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen* employ'd themſelves with great Zeal and Diligence, and no longer as Parties or Confederates, but as Mediators; whilſt Sir *Lionel*, who continued ſtill there in that Figure, declin'd the Function, as in a Matter wherein he found our Court would not take any Part, nor allow themſelves to have had any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*.

Soon after the Prince's Return, he went to *Dieren* to hunt in the *Veluwe*, like a Perſon that had little elſe to do: And I having occaſion to go at the ſame time to *Amſterdam*, he deſir'd me to remember him kindly to Monſieur *Hoeft* the Chief Burgomaſter there, and tell him, That he deſir'd him to be no longer in his Intereſts than he ſhould find his Highneſs in the true Intereſts of the State. I did ſo; and Monſieur *Hoeft* very frankly and generouſly bid me tell the Prince, He would be juſt what his Highneſs deſir'd, and be ever firm to his Intereſts, while he was in thoſe of his Country; but if ever his Highneſs departed from them, he would be the firſt Man to oppoſe him; till then he would neither cenſure nor diſtruſt his Conduct; for he knew very well, without mutual Truſt between the Prince and the States, his Country muſt be ruin'd. From this Time to that of his Death, Monſieur *Hoeft* continued in the ſame Mind, and by his Example that great and jealous Town began to fall into much more Confidence, not only of the Prince, but of his whole Conduct in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the State.

For the Time I ſtay'd at *Amſterdam*, I was every Day in Converſation with Monſieur *Hoeft*, who, beſides much Learning, Worth, Sincerenels, and Credit in his Town, was a Man of a pleaſant natural Humour; which makes, in my Opinion, the moſt agreeable Converſation of all other Ingredients, and much more than any of thoſe ſqueez'd or forced Strains of Wit that are in ſome Places ſo much in requeſt; tho', I think, commonly the Men that affect them are themſelves much fonder of them than any of the Company.

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Dining one Day at Monſieur *Hoeſt's*, and having a great Cold, I obſerv'd every time I ſpit, a tight handſom Wench (that ſtood in the Room with a clean Cloth in her Hand) was preſently down to wipe it up, and rub the Board clean: Somebody at Table ſpeaking of my Cold, I ſaid, the moſt Trouble it gave me was, to ſee the poor Wench take ſo much Pains about it. Monſieur *Hoeſt* told me, 'Twas well I eſcap'd ſo; and, that if his Wife had been at home, tho' I were an Ambaſſador, ſhe would have turn'd me out of doors for fouling her Houſe: And laughing at that Humour, ſaid, There were two Rooms of his Houſe that he never durſt come into, and believ'd they were never open but twice a Year, to make 'em clean. I ſaid, I found he was a good Patriot; and not only in the Intereſts of his Country, but in the Cuſtoms of his Town, where that of the Wife's governing was, I heard, a Thing eſtabliſh'd. He reply'd, 'Twas true, and, that all a Man could hope for there, was to have *une douce Patronne* [*an eaſie Governeſs*]; and, that his Wife was ſo. Another of the Magiſtrates at Table, who was a graver Man, ſaid Monſieur *Hoeſt* was pleaſant, but the Thing was no more ſo in their Town, than in any other Place that he knew of. *Hoeſt* replied very briskly, It was ſo, and could not be otherwiſe, for it had long been the Cuſtom; and whoever offer'd to break it, would have banded againſt him, not only all the Women of the Town, but all thoſe Men too that were govern'd by their Wives, which would make too great a Party to be oppos'd. In the Afternoon, upon a Viſit, and Occaſion of what had been ſaid at Monſieur *Hoeſt's*, many Stories were told of the ſtrange and curious Cleanlineſs ſo general in that City; and ſome ſo extravagant, that my Siſter took them for Jeſt; when the Secretary of *Amſterdam*, that was of the Company, deſiring her to look out of the Window, ſaid, Why, Madam, there's the Houſe where one of our Magiſtrates going to viſit the Miſtreſs of it, and knocking at the Door, a ſtrapping *North-Holland* Laſs came and open'd it; he ask'd, Whether her Miſtreſs was at home: She ſaid, Yes; and with that he offer'd to go in; but the Wench marking his Shoos were not very clean, took him by both Arms, threw him upon her Back, carried him croſs two Rooms, ſet him down at the bottom of the Stairs, pull'd off his Shoos, put him on a pair of Slippers that ſtood there, and all this without ſaying a Word; but when ſhe had done, told him, He might go up to her Miſtreſs, who was in her Chamber.

I was very glad to have a little diverted with ſuch Pleaſantries as theſe the Thoughts of that buſie Scene, in which I was ſo deeply engag'd, that I will confeſs the very Remembrance of it, and all the ſtrange ſurpriſing Turns of it, begin to renew thoſe cruel Motions they had rais'd both in my Head and Heart, whilſt I had ſo great, and ſo ſenſible a part in them. But to return where I left the Thread of theſe Affairs.

After the Peace of *Holland* and *France*, the Miniſters of the Confederates, eſpecially thoſe of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, employ'd their laſt Efforts to prevent the *Spaniards* agreeing to their part of the Peace, as accepted for them by the *Dutch*. They exclaim'd at their Breach of Honour and Intereſt: That what was left the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* by thoſe Terms, was indefenſible, and could ſerve but to exhauſt their Men and Treaſures to no purpoſe: That the Deſign of *France* was only to break this preſent Confederacy by theſe ſeparate Treaties, and ſo leave the *Spaniards* abandon'd by their Allies upon the next Invaſion; which they would have reaſon to expect, if *Spain* ſhould uſe them with as little regard of their Honour and Treaties, as the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors ſeem'd to deſign. Theſe themſelves alſo met with ſome Difficulties in their Mediation, by a Pretenſion rais'd in *France* upon the County of *Beaumont* and Town of *Bovignes*, which they did not find to have been mention'd in what had paſs'd between the *French* and *Dutch*, upon the ſcore of *Spain*, before the Peace was ſign'd.

All theſe Circumſtances began to make it look uncertain what would at length be determin'd by the States, as to their Ratifications, which were like to be delay'd till *Spain* had concluded their Treaty, though thoſe of

France

France had been diſpatch'd ſo as to arrive at *Nimeguen* the twenty ſecond of this Month; and Monſieur *D'Avaux* commanded from thence to the *Hague*, in quality of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States; and the *French* Army had retir'd into *France* at the ſame time the *Dutch* return'd from before *Mons*. So that all ſeem'd, on the *French* ſide, reſolv'd to purſue the Peace; on the ſide of the Empire, and Princes of the *North*, to carry on the War; on the *Spaniards*, very irreſolute, whether to accept the Peace the *Dutch* had mediated for them, or not; And in *Holland*, 'twas doubtful, whether to ratifie that their Ambaſſadors had ſign'd, and whether at leaſt before the Treaty of *Spain* ſhould be agreed.

Whilſt the Minds of Men were buſied with different Reaſonings and Preſages, as well as Wiſhes, upon this Conjuncture; about the End of *Auguſt* Mr. *Hide* arriv'd at the *Hague* from *England*, without the leaſt Intimation given me of his Journey, or his Errand; ſo that I was ſurpriz'd, both to ſee him, and to hear the Deſign of ſuch a ſudden Diſpatch.

The Subſtance of it was, to acquaint the States how much the King had been ſurpriz'd at the News of their Ambaſſadors having ſign'd a particular Treaty with *France*, even without the Incluſion of *Spain*, and without any Guaranty given for the Evacuation of the Towns within the Time requiſite: To complain of this Precipitation of the States; and at the ſame time of the new Pretenſions that *France* had advanc'd upon the County of *Beaumont* and the Town of *Bovignes*, which had retarded the Peace of *Spain*, and hinder'd it from being concluded at the ſame time with that of *Holland*; which his Majeſty underſtood always to have been the Intention of the States, as well as his own. That for theſe Reaſons he underſtood, and believ'd, that the late Treaty of *July*, between his Majeſty and the States, ought to take Effect; the Caſe being fallen out againſt which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby oblig'd to enter jointly into the War againſt *France*. That if the States would hereupon refuſe to ratify the Treaty their Miniſters had ſign'd at *Nimeguen*, his Majeſty offered to declare War immediately againſt *France*, and carry it on in all Points according to the Articles and Obligations of the ſaid Treaty with the States.

Tho' Mr. *Hide* did not know, or did not tell me, the true Spring of this reſolute Pace that was made by our Court, ſo different from all the reſt in the whole Courſe of this Affair; yet he aſſur'd me they were both in earneſt and very warm upon the Scent, and deſir'd nothing ſo much as to enter immediately and vigorouſly into the War, in caſe *Holland* would be perſuaded to continue it; and that no Time nor Endeavours were to be neglected in purſuing the Commiſſion he brought over, which was given jointly to us both, and recommended to me particularly from Court with all the Inſtances and Earneſtneſs that could be. When I carried him that very Evening to the Prince at *Honſlaerdyck*, and he acquainted his Highneſs with the whole Extent of his Errand and Inſtructions; the Prince receiv'd it very coldly, and only adviſ'd him to give in a Memorial to the States, and ask Commiſſioners to treat, by whom he would find what the Mind of the States was like to be upon this Affair, and at which he would at preſent make no Conjecture.

After a ſhort Audience, Mr. *Hide* went to the Princeſs, and left me alone with the Prince; who as ſoon as he was gone, lifted up his Hands two or three times, and ſaid, Was ever any thing ſo hot and ſo cold as this Court of yours? Will the King, that is ſo often at Sea, never learn a Word that I ſhall never forget ſince my laſt Paſſage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man at the Helm, Steady, Steady, Steady? If this Diſpatch had come twenty Days ago, it had chang'd the Face of Affairs in *Chriſtendom*; and the War might have been carried on till *France* had yielded to the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, and left the World in quiet for the reſt of our Lives: As it comes now, it will have no Effect at all. At leaſt, this is my Opinion, tho' I would not ſay ſo to Mr. *Hide*.

After this, he ask'd me what I could imagine was at the bottom of this new Heat in our Court; and what could make it break out ſo *mal a propos* [*Unſeaſonably*] after the Diſſatisfaction they had expreſs'd upon the late Treaty when

it was first sent over, and the Dispatch of *De Cvss*, so contrary to the Design of it. I told him very truly, That I was perfectly ignorant of the whole Matter, and could give no Guess at the Motions of it: And so I continu'd till some Months after, when I was advis'd, That the Business of the Plot, which has since made so much Noise in the World, was just then breaking out; and that the Court, to avoid the Consequences that might have upon the ill Humour of the Parliament, which seem'd to rise chiefly from the Peace, his Majesty resolv'd to give them the Satisfaction they had so long desir'd, of entring into the War: Which is all the Account I can give of this Counsel or Resolution.

The Event prov'd answerable to the Judgment the Prince at first made of it; for tho' the States Deputies drew the Matter into several Debates and Conferences with us, which fill'd all Parties concern'd in the War with different Apprehensions, and served to facilitate the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*; yet the Pensioner told me from the first, this was all the Use that could be made of it, and that the States were so unsatisfied with our whole Conduct in the Business of the Peace, that tho' they would be glad to see us in the War, yet they were resolv'd to have no further part in it, unless *France* should refuse what they had already promis'd to *Spain*. However, while this Affair continued in Agitation during Mr. *Hide*'s Stay at the *Hague*, all Appearances look'd very different from the Opinion of the Prince and Pensioner; who alone had so full a Grasp of the Business in *Holland*, as to make a true Judgment what the general Sentiments there would determine in. Many of the Deputies were so ill satisfy'd with their Ambassadors having sign'd the Peace, that they inclin'd to his Majesty's Proposals, and fram'd several Articles against Monsieur *Van Beverning*'s Proceedings, whereof some laid Mistakes to his Charge; others, the Omission of Matters absolutely necessary in the Treaty; and others more directly, his having gone beyond his Orders and Instructions, particularly, in having stipulated that the States should give their Guaranty for the Neutrality of *Spain*. And in this point, I doubt he had nothing to shew from his Masters to cover him. The rest seem'd rather to be rais'd invidiously at his Conduct, in having suddenly concluded an Affair, which they now saw might have had another Issue if he had given it more Breath; tho', at that time, many of his Accusers expected as little from *England* as he did, and with Reason alike, since none of them could imagine any thing of that new Spring there from which this violent Motion had begun. Whatever Monsieur *Van Beverning*'s Orders or his Proceedings had been, the Heats were so high against him at the *Hague*, that many talk'd, not only of disavowing what he had done, but of forming Process against him upon it: And tho' in a short Stay he made there upon this Occasion, he had the Fortune or the Justice to see his Enemies grow calm towards him; yet he was not a little mortified with so ill Payment of what he thought had been so good Service to his Country; and, after his Return to *Nimeguen*, was observ'd to proceed in the Negotiations there, with more Flegm and Caution than was natural to his Temper; and less Shew of Partiality to the Peace, than he had made in the whole Course of the Treaty.

All the while these Matters were in motion at the *Hague*, the King's Forces were every Day transporting into *Flanders*, as if the War were to be carried on with the greatest Certainty and Vigour. Which gave Opinion and Heart to those in *Holland* that dislik'd the Peace: It rais'd also so great Confidence in the *Spaniards*, that they fell into all the Measures they could with the Confederates Ministers at *Nimeguen*, to form Difficulties and Delays in the Treaty there, between that Crown and *France*; upon the Security that *Holland* would not ratify theirs, till that of *Spain* were concluded; and that in the mean time they might be drawn into the War, by the violent Dispositions which now appear'd in *England*, as well as in the Confederates, to continue it. The *Spanish* Ambassadors laid hold of all Occasions to except against the Matter of Stile of those Articles which *Holland* had mediated between them and *France*; they found Difficulties upon the Conditions wherein the several Towns to be evacuated should be restor'd to them, as to the Fortifications that had been made in them by the *French*, and as to the Artillery and Munitions that were in them at the Time when

when the *Dutch* had agreed upon thoſe Conditions; they found Matter of Diſpute upon the Territories that belong'd to the ſeveral Towns, and eſpecially upon the *Chatelenie* of *Aeth*, which *France* had diſmember'd ſince it was in their Poſſeſſion, and had join'd above threeſcore Villages to the *Chatelenie* of *Tournay*, which had belong'd to *Aeth*, and were with that Town tranſfer'd by the *Spaniards* to the *French* upon the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*: But the *French* pretending now to reſtore it, only in the Condition they had left it, and not what they had found it, the *Spaniards* made a mighty Clamour both at *London* and the *Hague* upon this Subject, and complain'd of this, among other ſmaller Matters, as Innovations endeavour'd to be introduc'd by *France*, even beyond what they had themſelves propos'd to the *Dutch*, and agreed in *April* laſt, which had been laid and purſu'd as the very Foundation of the Peace.

In this uncertain State all Matters continu'd at the *Hague* for about three Weeks, the Opinions of moſt Men running generally againſt the Peace; as well as the Wagers at *Amſterdam*, by which People often imagine the Pulſe of the State is to be felt and judg'd, tho' indeed it be a ſort of Trade driven by Men that have little Dealing or Succeſs in any other, and is manag'd with more Tricks than the reſt ſeems to be in that Scene; not only coining falſe News upon the Place, but practiſing Intelligence from remote Parts to their Purpoſe, concerting the ſame Advices from different Countries, and making great Secret and Myſtery of Reports that are rais'd on purpoſe to be publick; and yet by ſuch Devices as theſe, not only the Wagers at *Amſterdam* are commonly turning, but the riſing and falling of the very Actions of the *Eaſt-India* Company are often and in a great meaſure influenc'd.

But *France* thought the Conjuncture too important to let it hover long in ſuch Uncertainties; and therefore firſt diſpatch'd a Courier to their Ambaſſadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to ſatisfie the States in thoſe Clauſes of their Treaty wherein they ſeem'd to except juſtly againſt Monſieur *Van Beverning*'s Conduct, and thereby cover the Credit of that Miniſter who had been ſo affectionate an Inſtrument in the Progreſs of the Treaty. Next, they gave them liberty to ſoften a little of the Rigour they had hitherto exercis'd in the ſmalleſt Points conteſted with the *Spaniards*; and laſt of all, they diſpatched an Expreſs to their Ambaſſadors, with Power to remit all the Differences which obſtructed or retarded the Concluſion of the Treaty between that Crown and *Spain*, to the Determination and Arbitrage of the States themſelves.

This was a Pace of ſo great Confidence towards the States, and appear'd ſuch a Teſtimony of the moſt Chriſtian King's Sincerity in the late Advances he had made towards a Peace, that it had all the Effect deſign'd by it. The ſeveral Towns and Provinces proceeded with a general Concurrence to the Ratifications of the Peace, that they might lie ready in their Ambaſſadors Hands, to be exchang'd when that of *Spain* ſhould be ſign'd. Monſieur *Van Beverning*, now favour'd with a fair Gale from home, the Humour of his Country blowing the ſame Way with his own Diſpoſitions, and ſeconded with the great Facilities that were given by *France*, made ſuch a quick Diſpatch of what remain'd in conteſt upon the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, that all was perfected and ſign'd by the twentieth of *September*, and thereupon the *Dutch* Ratifications were exchang'd with the uſual Forms. In all this Sir *Lionel Jenkins* had no Part, as in an Affair diſapprov'd by the King his Maſter. The *Dutch* Ambaſſadors play'd the Part of formal Mediators; had the Treaty between the two Crowns ſign'd at their Houſe; and took great Care by the Choice and Diſpoſition of the Rooms where it was perform'd, to avoid all Punctilioes about Place, that might ariſe between the ſeveral Ambaſſadors. Mr. *Hide* had the Mortification to return into *England*, with the entire Diſappointment of the Deſign upon which he came, and believ'd the Court ſo paſſionately bent; I was left at the *Hague* without any thing more to do, than to perform the Part of a common Ambaſſador; *France* was left in Poſſeſſion of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and, by conſequence, Maſter of that of the Empire and the North, upon their own Terms; and *England* was left

to buſy it ſelf about a Fire that was breaking out at home, with ſo much Smoak, and ſo much Noiſe, that as it was hard to diſcover the Beginning, ſo it was much harder to foreſee the End of it.

After the Peace of *Spain* ſign'd, and of *Holland* ratify'd, tho' the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour at *Nimeguen* were ſullen, and thoſe of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* enrag'd, yet, by the Application of the *Dutch* Ambaſſadors, the Conferences were ſet on Foot between them and the *French*; and Sir *Lionel* received Orders from Court to return to his Function, tho' the remaining Part he had in the Affair was rather that of a Meſſenger than a Mediator. The Northern Princes continu'd their Preparations and Marches, as if they reſolv'd to purſue the War; but at the ſame time gave Jealouſies to the Emperor of ſome private Intelligences or Negotiations of ſeparate Treaties ſet on foot between *France* and *Denmark*, and others between that Crown and *Brandenburg*, by Monſieur *Deſpenſe*, an old Servant of the Elector, but Subject of *France*. On the other ſide, *France* made great Preparations to attack the Empire, upon the Pretence of forcing them into the Terms they had preſcrib'd for the Peace; and thereby gave ſo great Terror to the Princes of the *Rhine* that lay firſt expos'd to the Fury of their Arms, that the Electors of *Mentz* and *Trier*, and Duke of *Neuburg*, ſent away in great Haſte to the States, demanding and deſiring to be included by them in the Peace they had made, by Virtue of an Article therein, which gave them liberty within ſix Weeks to declare and include ſuch as they ſhould name for their Allies. But this was oppos'd by *France*, and refus'd to any particular Prince of the Empire, and allow'd only to the Emperor and Empire, if they ſhould jointly deſire to be declar'd and included in the Peace as an Ally of *Holland*. The Duke of *Lorrain*, about the ſame time, ſeeing the whole Confederacy breaking into ſo many ſeveral Pieces, and every one minding only how to ſhift the beſt they could for themſelves, accepted his Part of the Peace as *France* had carv'd it out for him; and choſe the Alternative offer'd from that Crown, by which *Nancy* was to remain to *France*. But the Emperor, tho' he profeſs'd all the Inclination that could be to ſee the General Peace reſtored, yet he pretended not to ſuffer the Terms of it ſhould, like Laws, be impos'd upon him. He conſented to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*, which ſeem'd to be all that *France* inſiſted on; but could not agree to the Paſſage demanded for their Troops, whenever they found it neceſſary for the Execution of the ſaid Treaties; and this was inſiſted on poſitively by the *French*: Nor could the Imperialiſts yield to the Dependence pretended by *France* of the ten Towns of *Alſace* upon that Crown; which the *French* demanded as ſo left, or at leaſt intended, by the Treaty of *Munſter*, while the Emperor's Ambaſſadors denied either the Fact or the Intention of that Treaty.

While theſe Diſpoſitions, and theſe Difficulties, delay'd the Treaty of the Emperor, the Ratifications of *Spain* were likewiſe deferr'd, by Concert, as was ſuppos'd, between the two Houſes of *Auſtria*; ſo as the Term agreed for the Exchange of them was quite elaps'd, and twice renew'd or prolong'd by *France* at the Deſire of the States. But during this Time, the *French* Troops made Incurſions into the richeſt Parts of *Flanders*, and which had been beſt cover'd in the Time of the War; and there exacted ſo great Contributions, and made ſuch Ravages where they were diſputed, that the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were more ruin'd between the ſigning of the Peace and the Exchange of the Ratifications, than they had been in ſo much Time during the whole Courſe of the War.

The Outcries and Calamities of their Subjects in *Flanders* at length mov'd the *Spaniards* out of their ſlow Pace; but more, the Embroilments of *England* upon the Subject of the Plot, which took up the Minds both of Court and Parliament, and left them little or no Regard for the Courſe of Foreign Affairs. This Proſpect made *Holland* the more eager upon urging the Peace to a General Iſſue; and *France* making a wiſe Uſe of ſo favourable a Conjuncture, preſs'd the Empire not only by the Threats and Preparations of a ſudden Invaſion, but alſo by confining their Offers of the Peace to certain Days, and raiſing much higher Demands, if thoſe ſhould expire before the Emperor's Acceptance.

All these Circumstances, improv'd by the Diligence and Abilities of the *Dutch* Ambassador at *Nimeguen*, at length determin'd the House of *Austria* to run the Ship a-shore, whatever came on't, rather than keep out at Sea in so cruel a Storm as they saw falling upon them, and for which they found themselves so unprovided. The *Spanish* Ratifications at length arriv'd: And after the Winter far spent in fruitless Contest by the Imperial Ambassadors, and more fruitless Hopes from *England* by the *Spaniards* and other Confederates, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* gave Notice both to the Court and to me, that he look'd upon the Treaty between the Emperor and *France* to be as good as concluded; and soon after I receiv'd his Majesty's Commands to go immediately away from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen*, and there assist as a Mediator at the signing of the Peace, which then appear'd to be General.

I never obey'd the King so unwillingly in my Life; both upon Account of an Errand so unnecessary, and, at best, so merely formal (which I never had been us'd to in so long a Course of Imployments;) and likewise upon the Unclemency of the Season, which was never known so great in any Man's Memory, as when I set out from the *Hague*. The Snow was in many Places where I pass'd near ten Foot deep, and Ways for my Coach forc'd to be digg'd through it; several Post-boys dy'd upon the Road; and it was ridiculous to see People walk about with long Icicles from their Noses. I pass'd both the *Rhine* and the *Waal*, with both Coaches and Waggons, upon the Ice; and never in my Life suffer'd so much from Weather as in this Journey, in spight of all Provisions I could make against it. The best of it was, that I knew all the Way. It was neither at all material that the Mediators shou'd sign this Branch of the General Peace, having sign'd none of the other; nor that two should sign it, when one alone had assisted in the whole Course of this Negotiation since it was renew'd between the Empire and *France*. Besides, I was very confident it would not at last be sign'd by either of us; for I could not believe, when it came to the Point, the Emperor's Ambassadors should yield that of Precedence to the Mediators, at the Conclusion of the Treaty, which they never consented to do in the whole Course of it: So that I look'd upon the Favour of this Journey, as afforded me from the particular Goodwill of some of my good Friends in the foreign Committee; taking a Rise from some Instances of Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who was in one of his usual Agonies, for fear of being left in the Way of signing alone a Treaty, which he neither was pleas'd with himself, nor believ'd many People in *England* like to be.

I arriv'd at *Nimeguen* the End of *January*, 1678-9, and found all concluded, and ready to sign, as Sir *Lionel* believ'd; yet the Imperialists made a vigorous Effort in two Conferences, after my Arrival, to gain some Ease in the Points of *Lorrain*, and the Dependence of the ten Towns in *Alsace*, wherein they thought themselves the most hardly us'd of any others, and in the first, their Master's Honour and Justice more concern'd; so as Count *Kinski* made a Mien of absolutely breaking, without some Relief upon them. But the *French* Ambassadors knew too well the Force of the Conjuncture, and the Necessity laid upon the Emperor by the *Dutch* and *Spanish* Peace, to pass the same Way, or leap out of the Window; and they were too skilful not to make use of it, or to give any Ground to all the Instances or Threats of the *Imperialists*. These, on t'other side, durst not venture the Expiration of the last Day given them by *France*, nor the Reserve made in that Case of exacting new and harder Terms. So as the Peace was sign'd about three Days after my Arrival. The poor Duke of *Lorrain* thought himself press'd with such Hardships upon both the Alternatives, that he could not resolve to accept of either: For in that he had chosen, not only his Dutchy was dismember'd of several great Parts wholly cut off, but the rest left at the *French* Discretion; who insisted upon great Spaces of Ground left them in Propriety, quite cross his Country, for the March of their Armies, whenever they should pretend Occasion: So this noble, but unfortunate Prince, was left wholly out of the Treaty, and of his Country; contrary to the direct and repeated Engagements of the Confederates, and the Intentions of his Majesty, as he often declar'd in the whole Course of the Treaty.

When

When it was ready to ſign, the *French* Ambaſſadors offer'd to yield the Precedence in ſigning it to us as Mediators, which they had done very frankly in the whole Courſe of this Aſſembly; but the *Imperialiſts*, when it came to the Point, downright refus'd it; and we, according to our primitive Orders, refus'd to ſign without it; and by our Offers, gain'd only the Point of having That determin'd againſt us, which till this Time had always remain'd in Suſpence.

Whilſt I ſtaid at *Nimeguen*, I had a Sheet of Paper ſent me from an unknown Hand, written in *Latin*, but in a Stile and Character that diſcover'd it to be by ſome *German*; The Subject of it was a long Comment upon a Quatrain recited out of *Noſtredamus*.

Ne ſous les ombres d'une journe nocturne
Sera en los & bonte Souverain,
Fera renaiſtre le ſang de l'antique Urne
Et changera en Or le Siecle d'Airain.

Under the Shades of a Nocturnal Day being born,
In Glory and Goodneſs Soveraign ſhall ſhine,
Shall cauſe to ſpring again the Blood o' th' Ancient Urn,
And into Gold the Brazen Age refine.

The Scope of the whole Diſcourſe was to prove the Prince of *Orange*'s being by it deſign'd for the Crown of *England*, and how much Glory and Felicity ſhould attend that Age and Reign. I cou'd but mention it, becauſe I thought the Interpretation ingeniouſly found out and apply'd, having otherwiſe very little Regard for any ſuch kind of Predictions, that are ſo apt to amuſe the World. And tho' the preſent State of the Royal Family leave not this without Appearance of arriving at one Time or other; yet it is at too great a Diſtance for my Eyes, which, by the Courſe of Nature, muſt be clos'd long before ſuch an Event is like to ſucceed. The Author of this Paper made *The Shades of a Nocturnal Day*, to ſignify the deep Mourning of the Princeſs Royal's Chamber, with the Lamps hung about it, which, by the Windows being kept ſhut, left no other Light in it that Morning the Prince was born (which was ſoon after his Father's Death) *Reſtoring the Blood of the Ancient Urn*, was that of *Bourbon* or of *Charlemaigne*, from whom the Prince was ſaid to deſcend. The reſt was only Panegyrick upon his Virtues, and the general Praiſe ſhould attend them, and the golden Age he ſhould reſtore.

The Day after the Treaty was ſign'd I left *Nimeguen*, and return'd to the *Hague*, after a cruel Fatigue and Expence; which was render'd the more agreeable, when upon my going into *England* ſoon after, I found my ſelf in above ſeven thouſand Pounds in Arrear at the Treaſury: And though, with much Trouble and Delay, and ſome worſe Circumſtances (to engage Men that were more dexterous than I in ſuch Purſuits) I recover'd the reſt of my Debt; yet two and twenty hundred Pounds, due to me for this laſt Ambaſſy, continues to this Day a deſperate Debt, and mark upon me how unfit I am for a Court; and Mr. *Godolphin*, after having both ſaid and writ to me, that he would move to have my Statue ſet up if I compaſs'd that Treaty, has ſat ſeveral Years ſince in the Treaſury, and ſeen me want the very Money I laid out of my own Purſe in that Service, and which I am like to leave a Debt upon my Eſtate and Family.

I ſhall not trouble my ſelf with obſerving the remaining Paces of the General Peace, by that of the North, which was left to be made at the Mercy of *France*. And though *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* look'd big, and ſpoke high for a Time after the Peace between the Empire and *France*, pretending they would defend what they had conquer'd from the *Swedes* in *Germany*; yet upon the March of the *French* Troops into the *Brandenburg* Country, both thoſe Princes made what Haſte they could to finiſh their Separate Treaties with *France*; and, upon certain Sums of Money agreed on, delievered up all they had gain'd in this War to the Crown of *Sweden*. Thus Chriſtendom was left for the preſent in a General Peace, and *France* to purſue what they could gain upon their Neighbours by their Pretenſions of Dependencies, and

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by the *Droit de Bienſeance* [*The Right of Convenience*;] which they puſh'd with ſuch imperious Methods, both againſt the Empire and the [illegible], as render'd their Acquiſitions after the Peace greater, at leaſt in conſequence, than what they had gain'd by the War: Since not only great Tracts of Country, upon the Score of Dependences, but *Strasburg* and *Luxemburg* fell as Sacrifices to their Ambition, without any neighbouring Prince or State concerning themſelves in their Relief. But theſe Enterpriſes I leave to ſome other's Obſervations.

Very ſoon after my Arrival at the *Hague*, the King ſent me Orders to provide for my Return as ſoon as I could poſſibly be ready; and bid me acquaint the Prince and the States, That he had ſent for me over to come into the Place of the firſt Secretary of State in Mr. *Coventry*'s Room. My Lord Treaſurer writ to me to the ſame Purpoſe, and with more Eſteem than I could pretend to deſerve, telling me, among other Things, They were fallen into a cruel Diſeaſe, as had need of ſo able a Phyſician. This put me in mind of a Story of Doctor *Prujean* (the greateſt of that Profeſſion in our Time) and which I told my Friends that were with me when theſe Letters came. A certain Lady came to the Doctor in great Trouble about her Daughter. *Why, what ails ſhe?* Alas, Doctor, I cannot tell; but ſhe has loſt her Humour, her Looks, her Stomach; her Strength conſumes every Day, ſo as we fear ſhe cannot live. *Why do you not marry her?* Alas, Doctor, That we wou'd fain do, and have offer'd her as good a Match as ſhe could ever expect, but ſhe will not hear of marrying. *Is there no other, do you think, that ſhe would be content to marry?* Ah, Doctor! that is it that troubles us; for there is a young Gentleman we doubt ſhe loves, that her Father and I can never conſent to. *Why, look you, Madam*, replies the Doctor gravely (being among all his Books in his Cloſet) *then the Caſe is this. Your Daughter would marry one Man, and you would have her marry another: In all my Books I found no Remedy for ſuch a Diſeaſe as this.* I confeſs, I eſteem'd the Caſe as deſperate in a Political as in a Natural Body, and as little to be attempted by a Man who neither ever had his own Fortune at Heart (which ſuch Conjunctures are only proper for) nor ever could reſolve, upon any Purſuits of it, to go againſt either the true Intereſt or the Laws of his Country: One of which is commonly endanger'd upon the fatal Miſfortune of ſuch Diviſions in a Kingdom: I choſe therefore to make my Excuſes both to the King and to my Lord Treaſurer, and deſir'd leave to go to *Florence*, and diſcharge my ſelf of a Promiſe I had made ſome Years paſt of a Viſit to the Great Duke the firſt Time I had Leiſure from my Publick Imployments. Inſtead of granting this Suit, the King ſent a Yacht for me towards the End of *February* 1678-9, with Orders to come immediately away to enter upon the Secretary's Office about the ſame time with my Lord *Sunderland*, who was brought into Sir *Joſeph Williamſon*'s Place. I obey'd his Majeſty, and acquainted the Prince and States with my Journey, and the Deſign of it, according to his Command; who made me Compliments upon both, and would have had me believe, that the Secretary of State was to make amends for the Loſs of the Ambaſſador. But I told the Prince, that tho' I muſt go, yet if I found the Scene what it appear'd to us at that diſtance, I would not charge my ſelf with that Imployment upon any Terms that could be afforded me. We knew very well in *Holland*, That both Houſes of Parliament believ'd the Plot: That the Cletgy, the City, the Country in general did ſo too, or at leaſt purſu'd it as if they all believ'd it. We knew the King and that ſome of the Court believ'd nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that Opinion: And the Prince told me, He had reaſon to be confident, that the King was in his Heart a *Roman Catholick*, tho' he durſt not profeſs it. For my own part, I knew not what to believe on one ſide or t'other; but thought it eaſie to preſage, from ſuch contrary Winds and Tides, ſuch a Storm muſt riſe, as would tear the Ship in Pieces, whatever Hand were at the Helm.

At my Arrival in *England*, about the latter End of *February*, I found the King had diſſolv'd a Parliament that had ſat eighteen Years, and given great Teſtimonies of Loyalty and Compliance with his Majeſty, till they broke firſt into Heats upon the *French* Alliances, and at laſt into Flames upon the Buſineſs of the Plot: I found a new Parliament was call'd; and that to make way for a calmer Seſſion, the Reſolution had been taken at Court for the Duke's going

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over into *Holland*, who embark'd the Day after my Arrival at *London*. The Elections of the enſuing Parliament were ſo eagerly purſu'd, that all were in a manner engag'd before I came over; and by the Diſpoſitions that appear'd in both Electors and elected, it was eaſie to preſage in what Temper the Houſes were like to meet: My Lord *Shaftsbury*, my Lord *Eſſex*, and my Lord *Halifax*, had ſtruck up with the Duke of *Monmouth*, reſolving to make uſe of his Credit with the King, and to ſupport it by theirs in the Parliament: And tho' the firſt had been as deep as any in the Counſels of the Cabal while he was Chancellor, yet all three had now fall'n in with the common Humour againſt the Court and the Miniſtry, endeavouring to inflame the Diſcontents againſt both; and agreed among themſelves, That none of them would come into Court, unleſs they did it all together; which was obſerv'd like other common Strains of Court-Friendſhips. Sir *William Coventry* had the moſt Credit of any Man in the Houſe of Commons, and I think the moſt deſervedly, not only for his great Abilities, but for having been turn'd out of the Council and the Treaſury, to make way for my Lord *Clifford*'s Greatneſs, and the Deſigns of the Cabal. He had been ever ſince oppoſite to the *French* Alliances, and bent upon engaging *England* in a War with that Crown, and Aſſiſtance of the Confederates; and was now extremely diſſatisfied with the Concluſion of the Peace, and with the Miniſtry, that he thought either aſſiſted, or at leaſt might have prevented it; and in theſe Diſpoſitions he was like to be follow'd by the beſt and ſobereſt Part of the Houſe of Commons. For my Lord Treaſurer and Lord Chamberlain, I found them two moſt admirable Emblems of the true, and ſo much admir'd Felicity of Miniſters of State: The laſt, notwithſtanding the greateſt Skill of Court, and the beſt Turns of Wit in particular Converſation that I have known there, and the great Figure he made in the firſt Part of theſe Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit and Confidence with the King, the Duke, and Prince of *Orange*, and thereby forc'd to ſupport himſelf by Intrigues with the Perſons moſt diſcontented againſt my Lord Treaſurer's Miniſtry, whoſe Greatneſs he ſo much envy'd: And who was yet at this time in much worſe Condition than himſelf, tho' not ſo ſenſible of it; for he had been very ill with the late Parliament upon account of Tranſactions with *France*, which tho he had not approv'd, yet he did not defend himſelf from the Imputation, for fear of expoſing his Maſter; he was hated by the *French* Ambaſſador, for endeavouring (as he thought) to engage the King in a War with *France*; he was in danger of being purſued by his Enemies next Parliament, for having (as they pretended) made the Peace, and endeavour'd to ſtifle the Plot: And yet I found within a Fortnight after I arriv'd, that he ſat very looſe with the King his Maſter, who told me ſeveral Reaſons of that Change; whereof one was, his having brought the Buſineſs of the Plot into the Parliament againſt his abſolute Command: And to compleat the happy and envied State of this Chief Miniſter, the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* and Earl of *Sunderland* were joyn'd with the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the Deſign of his Ruin. What a Game ſo embroil'd, and play'd on all ſides with ſo much Heat and Paſſion, was like to end in, no Man could tell: But I, that never had any thing ſo much at heart as the Union of my Country, which I thought the only way to its Greatneſs and Felicity, was very unwilling to have any part in the Diviſions of it; the deplorable Effects whereof I had been too much acquainted with, in the Stories of *Athens* and *Rome*, as well as of *England* and *France*: And for this Reaſon, tho' I was very much preſs'd to enter upon the Secretary's Office immediately after my Arrival, yet I delay'd it, by repreſenting to his Majeſty how neceſſary it was for him to have one of the Secretaries in the Houſe of Commons (where it had been uſual to have them both) and that conſequently it was very unfit for me to enter upon that Office before I got into the Houſe, which was attempted, and fail'd: But how long this Excuſe laſted, and how it was ſucceeded by many new and various Accidents, and how I was prevail'd with by the King to have the Part I had afterwards in a new Conſtitution of Council; and how after almoſt two Years unſucceſsful Endeavours at ſome Union, or at leaſt ſome Allays of the Heats and Diſtempers between the King and his Parliaments, I took the Reſolution of having no more to do with Affairs of State; will be the Subject of a third Part of theſe Memoirs.

The END.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM